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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION



THE LLOYD BARRAGE AND THE FUTURE OF SIND*

BY SIR ARNOLD MUSTO, C.I.E.

I who are interested in the progress of Sind, and in the well-being of its friendly population of some $3\frac{3}{4}$ million souls, of whom the greater number are agriculturists, must watch with sympathy, not unmixed with anxiety, the changes which are imminent in its constitution and administration. I gladly accepted the invitation to read this paper, not as a politician, but as an irrigation engineer, who had the privilege of designing the present Barrage and Canal Scheme, and of constructing departmentally, with the aid of a splendid staff, the Barrage itself.

The various proposals and suggestions for changes in the administration of Sind, and how such changes might affect the Barrage scheme and thereby the future of Sind, will be indicated. The importance of this scheme is shown in the following extract from the report of the Sind Commission, 1932, presided over by Mr. A. F. L. Brayne, I.C.S. 25523

It is certain that Sind cannot stand security for the Barrage debt, and it is from the Barrage itself that the security must be sought. The Barrage is indeed the heart of Sind, providing the means of renewed life to the Province, the prosperity and the ultimate financial independence which must be derived from this source. A great future undoubtedly lies before Sind, but that future, and the security of the debt, depend upon the preservation of the Barrage and its connected canal system intact, and the maintenance of the highest standards of efficiency in the distribution of water, the assessment and collection of revenue, the encouragement of cultivation, and the improvement of agricultural methods." . . . "The considerations just mentioned will doubtless be taken into account in any future developments."

Within the limits of this paper it is only possible to give briefly the genesis of the scheme and its progress to date, and to show the future aspects of the position, which appear of outstanding importance.

Read to the East India Association on October 24, but figures have been corrected to December, 1934.

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importance. Technical and financial details of the scheme and of the administrative changes proposed can be studied in the report of the Sind Administration Committee, 1934, presided over by Mr. H. Dow, I.C.S., and in other reports referred to therein.

The vital importance of irrigation to the prosperity and to the very life of Sind is obvious when it is remembered that the rainfall in this arid country averages only about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches per annum, and even this small total is usually concentrated in a few heavy downpours at long and irregular intervals. Rainfall is, therefore, almost negligible as a means of cultivation in Sind. This is clearly shown by years such as 1915, when the rainfall was lower than usual. In that year 99 per cent. of the crops grown were raised on irrigation.

THE INDUS WATER SUPPLY

When the River Indus enters the northern boundary of Sind, after having flowed about 1,300 miles from the Himalayas, through Kashmir and the Punjab, it has already received the contributions of all its tributaries. Thereafter it winds a tortuous course about 400 miles long right through the length of Sind, until it reaches the Arabian Sea to the south of Karachi.

During the hotter months of the year, roughly from June to September, the melting of the snows in the Himalayan Range, and the heavy rainfall which occurs during the same period in the submontane plains of the Punjab, supply immense volumes of water to the Indus and its tributaries, which rise during those months to a high level. This is known as the *abkhalani* or inundation season. The river usually rises slowly during April, May, and June, and more rapidly in July, until the peak of the flood, which is usually reached about the first week in August. Thereafter the river generally falls slowly, until by mid-September it has dropped to about the same level as mid-June. For the remaining months of the year it carries a mere fraction of its flood volume, and this at such a low level that it is useless for irrigation.

THE GROWTH OF IRRIGATION

Long before the British conquest of Sind in 1842, its inhabitants had utilized the flood waters of the Indus for cultivation, by cut-

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ing canals from the river bank to carry these flood waters to their lower lying lands. Such canals only flowed during two or three months while the river remained at a high level.

The British Administration at once realized the value of this irrigation, and ever since the conquest has steadily improved and extended the original canals, and has made many new systems of inundation canals. These works made possible a great extension of cultivation throughout Sind, so that by the year 1931-32, before the Barrage Scheme came into operation, they produced 3,060,000 acres of crops. Owing to the vagaries of the river channel, and to the fact that the duration and height of the floods could not be foretold or regulated, the maintenance of these inundation canals often presented considerable difficulty.

Apart from the resulting uncertainty of the cultivator as to whether he would obtain sufficient water at the time he needed it to raise his crops, all these inundation systems of irrigation had the serious defect that even in a favourable season the cultivator had to concentrate his crop raising into a short hot-weather season of three or four months. Moreover, the supply was not of sufficient duration to enable the best results to be obtained with the valuable cotton crop or to permit of the most remunerative varieties being grown at all. In some cases a small supply of water could be had from canals or wells in the other months, but this had to be lifted on to the land for growing winter crops. Thus, in 1931-32, out of the 3,060,000 acres of crops grown during the year, only 651,000 acres were winter (*rabi*) crops. Hence for many months in the year the cultivator was completely idle. This enforced idleness and general uncertainty of the water supply tended to result in poor cultivation, laziness, and crime.

EARLY IMPROVEMENTS

These facts and deductions were observed by some of the earliest British engineers and administrators who sought for remedies. In 1846 Col. Walter Scott, Superintendent of the Canal and Forest Department in Sind, when reporting on the canals pointed out that in most countries where canals were fed from streams, the level of the streams was regulated by dams.

He said that the only site in Sind where a suitable rock foundation for a dam existed was at Sukkur, but he considered that a dam here would cause a diversion of the river and was quite impracticable. He therefore confined his proposals to improving the existing canals.

- His successor, Lieut. (afterwards General) Fife, R.E., in 1855 submitted an outline for a most comprehensive system of canals to command the whole cultivable area of Sind. It involved making four great canals on the left bank and two on the right bank. His scheme showed a wonderful breadth of vision and foresight. To the present day it has not been carried to the full limits of productive development. His proposed canals were to be made in such a manner as to enable them to draw water from the river even when at its lowest level, and to deliver their supply by flowing on to the land both winter and summer. He had no levels or surveys of the country from which to design his canals, or he would have found that the winter water could not be given
- without regulating the level of the river. He appears to have accepted his predecessor's dictum that a dam was not feasible, as he nowhere considers this possibility. Had he been able to develop his scheme he would doubtless have found the difficulty and proposed means to overcome it.

THE EASTERN NARA SCHEME

The only part of Fife's proposals which he was allowed to carry out was the cutting of a large supply channel from the left bank of the Indus at Rohri (opposite Sukkur) to feed the old flood channel of the Eastern Nara river, and through it to supply irrigation to the Thar Parker district south of the Khairpur State. Since 1859 this channel has worked satisfactorily in the *kharif* season, but in the low-water season has never been reliable, owing to its mouth being masked in some years by sandbanks as the river falls. Fife had foreseen the possibility of this difficulty, but believed that at the peculiarly favourable location at the mouth of the supply channel the trouble would not occur.

Various improvements were made to the Eastern Nara system during the past 70 years. The supply channel was deepened in

1885 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet and again in 1894 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in order to improve the winter supply, though this often falls to a mere fraction of the designed supply. Three canals intended to give perennial supply were cut from the system.

The Mithrao Canal was commenced in 1857 and completed in 1879, with a weir across the Eastern Nara to regulate the level for its supply. The Thar Canal with another weir was completed in 1867, and the Jamrao Canal with a third weir was opened in 1899. Although all these canals can be ensured of their required water levels at all seasons by means of the weirs at their heads, none of them were really successful owing to the very defective winter supply to their parent stream, the Eastern Nara, as explained above.

Until the completion of the Lloyd Barrage in 1932 these eastern canals were the only ones in Sind on which true perennial irrigation had been attempted—that is to say, a guaranteed water supply at the required flow level. It was largely owing to the failure of the guaranteed supply on these canals that so many doubts were felt about the prospects of success for the Barrage Scheme.

Nevertheless, the Eastern Nara scheme increased cultivation in its area to about half a million acres per annum.

Throughout this period many improvements to existing canals and many new inundation canals were completed, some of the latter being very large works. After 1903 only minor extensions were carried out pending a decision about the Barrage Scheme. These improvements and extensions resulted in a great increase of cultivation throughout Sind, so that in a favourable year as much as 3,750,000 acres of crops were raised, though about 80 per cent. of these were summer crops grown during three months' irrigation. During this long period, Fife's proposals for perennial canals were discussed at long intervals with very conflicting opinions.

THE BARRAGE PROPOSAL

But in 1903 the Indian Irrigation Commission recommended that a scheme should be investigated, on the lines of Fife's proposals for perennial canals on both banks of the river, but with

the important variation that their supplies should be protected by a weir or barrage at their heads near Sukkur. This barrage was to regulate the level of the Indus, and to keep the heads of the canals clear of sandbanks, thus ensuring a regular supply of water at the required level for irrigation.

In 1903-4 Dr. Summers, then Superintendent Engineer Indus Left Bank, asked and received permission to prepare a project for a perennial canal from Rohri to Hyderabad. This was one of Fife's proposals. In 1907 the Bombay Government issued orders for the preparation of projects for a barrage at Sukkur, and for high-level perennial canals to be fed by it on both banks of the river, of which one was the Rohri Hyderabad Canal.

In July, 1910, projects for the barrage with the Rohri Canal and improvements to the Eastern Nara system were submitted to the Bombay Government. A prepared project for the Right Bank Canal was considered unsuitable and was not submitted for sanction, but it was suggested that a revised project could be carried out later. In September, 1910, Dr. Summers submitted an alternative project for the Rohri Canal to be made before the barrage.

In December, 1910, the Government of Bombay submitted to the Government of India all the above projects, but recommended for sanction that the Barrage and Rohri Canal should be carried out first, to be followed by revised projects for the Right Bank and Eastern Nara areas.

In October, 1912, the Government of India submitted the whole scheme to the Secretary of State for India, who appointed a committee of engineers to report on it. This committee reported in December, 1913, that the scheme was unnecessary as a protective work, was premature and unproductive, and that an alternative site for a barrage to be founded on sand should be investigated. They considered that Dr. Summers' proposal to make the Rohri Canal without a barrage involved too much risk. They recommended that a complete scheme be prepared and kept in readiness in case the Punjab withdrawals of water adversely affected the existing canals in Sind. The Secretary of State recommended these suggestions to the Bombay Government, and did not sanction the scheme submitted.

THE PRESENT SCHEME IS EVOLVED

There was a danger that this committee's view that the Barrage and perennial canal scheme was only needed, if at all, as a protective scheme might have been accepted by the Bombay Government and Sind allowed to remain without further development. It was largely due to the persistent advocacy of perennial irrigation by the late Mr. Henry Beale, M.I.C.E., Chief Engineer, and to the powerful and consistent arguments in its favour by Mr. (now Sir) Henry Lawrence, both as Commissioner in Sind from 1916 to 1919 and afterwards as member of the Bombay Government, as well as to the enthusiasm of Dr. Summers for the Rohri Canal, that the whole scheme was kept before the attention of Government from 1912 to 1915 and that the present scheme was prepared and sanctioned later.

In September, 1915, Lord Willingdon's Government asked the permission of the Government of India to prepare a revised scheme for a barrage and perennial canals on both banks of the river. In anticipation of their approval I was placed on special duty in October, 1915, to revise the Barrage project only. But in May, 1916, I submitted to Government an outline for a comprehensive project to include the Barrage, with four perennial canals on the left bank and with two perennial canals and one large *kharif* canal (for rice) on the right bank. Between May, 1916, and December, 1917, no further progress was made with the project.

In January, 1918, a senior collector, Mr. C. M. Baker, I.C.S., and an executive engineer, Mr. W. C. M. Lane, were placed on special duty to make a soil and revenue survey of the areas to be served. Also in January, 1918, on my return from Mesopotamia, instructions were given me to proceed with the detailed design of Barrage and Canals. The Inspector-General of Irrigation in India, Sir Thomas Ward, kept close watch on the work and gave invaluable guidance.

Lord Lloyd, our distinguished Chairman, throughout the five years of his Governorship of Bombay, took an unflagging interest in the progress of the project, and imbued and encouraged all

concerned with his own untiring energy and keenness. To satisfy his lordship is no easy task, but those who succeed never lack his generous support and recognition. Messrs. Baker and Lane's "Soil and Revenue Report" was submitted in March, 1919, and I submitted the complete project for the Barrage and Canal scheme in July, 1920, through the Commissioner in Sind. As the general principles and most details of the scheme had been discussed by the local officers and by the Governments of Bombay and India during its preparation, all authorities concerned were able to deal with it expeditiously and to recommend it. The Government of India, in December, 1920, submitted the scheme to the Secretary of State, who in August, 1921, conveyed his sanction to the technical and administrative aspects and to the estimates for works.

Owing to the rapid rise in cost of borrowing money at this period it was necessary to revise the financial forecast and to provide increased income for the completed scheme, and this was achieved largely by arranging to sell Government-owned lands which would obtain irrigation from the scheme. These revised financial estimates, together with the whole project, were submitted to a special session of the Bombay Legislative Council in June, 1923. The project was approved by the Council with only one dissident, and funds for commencing construction were voted unanimously.

CONSTRUCTION WORK

In July, 1923, the "Sukkur Barrage and Canals Construction" was opened with Mr. (now Sir) Charlton Harrison as Chief Engineer, and I was appointed Superintending Engineer, Sukkur Barrage Circle, to construct the Barrage and its protective works and the head works of all the canal systems. During the next few months other Circles were formed to construct the various canal systems. Work was commenced at once on the Barrage, and on the canals during the ensuing cold weather. One of the last public functions performed by Lord Lloyd before he handed over the reins of office to Sir Leslie Wilson was to visit Sukkur and lay the inauguration stone of the Barrage, which now forms part of

the structure. "At the request of the grateful people of Sind," as recorded on the stone, the Barrage bears his lordship's name and forms an impressive monument to his great work for the betterment of Sind.

Under the able and energetic control of Sir Charlton Harrison all parts of the scheme advanced steadily to completion. By December, 1931, the Barrage and its protective works and the head works of all the canals at Sukkur had been completed at a cost of Rs. 540 lakhs (£4,050,000) against the sanctioned estimate of Rs. 595 lakhs (£4,460,000), showing a saving of £410,000 on the original estimate sanctioned in 1923. To this saving must be added the realizations from the sale of plant and buildings after December, 1931, which may amount to another Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 lakhs. By the same date, when the Barrage was ready, the greater part of all the canal systems had been completed and were ready to receive and to supply water for irrigation. About 93 per cent. of the total excavation to be done in the finished canals had been completed by December, 1931, and they were ready for opening. The remaining work was practically completed by September, 1933.

It is difficult to realize the magnitude of these canal works, but the following figures may give some idea of the immensity of the task which had been performed. The total length of the canals, including the main canals, their branches, distributaries, minors and escapes is 6,816 miles, involving the excavation of about 6,100 millions of cubic feet of soil, besides the building of nearly 2,000 bridges, regulators, escapes and other masonry works. About 55 per cent. of the excavation was done by machinery and the remainder by hand labour. Three of the main canals are each much wider than the Suez Canal and each carry continuously about the same volume of water as the River Thames in high flood. When the Indus is at its lowest level the canals utilize almost all the water in the river.

THE OPENING OF THE BARRAGE AND CANALS

On January 13, 1932, His Excellency the Viceroy, Earl Willingdon, declared the Barrage open, and pressed buttons which opened

the canal sluices and first admitted water to the new canals. The Barrage and its canals have been in constant operation since, and for the first time in the history of Sind an ample supply of flow water has been available in the Barrage area, not only in the summer season, when the river is high, but throughout the winter, when the natural river level is too low to reach the cultivator.

The normal difficulties of constructing the canals and of bringing them into operation were greatly increased by the fact that in many cases they had to take the place of many existing old canals, which had to be kept open until the new canals were ready to supply water. The transition from one source of supply to the other involved many problems for the canal engineers and some unavoidable inconvenience to the cultivators. The engineers and revenue authorities and the cultivators themselves are to be congratulated on the rapidity with which the change over has been made and on the avoidance of excessive dislocation of agriculture in the area.

THE COST OF THE WORKS

The direct capital outlay on the whole scheme to the end of September, 1933, was Rs. 1,930 lakhs, and anticipated further expenditure Rs. 300 lakhs. Thus the total direct outlay will be Rs. 2,230 lakhs, of which Rs. 335 lakhs is recoverable from three sources, viz. :

(a) The Government of India for supplying irrigation to a part of Baluchistan.

(b) The Khairpur State as their share of the cost of the Barrage, which gives the State a guaranteed supply.

(c) The Zamindars for expenditure incurred on their watercourses.

Thus the net capital outlay will be Rs. 1,895 lakhs as against Rs. 1,782 lakhs in the project sanctioned in 1923. The gross interest charges to the end of 1937-38, when all works will be completed, will be about Rs. 1,152 lakhs, while for the corresponding year in the sanctioned project it was estimated at Rs. 1,062 lakhs.

The rate of increase of cultivation assumed in the project was considered to be extremely conservative, as compared with results obtained on new canals in the Punjab. As experience during the first two years' working of the Barrage scheme has confirmed this

opinion, the financial forecast of the scheme has been recast, with cultivation forecasts in accordance with actual experience. This latest forecast shows that in spite of the higher cost of the works, and of interest charges, the scheme is expected to pay 5.5 per cent. in the tenth year after the opening of the canals (*i.e.*, in 1942), as against 5.57 per cent. estimated for the corresponding year in the sanctioned project. The return on outlay will increase until final development is reached after 30 years—*i.e.*, by 1962. It appears, therefore, that the whole scheme will be completed at a cost reasonably close to the estimates, and that it will become a productive work as anticipated, while making possible a vast development of cultivation, which must lead to the eventual prosperity of the people of Sind.

In the past fifteen years there has been much criticism of the present project and many apprehensions were expressed by anxious critics (some of them heard by this Association) of the possibility of failure to complete the construction within a very wide margin of the time or cost estimated. Many of the fears expressed have already proved unrealized, and I am sure their authors will be relieved that success has been achieved where they did not anticipate.

THE FUTURE

Perhaps there will be equally pessimistic forecasts from some quarters for the new future. But those in closest touch with the scheme and with its interests most at heart are convinced of a completely successful development, bringing great prosperity to the province if sound administration is followed. Let us then leave the past and consider the present state of the scheme, its prospects and its bearing on the future. The object of the scheme, as already stated, is to convert the large area of inundation cultivation existing before the scheme into a perennially irrigated area and to extend perennial irrigation into large areas hitherto uncultivated. It also provides a great canal—the Central Rice Canal—to give a regular supply at the steady level required, to cultivate the great areas of rice crops in the Larkhana district on the right bank of the river. This area is unsuitable for winter

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LLOYD BARRAGE AND CANALS—CULTIVATION STATEMENT

CROP.	ACTUAL CULTIVATION.					Anticipated Cultivation when Fully Developed after 30 Years—i.e., in 1962. Project Figures.
	Pre-Barrage Average of 10 Years ending 1917-18.		Cultivation with Barrage.			
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	
KHARIF:						
Rice: Perennial Canals	147,000	82,000 }	178,000	190,000	{ 161,000	
" Thar Canal ..	44,000	?			124,000	
" Central Rice						
Canal ..	316,000	?	319,000	?	478,000	
Cotton ..	236,000	309,000	567,000	654,000	760,000	
Other kharif ..	909,000	215,000 (up to Aug., 1932)	505,000	419,000 (final may be higher)	784,000	
			232,000 (up to Aug., 1933)			
Total kharif ..	1,652,000	1,345,000	1,569,000	?	2,307,000	
Percentage of total annual cultivation ..	76 per cent.	54 per cent.	54 per cent.	—	42 per cent.	
RABI:						
Wheat ..	187,000	700,000	1,061,000	?	2,541,000	
Other rabi, including leguminous ..	338,000	455,000	301,000	?	622,000	
Total rabi ..	525,000	1,155,000	1,362,000	?	3,163,000	
Percentage of total annual cultivation ..	24 per cent.	46 per cent.	46 per cent.	—	58 per cent.	
Total annual cultivation	2,177,000	2,500,000	2,931,000	?	5,470,000	
Increase over pre-Barrage average ..	—	323,000	754,000	?	3,293,000	
		15 per cent.	35 per cent.	?	150 per cent.	

NOTE.—The latest forecast for area of cultivation when the scheme is fully developed gives a total figure of 5,184,000 acres, or about 5 per cent. less than the project figures shown in column 5. Detailed figures of each crop in this new total are not available in England, so the project figures are given.

(continued from page 11)

crops, while the rice crop requires water for only six months in the year. For the remaining months the canal is closed. The Thar Canal *ex* the Eastern Nara has been similarly designed, as it also supplies a rice-growing area.

A few comprehensive figures may be given here to show the position. The total area in British territory commanded by the scheme is 7,494,000 acres, of which 6,529,000 acres are cultivable. The tabular statement on the opposite page gives the latest available figures for cultivation.

Prior to the opening of the Barrage, the area of cultivation varied considerably from year to year according to the nature of the inundation and other natural causes, but over a period of years was fairly constant. The average figures of cultivation over the ten-year period ending 1917-18, on which the project was based, were higher in total than the figures of the latest year. But for the later years I have no separate details of different crops, and I therefore give those for the earlier period, for comparison with the results to date, and with the final anticipated cultivation shown in the project. Owing to adjustments in boundaries during construction, the final total cultivation is now estimated to be about 5 per cent. less than shown in the project, but as I have no details by separate crops I give the project figures.

It will be seen from the statement that whereas the total kharif, or summer, cultivation is expected to expand by only 40 per cent. over the pre-Barrage cultivation, the rabi, or winter, cultivation is expected to expand sixfold. These increases were estimated to occur gradually over the thirty years. It is this expansion of the rabi crops, and of the valuable cotton crops, on which the future success of the scheme greatly depends. None of the critics doubted the expansion of the cotton cultivation, but many foretold that the Sindhi would not grow large areas of rabi crops, and especially of wheat.

THE RESULTS SINCE OPENING OF BARRAGE

It must be remembered that the crops of the past three years have been grown at a time of acute depression, with abnormally

low, and still falling, prices of crops. Without the Barrage scheme it is certain there would have been a heavy decrease of the annual cropped area. Indeed, cultivation had decreased considerably during the preceding few years, and the Barrage canals could not have had a more unfortunate period for starting supplies.

Let us see therefore what has actually happened.

First notice the figures of total annual cultivation. This has increased from the pre-Barrage total of 2,177,000 acres to 2,500,000 acres in 1932-33 and to 2,931,000 acres in 1933-34, being increases of 15 per cent. and 35 per cent. respectively, against the anticipated increase of 150 per cent. in 30 years' full development.

Next notice how the proportion of rabi crops is increasing. Before the Barrage, rabi was only 24 per cent. of the annual cultivation and kharif was 76 per cent. In the first two years of the Barrage these proportions changed to 46 per cent. and 54 per cent. respectively, while the final result anticipated is 42 per cent. and 58 per cent. respectively.

Now let us examine the kharif crops.

The figures for rice are incomplete, sufficient detail not having been sent from India, but they show that in the second year of operation the total crop was almost the same as before the Barrage, there being a slight increase on the rice canals, and a decrease of 7 per cent. in rice on the perennial canals. This decrease is all to the good, as its place is taken by the more valuable cotton crop. The figures for the present year are not yet available, but it is believed they will show a considerable increase on last year. That the increase on the rice canal has not been more rapid is partly due to the special difficulties of the change over from old to new canals, and partly to the reluctance of the cultivator to submit to the elimination of the waste of water, which previously occurred whenever it was available. The supply now allowed is ample for the crop, but is not wasteful. The figures show that the cultivator is beginning to realize this, and to see the advantage of an assured, if economical, supply for a full six months, instead of an extravagant supply for perhaps two months, with deficiency before and after.

COTTON AND OTHER CROPS

On the perennial canals the cotton crop shows a wonderful increase, and in the third year of the Barrage has already reached four-fifths of the total increase anticipated to occur in thirty years.

The figures are :

Pre-Barrage	...	...	236,000 acres	
1932-33	...	...	309,000	„
1933-34	...	...	567,000	„
1934-35	...	...	654,000	„ (provisional—may be exceeded)
Final anticipated in				
1962	...	...	760,000	„

Other kharif crops, which are less remunerative to the cultivator and to the scheme, showed a heavy decrease in the first year, but a large partial recovery in the second and third years. It is probable that the final figures for the present year will be as high as the anticipated figure at the end of thirty years, since much more crop is always reported after September 30, for which this year's figure is given. The same remark applies to all kharif figures for 1934.

The figures for non-cotton kharif crops are :

Pre-Barrage	...	...	909,000 acres	
1932-33	...	...	236,000	„
1933-34	...	...	505,000	„
1934-35	...	...	419,000	„ (provisional—may be exceeded)
Final anticipated in				
1962	...	...	784,000	„

Turning to the *rabi crops*, we see a remarkable increase. The figures for *wheat* are :

Pre-Barrage	...	...	187,000 acres	
1932-33	...	...	700,000	„
1933-34	...	...	1,061,000	„ (nearly 6 times the pre-Barrage figure)
Final anticipated in				
1962	...	...	2,541,000	„

The figures for *other rabi crops* are :

Pre-Barrage	...	...	...	238,000 acres
1932-33	...	...	...	455,000 „
1933-34	...	...	...	301,000 „
Final anticipated in 1962	...	...	...	622,000 „

It is immaterial to the Barrage scheme whether the rabi crops grown are wheat or "other rabi," as all pay the same rates and get the same water supply.

CROP PROSPECTS IN FUTURE

Summarizing these results to date, it appears that on the new perennial canals the project anticipations of a rapid rate of increase in *rabi* crops, especially wheat, and in the valuable cotton crop, have already been exceeded and indicate that the project estimated area of these crops after full development is likely to be reached or exceeded long before the thirty years allowed for in the project. Moreover, the anticipated gradual decrease in the area of the less profitable other *kharif* crops (including the old food crops *jowari* and *bajri*) has been very large and sudden, as has also the decrease in the area of rice on the perennial canals.

It appears that both on the Rohri and Eastern Nara systems a great extension of cotton growing has taken the place of the reduced rice area, while other *kharif* crops were given up in favour of cotton and *rabi*. Other *kharif* will probably increase again somewhat. Since the water required for each acre of rice will grow two acres of cotton, while the water rate for rice is only 30 per cent. higher than for cotton, any substitution of cotton for rice is favourable to the prospects of the scheme, as well as to the cultivator.

On the purely rice canals, the initial difficulties have been overcome, and crops are now increasing and may be expected to expand rapidly if the market is attractive.

I have dealt in some detail with the results already obtained in order to show that, as far as they go, they give assurance that the cultivation forecasts of the scheme are likely to be realized, if not exceeded, so that the final anticipated revenue may be obtained within the period forecasted, assuming that assessments thereby are not reduced below the estimated rates.

LAND SALES

The financial success of the scheme depends, however, not only on obtaining the estimated surplus revenue from cultivation, but

also on the funds obtained from the sale of occupancy rights of Government land. These funds were to be utilized, in addition to surplus revenue, for repaying the arrears of interest on borrowed capital, which accumulated during the construction period. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of land were available for disposal by Government.

Results of sales are available up to September, 1933. The programme of sales, and the prices of land estimated for in the project, were so conservative, that in spite of the general depression, no difficulty has been experienced in selling more than the area programmed for sale, or in obtaining approximately the prices estimated before the depression set in. A new feature in Sind has been the introduction of the sale of leases, which has proved very popular and beneficial to the scheme.

By September, 1933, 255,000 acres had been sold at full rates; 171,000 acres had been let on lease; 122,000 acres granted free or on concession rates to meet certain claims which are now finally disposed of.

20,000 acres had been granted to peasants on deferred payments and a further 30,000 acres ear-marked for similar grants. Thus a total of 568,000 acres had been disposed of, leaving about 1 million acres still for disposal during the next twenty years. The total anticipated recoveries from disposal of lands under this programme is Rs. 1,700 lakhs, or, say, £12 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions.

THE OUTLOOK

As the available information on this subject only covers the first two years of working the new canals—and that period is always a very troublesome one—the indications cannot be conclusive. But so far as they go, and in spite of a period of unprecedented trade depression, all the omens are favourable for the successful development of the scheme. Any increase in the level of commodity prices and a general improvement in trade would have an immediate effect in stimulating this development and improving the financial position of Sind. When practically every part of the

civilized world is suffering, it is inevitable that a newly opened project, designed before such a depression could be foretold, must also be adversely affected. Experience in England has shown that courage and optimism are necessary and are successful in overcoming the effects of the depression.

THE DOW COMMITTEE

Now let us see how approaching changes may affect the scheme. The White Paper proposes the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and its formation into an independent Governor's Province and with the Barrage a "special responsibility of the Governor." The Government of India appointed a Committee in 1933, presided over by Mr. H. Dow, I.C.S., to enquire into the administrative questions which would arise in the event of this separation taking place. The Report published early this year endorses and emphasizes the conclusion of the 1932 Brayne Committee on the vital importance of the Barrage scheme. It points out certain defects and irregularities in the methods of keeping the financial accounts of the Barrage. It draws up sound suggestions for avoiding such defects and confusion in future. It also points out the absence of an authoritative estimate of the future revenue from the scheme and presses for its preparation. These are matters of great importance which should be put on a methodical basis at once.

In para. 56 of the Report the Committee draws attention to proposals in the White Paper that provincial control over water supplies, irrigation, and canals should no longer be subject to control by the Federal Legislature with regard to matters of inter-provincial concern. The Dow Committee consider it necessary—

"That some machinery should be set up for the settlement of any future disputes which may arise between Sind and other units of the federation with regard to the utilization of the waters of the Indus or its tributaries, and also for ensuring that, in connection with these subjects, no project which may affect another unit of the federation is proceeded with, without giving that unit an opportunity to state its views, and to have its case adjudicated upon by a competent authority in case it has any objection to raise."

INTER-PROVINCIAL ADJUSTMENTS

This is the most important point dealt with in the Report, and the very first matter which should be provided for in considering any changes in the constitution of Sind. We have seen that the total water supply which reaches Sind by the Indus passes through the Punjab and part of it through Kashmir. The Punjab has constructed great canal systems which utilize so much of the small winter discharge of the Indus and its tributaries that the remainder passing down to Sind is, in some years, barely sufficient to meet the requirements of the Barrage canals. Moreover, the Punjab has under preparation or lying ready several projects for constructing additional canal systems which would reduce still further the supplies passing down to Sind. One such scheme was on the point of being constructed last year, when the Bombay Government, discovering the fact, appealed to the Government of India for the protection of Sind's interests. This protection was secured and the works in question were not undertaken.

Under the proposed constitutional changes the Government of India would be unable to intervene in a similar case, and the construction of further works in the Punjab or Kashmir might reduce the Barrage canals to ruin.

In a document entitled "The Separate Government of Sind and the Ruin of the Sukkur Barrage" Sir Henry Lawrence refers to this danger. Sir Henry suggests as a means of avoiding the rivalry of the Punjab and Sind for the use of the waters of the Indus that these two provinces should be amalgamated, thus making their interests mutual instead of rival. The suggestion has much to commend it and should be thoroughly considered.

Another suggestion which is believed to be under consideration in certain quarters is the amalgamation of Sind and Baluchistan. Whatever advantages might accrue from such a union, it would still leave the combined province subject to this danger. Similarly, if Sind remains as part of the Bombay Presidency, the Punjab danger is perpetuated. Unless, therefore, some competent authority be established, with power to enforce its decision, to adjudicate on all interprovincial disputes or proposals for the use

of the Indus waters, a separated Sind, or a Sind amalgamated with any province other than the Punjab, will always be in danger.

The solution of the difficulty is a matter of high politics on which I do not venture an opinion. Discussion on this matter may expose views which will be of great value when a decision has to be made on the future constitution of Sind.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W.1, on Wednesday, October 24, 1934, when a paper, entitled "The Lloyd Barrage and the Future of Sind," was read by Sir Arnold Musto, C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., and Lady Seton, The Maharahadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Glancy, Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and Lady Innes, Sir Amberson Marten, Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., and Lady Lawrence, Sir Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James Crerar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir William Himbury, Sir Hugh Cocke, Sir Roderick Jones, K.B.E., Sir Leopold Halliday Savile, K.C.B., Sir Alexander Gibb, G.B.E., Lady Hayward, Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. F. W. Woods, C.I.E., Dr. Nagendra N. Gangulee, C.I.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. B. Haigh, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mr. G. B. D. Head, Mrs. Rawson, the Misses Fife, Captain F. Cooper, Miss Edyth Jenkins, Mr. A. E. Rushworth, Miss F. Leatherdale, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mrs. R. M. Milward, Mr. H. B. Edwards, Rev. H. W. Stanton, Mr. A. H. Brayne, Mr. Sitaram, Mrs. A. D. Bonarjee, Mr. John S. Summers, Mr. T. R. Nolan, Mrs. Rothfield, Mrs. Roberts, Mr. George Pilcher, Mr. K. C. Sahney, Miss J. M. Morris, Mrs. Harrison, Mr. T. H. N. Ayscough, Mrs. Charles Pilkington, Miss M. E. Rowland-Carter, Mr. J. B. Appasay, Miss Morton, Mr. M. S. Ahmad, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: It is a great privilege for me to have been asked by you, Sir Malcolm, to take the chair today, when we have the advantage of hearing Sir Arnold Musto read a paper on the great barrage with which he has been so closely connected, and on that future of Sind which must inevitably depend so much upon the successful handling and administration of that vast undertaking.

I do not think that I need say much about Sir Arnold Musto, whose services in India are so well known to everyone who has come in this room today. He has been connected with the Barrage even before the actual sanction for that work had been given. He has had, as I think it, and I am sure he thinks it, the great good fortune, which every engineer does not have, both to have designed and to have been enabled himself to execute and complete one of the greatest engineering projects of the century.

He has, therefore, had a wonderful experience which I think anybody who seeks great opportunities and admires great achievements must envy him, for he has seen a project which is very dear to his heart come to life. He nursed it, moreover, through days of great anxiety. Time and again he and all connected with the work—to say nothing of some of us at this end of the world—held their breath, while waters of terrific weight and danger were bursting down through the Indus gorges and threatening to overwhelm and ruin all the work done. He and his men faced these anxieties calmly; the adequacy of their precautions prevailed, and they witnessed the completion of their labours.

But those of us who bore and bear the responsibility for so great an undertaking owe him a particular debt of gratitude, as well as of thanks to Sir Charlton Harrison, who co-operated with him, because they achieved not only a miracle in point of accuracy of time but they did what very few people have done since the war: they built this barrage well within the estimates which were given for that work.

I think that is remarkable. If you take another barrage with which I had no connection except to open it, the great barrage at Ghizirek in the Sudan, there, I think, the estimates were considerably exceeded; and the same is true of works in other areas such as the Punjab. I am not criticizing, therefore, the engineers of those schemes, for the difficulty of making any accurate measurement in post-war finances was almost insuperable, but, none the less, indeed all the more, must we congratulate Sir Charlton Harrison and Sir Arnold Musto on proving themselves an exception in the realm of finance and estimates since the war.

We are all very glad to see here among us today Lady Hayward, Mrs. Rawson, and the two Misses Fife, all near relatives of the original conceiver of this project many years ago. To them it must be a great satisfaction that the great conception of General Fife should at last have been brought into realization in their lifetime.

I have had the great honour of having my name connected with this Barrage, and I accepted this honour only after the unanimously expressed wish of every district local board in Sind. I claim, of course, no credit for the conception of the scheme. The project was conceived, as I have just said, many years ago by General Fife. Through many years, however, of vicissitude, of criticism, of replanning, of reconsideration, of apathy, opposition and timidity, the project was held in abeyance. It was revived more latterly in the days of my predecessor's Government, and then with many other projects during the war again it lapsed. Then, however, it was taken up energetically by Sir Henry Lawrence, when he was Commissioner in Sind, and he it was who brought it forcefully to my attention. Thereafter, I and my colleagues in the Government did all in our power to break down—once we were satisfied as to the project—that reluctance to action which is not unknown in Government machinery, and we did, I think, attack with energy and determination these formidable trench lines of sanctions and resanctions in the Legislative Council, in the Government of India, and in the Department of the Secretary of State for India, which

must all be taken before a great project of this kind can be begun. We had also to face, and face alone, a peculiarly difficult financial and administrative problem, and we owe very much in these respects to the brilliant work of Mr. Baker and Mr. Dow. It is naturally a deep and abiding satisfaction to me that upon the foundations of our early efforts Sir Charlton Harrison and Sir Arnold Musto have built so faithfully and so skilfully.

We now look forward with the greatest pleasure to hearing Sir Arnold Musto give his own experience.

(The paper was then given.)

Sir MONTAGU WEBB: I have only one fault to find with the very excellent and most interesting paper that we have just heard, and that is this: The paper is headed "The Lloyd Barrage and the Future of Sind," but the distinguished lecturer has told us practically nothing about the Lloyd Barrage, probably because he is himself the designer and successful builder of this wonderful work. All that he told us was that he was appointed Superintending Engineer at Sukkur in 1923, and that the whole job—Barrage and Canals Headworks—was completed in 1931. That's all! To the very strenuous and splendid work of the intervening seven years the lecturer has modestly made no reference whatever.

But I happened to be in Karachi during those seven years. As one who took (and still takes) a very keen interest in the development of Sind, I visited Sukkur once or twice every year to take note what progress the newly-appointed Superintending Engineer was making! For the first year or two very little could be seen. But plans were being matured, and special machinery being designed and manufactured. By degrees, some twenty miles of railway lines from the North-Western Railway main line at Sukkur to the site of the Barrage appeared. Then innumerable workshops on both sides of the river came into being. Great stone quarries equipped with the very latest wire sawing machinery from Italy were opened near Sukkur and Rohri. There the neighbouring stony hills were sliced into huge white blocks from which the Barrage was afterwards to be built. Simultaneously, two attractive townships were designed and built, with houses, roads, electric light, water, sanitation, public services, and what not, all complete. By this time protective stone aprons began to appear for miles on both sides of the Indus; and for a quarter of a mile upstream the Barrage site and on both sides of the river the massive stone floors, some fifteen feet thick, were gradually laid down. Next the floor of the Barrage itself right across the river—all built inside coffer dams. Remember, the river is quite a mile broad at this point. How many hundreds of thousands of tons of stone, lime concrete, steel piles, and reinforcements went into this river floor I cannot tell you; but I do know that the figures, expressed in cubic feet, were of astronomical dimensions. And at last the foundations of the Headworks—piers and arches—of the seven great canals began to appear; and then the huge piers of the Barrage itself—a few at a time—began to grow from each side of the river, all built inside great coffer dams so as to

protect them during construction whilst the river was in flood in summer-time.

Then came the middle sections of the Barrage. The coffer dam within which those piers, etc., were built—twenty-seven of them, I think—covered an area of no less than forty-nine acres! Surely there has never been such a huge coffer dam in the world's history before or after this one. And when the Indus came down in flood, this huge obstruction in the middle of the mile of raging waters was an amazing sight. I shall never forget one night, when the mighty Indus had risen to, I think, within six inches of the top of the coffer dam, tens of thousands of men were working feverishly inside the dam piling bags of sand by the million, so it seemed, so as to raise the height of the dam another foot or so. For if the tearing waters overtopped the dam, then not only would the lives of the thousands inside be endangered, but valuable machinery and the work of years, costing millions of pounds, would be swept aside and destroyed in a few hours. On that terrible night there was no calmer man than Sir Arnold Musto. (Applause.) Happily the river commenced to fall during the night, and the position was saved.

To cut the story short, I will merely say that at last, after seven memorable years of most strenuous and nerve-racking work, and in a climate that would have broken many less robust personalities than Sir Arnold Musto, the Headworks of the seven huge canals, and the great Barrage itself, with its sixty-seven massive piers, its sixty-six electrically-worked, colossal steel gates and counterweights, and its two roads a mile in length from Sukkur to the Rohri side, were duly completed in December, 1931, and are all working quite successfully at this moment.

The great Lloyd Barrage is today a noble work. On a clear moonlight night its long line of snow-white arches, stretching away in perspective across the vast expanse of one of the greatest rivers in the world, is a truly inspiring sight. I for one should like to express my heartiest congratulations, which I am sure are shared by all out East and by everybody in this hall, to Sir Arnold Musto on his successful designing and building of what future generations will assuredly regard as the Eighth Wonder of the World. (Applause.)

Mr. F. W. Woods: I congratulate Sir Arnold Musto on the completion of this great Sukkur Barrage, the construction of which is greatly creditable to him and to all the engineers who served under him, as well as to those above him who supplied the essential official motive force.

Nevertheless, I had the honour to criticize this Barrage twelve years ago at another place, and I do so again now. I received this paper quite recently and have only been able to glance through it, but I find nothing in it which disposes of the criticisms which I pronounced then and have reiterated over and over again since then. It would be quite useless for me here to go into statistics or to discuss technical details, but I would call attention to two or three important considerations.

The first point, which does not require a mathematician or engineer to

understand, is that this is undoubtedly a very fine Barrage—but was it necessary to build it at all? I have always said no, and I am prepared to show that it was not necessary. I have here a map of the River Indus and Sind which shows the general lay-out of the Barrage project. Forty per cent. of the land to be irrigated annually by means of this Barrage is to be irrigated by the Rohri Canal. The next most important factor is the East Nara Canal. These two canals between them take up 70 per cent. of the area proposed to be irrigated annually. The whole of the 70 per cent. area on the left of the Indus could have been irrigated without the help of a barrage. Of the 30 per cent. on the right of the river, only about half comprises land hitherto unirrigated, beyond the West Nara Valley, as shown on the map. The remaining 15 per cent. lies within the area already irrigable without a barrage. The project anticipates that the acreage irrigated within the tract will be increased to that extent, but this is mere speculation, a forecast that is not likely to be fulfilled.

At the site of the Barrage the lowest water level ever reached is 182 feet above sea level. The Barrage ponds up the river to 194 for the service of the Rohri Canal, which, however, drops 16 feet in a series of masonry falls, without doing any irrigation at the higher levels thus attained. The elevation of water level by the Barrage therefore serves no useful purpose. What is the good of it?

A very considerable circumstance is that the Rohri Canal has been dug for a distance of nearly fifty miles through the territory of the Ruler of Khairpur, yet that State has not been allowed a drop of water for perennial irrigation from its passing guest. That, however, is a political matter which I need not discuss.

The practical engineering consideration is that the Rohri Canal does no irrigation till it reaches British territory; and the whole of its irrigated area is at elevations so low that it could not have been irrigated effectively if the water service level of the Rohri Canal at its head had been at R.L. 177 instead of 194—that is, 5 feet (182-177) below the lowest level to which the water surface of the Indus has ever sunk. This is a simple consideration, and it is nothing new. I published this criticism in a responsible London paper ten years ago (1925, 1926), but no reply thereto has ever been published. The whole irrigation of the Rohri Canal could have been effected without the help of a barrage.

The East Nara Canal is on a similar footing. It does not begin to irrigate till it has passed through Khairpur territory, about 100 miles, where the ground surface is 100 feet below the lowest water level of the Indus at Sukkur. The Barrage canals have been designed to gradient 1 foot in 3 miles or 33 feet in 100 miles. The lowest water level of the Indus at Sukkur is at treble the elevation necessary to commend the East Nara tract. Why has money been wasted on the Barrage to lift it still higher?

Sir Arnold is entitled to his opinion and so are those who supported him, but the foregoing is a criticism that needs answering. Then, again, the Barrage has been built at the wide end of a trumpet-shaped gorge—*i.e.*, at its downstream end. Some of you may have seen a jazz band playing

somewhere. There is an instrument called, I think, a saxophone. You may have sometimes seen a man pushing things into it at the broad end to make funny noises. Something similarly incongruous is likely to happen when a barrage obstructs the broad end of a trumpet-shaped gorge.

Five years ago, in 1929, when the Barrage construction was nearly finished, a Committee of Enquiry was appointed by the Government of India to consider the merits of the project. It was composed of two engineers, one from Madras and one from Bombay, and its conclusions confirmed criticisms raised by me in a lecture delivered in June, 1922. For instance, the Committee said: "Difficulties may arise from shoaling, due to obstruction of the Barrage." This is just what I, also, predicted. Again, the Committee said: "Details of the project were not sufficiently worked out before construction." That is also what I predicted. The Committee said: "The intensity of irrigation is too high." This meant that Sir Arnold had overestimated the irrigable area. I had said the same thing. "The capacity of the canal should have been larger." That also is what I said; as also that "The working expenses have been underestimated." Finally, the Committee advised: "The work should be completed within the revised estimate of Rs. 2,000 lakhs, or including interest charges, Rs. 2,500 lakhs. *Excesses should be prevented, by omission or postponement, on non-essential works.*" It is possible that Sir Arnold has avoided greater excess of expenditure over sanctioned allotments by *omitting* to carry out *necessary* works (comprised within the sanctioned project) on the plea that they are *not strictly necessary*, but the necessity of which may be affirmed by others. I have in mind especially what I stressed in my lecture of 1922, as to expenditure on *effective* remodelling, or conversion, of the existing canals and distributaries on the right bank of the Indus.

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE: It is a great misfortune, I think, when a question like this is discussed primarily by two gentlemen who have had so much to do with it as Sir Arnold Musto and the Chairman, because in the first instance, as we have seen from the paper, Sir Arnold has been too modest to explain the enormous difficulties that were overcome, and I think it is a subject for congratulation that Sir Arnold Musto had a chronicler in Karachi who could act as we know Mr. Boswell did to Samuel Johnson. I refer to Sir Montagu Webb, who has given us a very admirable and poetic account of what he actually saw and heard on the spot. At intervals I also had an opportunity of seeing this great work grow, and I can entirely corroborate Sir Montagu on his congratulations and approval of the work of Sir Arnold Musto.

We know that this work was named the Lloyd Barrage. Some of you may have observed that in the papers issued along with what is called the White Paper of the Government, this particular project is referred to under the name of the Sukkur Barrage, and the name of the Lloyd Barrage has been dropped. It may interest you to know how the name was first given and how it was altered. Every great scheme of public welfare is the result of the labour of innumerable unknown soldiers, men who have given their

lives to the humble toils which have bit by bit built up and secured the final completion of any work of great magnitude.

I was first associated with the scheme about twenty-five years ago. I then first realized that it was a matter of life or death to the Province of Sind that this scheme should be carried through and should be based on a barrage at Sukkur. The plan that was then devised was shipwrecked, as Sir Arnold has told you, after condemnation of certain features by a committee of engineers in London. During the war Lord Willingdon, who was then Governor of Bombay, restarted the project, and it fell to my lot as the Commissioner in Sind from 1916 onwards to push this scheme along.

I might mention with regard to the remarks of the last speaker that engineering opinion was consulted over the whole period of the last twenty-five years, and while there have been strong opponents to the building of a barrage, in the judgment of people who had no interests to serve on one side or the other, the verdict of the engineers who insisted that a barrage was an absolute necessity for the safety of the whole work carried the day.

I have mentioned that the preparation of a scheme was restarted in 1915. Plans were prepared, and finally the sanction of the Secretary of State, Mr. Edwin Montagu, was obtained between 1920 and 1923—I am not certain of the exact date. But what I want to invite your attention to is this, that there were very great difficulties and very great opposition. The Government of India was by no means enthusiastic over spending a large sum of money at a time when funds were a bit tight, and no further progress would have been made at that period had it not been for the driving energy and resolution of our Chairman, Lord Lloyd. (Applause.)

I was a member of the Government of Sir George Lloyd, as he was then, and I had charge of the portfolio of finance, so that I am speaking of matters of which I have first-hand knowledge. If this scheme had not been pushed through at that time, the Government of the Punjab would have got ahead with schemes of their own, rival schemes of irrigation from the River Indus, and they would have made vast demands on the water of the River Indus in the critical period when the supply of that river falls to its minimum figure of 30,000 cubic feet per second. The rise and fall of that river is one of the most wonderful phenomena of the world. During the peak of the inundation season that river carries 1,000,000 cubic feet per second. In the cold weather months that figure falls to 30,000 cubic feet and less, and the canals of Sind require the whole of that 30,000 cubic feet in order to enable the winter crops of the new system of canals to be irrigated.

If, therefore, the supply of those canals taking off from that Barrage is diminished in those critical months the whole irrigational and agricultural system of Sind is ruined. It is, as I said before, a matter of life and death for Sind. If that opportunity had not been seized at that critical moment by the Chairman, it is certain that Sind would never have got this modern system of irrigation at any period in the future. When, therefore, Lord Lloyd was asked by the people of Sind to give his name to this great work, I submit to your decision that the work was well named the Lloyd Barrage. (Applause.)

Later on, however, as these things happen in official life, probably through sheer ignorance or carelessness, the Government of India ignored the title of the Lloyd Barrage and called it the Sukkur Barrage, and they have adopted that name for use in the constitutional Bill which is now under preparation.

Some of us think, and I suspect the Chairman may agree with this view in his heart, that there are certain amendments which might be incorporated in this White Paper, and possibly the Joint Select Committee, if the real facts were brought to their attention, might even suggest that the name which has to be entered in the new Constitutional Act might there stand as the Lloyd Barrage Scheme and not the Sukkur Barrage Scheme. That, however, is a matter of which we know nothing as to the decision of the Joint Select Committee.

The account which Sir Arnold has given us of the astounding success of the agricultural side of the scheme exceeds all expectations of the most optimistic prophets. One object of the scheme was to relieve the recurrent unemployment of farmers and farm labourers. Before the Barrage, water was only available for irrigation for four months in the year. Now it is perennial—that is, it flows for twelve months—and this substitution of work on the fields with crops throughout the twelve months instead of the single crop of four months, which previously was the fate of Sind, that wonderful change means happiness and wealth for the whole of those simple agricultural folk. Multitudes have been relieved from penury and unemployment, and the standard of life of the whole province has been raised in a wonderful degree.

I now turn to a further aspect of the problem of the future of Sind. The Government proposes to make a separate Government in Sind, and I have represented in public that my view is that the best plan for the prosperity of Sind would be to effect an amalgamation with the Punjab, in order chiefly that the control of all the waters of the Indus and its five tributaries should be under one centralized and expert management. My reasons in detail are given in a pamphlet which I published six months ago, and which anyone interested can obtain from the Secretary of this Association.

I should like to mention that this is no sudden thought conceived for the embarrassment of the Government in regard to their White Paper scheme. The Chairman is perhaps aware that when I was Commissioner of Sind in 1918 I submitted this plan for consideration to Lord Willingdon shortly before Sir George Lloyd succeeded him as Governor of Bombay.

Far the best solution, I would again submit, is the union of Sind and the Punjab. Failing that, I would rather see Sind an Indian State than a petty province of British India, and this view is based solely on the future prospects of the welfare of the people. (Applause.)

Sir STANLEY REED said that nothing gave him greater pleasure in his work in India than to have had some small part in mobilizing public opinion in support of the completion of the Sukkur Barrage Scheme. It seemed to him that the transcendental merit of Sir Arnold Musto's work was the manner

in which he presented the project for consideration. This had been before successive Governments for three-quarters of a century. It had been bandied between India and London, confused by cranks, until the central idea was lost. Sir Arnold gathered all the threads and presented them in a report so lucid, so convincing, that, like one of Gladstone's Budget speeches, it left nothing to be said. Then there was the splendid efficiency with which this titanic work marched to completion. That he thought was largely due to the perfection of the preliminary work and the team spirit of the men who, under Sir Charlton Harrison, put their hearts as well as their brains into the enterprise.

The Barrage and the complementary canals formed the crown and glory of the work of the Bombay Public Works Department. Most of this had been done unostentatiously; all of it was good. Wherever they found the work of these distinguished engineers it stood, from Lake Karakwasla, nearly three-quarters of a century old; Lake Whiting, now expanded into the great lake at Bhatgarh; the Bhandadhara dam, which when designed was the highest in the world; and that remarkable chain of protective works which in the arid Deccan had removed the menace of devastating famine. These great services reached their fullest expression in the Sukkur Barrage and Canals. Not only was it the greatest single irrigation work in the world, but it was carried to completion within the revised estimate, on the time schedule, and the results to date had surpassed expectations, despite the disastrous fall in commodity prices. More; as the Bombay engineers had ably handled the powrah and the basket when they dug the Jamrao Canal, and the amazingly efficient contractor in their dam construction, so they had passed smoothly to the elaborate organization demanded by the steam shovel and the drag line excavator. The heroic age of engineering in India had perhaps passed. But if it had done nothing else than the Sukkur Barrage and Canals, the Bombay Public Works Department had accomplished work without parallel in India—indeed, without parallel in the world.

Sir LOUIS DANE: I should like first of all to offer my congratulations to Sir Arnold Musto and the Chairman and Sir Henry Lawrence for their courage and optimism and tenacity of purpose, which have ended in pushing this great scheme through. Everybody knows what a terrible job it is to get great irrigation schemes sanctioned and completed, and this was a particularly difficult scheme because it involved the interests of two separate provinces, Sind and the Punjab.

I am very glad indeed to hear that since the Barrage was opened the irrigation has progressed so well. I think it is better than almost anything we have achieved in the Punjab. I hope that rate of progress will continue. If it does, and if you do succeed in getting the Sindhis to grow wheat and good cotton, there is no reason why the great Sukkur Canal should not have a magnificent future.

But we always have doubts about the capacity of the Sindhis to cultivate. I remember that in 1899 we were asked to send out a number of Punjab

cultivators to develop the land in Sind, on the Jamrao Canal. They went and saw, but, unlike Cæsar, they did not conquer. A great many of them returned. I asked why they had come back. They said the only idea of cultivation the Sindhis had was to wait till the river went down and the mud cracked, and then to sow rice in the cracks. What they really did not like was, that it was a long way off, they did not understand the language, and they hoped to get land on the new canals in the Punjab. But I trust the standard of cultivation has already improved.

You will have seen from his paper that the time when this Barrage was first put seriously before the Government and people was in 1907. In 1913 it was turned down by the Secretary of State at home. That was just about the period when I was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. I realized that if the Barrage was made there would certainly be a conflict of interests between the Punjab and Sind. The project of uniting Sind to the Punjab has been discussed over and over again. It was not popular with the officers in both provinces. At one time the Sindhis said they did not want to be joined with the Punjab as it was a backward province and the Punjabis would take their best stations. The Punjabis spoke of banishment to Sind. When it was first discussed the Punjab had the frontier extending at one time up to Decca, and the Government had quite as much to do as it could manage. Later, when the frontier was taken away, the work of the Government was very much reduced. I ventilated the idea in 1909-1910 of uniting the two provinces so that the distribution of the water, which is vital for the two provinces—politics do not matter, water does—should remain under one control; otherwise there was bound to be serious trouble. I am very glad indeed to hear that Sir Henry Lawrence, an old Bombay official, has since been converted to that idea, and that Sir Arnold Musto has put it forward now.

I believe it is the real solution of the difficulties, and could have been done at that time quite easily. We had a High Court. We had plenty of money, and had become the prosperous instead of the pauper province, and Sind would have been well advised to have joined the Punjab in the year 1912.

Now you may find a great difficulty because Sind is a Muhammadan province. The Muhammadans want four Muhammadan provinces in the new Federation. You will find it very difficult to persuade them to combine with the Punjab and reduce the number. Sir Arnold Musto is perfectly right on another point. I have always viewed with the greatest mistrust the proposal to hand over irrigation to Local Governments, and certainly irrigation affecting two provinces will have to be treated by some independent central authority which can deal fairly with the claims of the two provinces.

Sir Henry has represented the Punjab as the wolf and Sind as the lamb. Had it not been for the benign British Government and Central control Sind could hardly have obtained this supply for seven million acres from the Indus. The old rule was, and it is still the rule on private canals and on the North-West Frontier, that the upstream owner takes all the water

he requires and the downstream lands have to do with what remains. The Punjab Government varied this rule in about 1876 by allowing the Sikh Phulkian States, who had no river rights, to share in the Sarhind Canal from the Sutlej. I twice had to intervene to protect the irrigation rights of Bahawalpur from that river, but the question of how far downstream owners can claim to restrict the right of owners upstream to extend their irrigation is a very difficult one. The case of Egypt and the Sudan is a good illustration, and the arguments used in that do not quite bear out the Sind contentions.

It was the Government of India that started the idea that the waters in India should be used to the greatest advantage for the benefit of all. It is a sound idea, but predicates a strong and well organized Government. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the power that controls the barrages in an irrigated country has absolute control of the whole, so it is necessary that the supreme Government should have the chief voice in the matter.

I am a personal sufferer in this matter. There was a scheme which was stopped last year to create the Bhakra Dam on the Sutlej. That was first stopped by the war. Afterwards there were differences of opinion and misapprehensions, but it was approved at last by the experts called in from America and elsewhere and Government took it up. It was a scheme I started myself. I took a great deal of trouble going over all the rivers myself to find the possible storage areas to meet the shortage of water, which I felt sure would occur as it has occurred. That scheme really would not have robbed any water from Sind at all. We have heard that the summer flow in the Indus is 1,000,000 cubic feet per second, and Sind cannot utilize one-tenth of this water from August 15 to September 15, and the resultant spread of irrigation would have benefited Sind from the seepage of that water back to the river valleys. Schemes for works for storage on the Jumna, Ravi, and Jhelum were also worked out, so that there should in future be enough water for all. At any rate, we have been told that Sind now has an ample cold weather supply.

Mr. Ayscough : I must thank Sir Arnold Musto for his address, also for the remarks passed, but I must say that I believe that Mr. Woods has given us some points that have been proved right since the Barrage was put into operation. Representatives in the Bombay Legislative Council have told us definitely that the Barrage is a failure, and that there will be less land in cultivation than there was in 1916-1917. The entire acreage of *kharif* and *rabi* cultivation will not exceed $36\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs for many years, that is the old pre-Barrage average.

The Barrage was supposed to make Sind prosperous, but the people of Sind ask, "Who is going to pay for it?" "We are overtaxed," they say, and the statement that long staple cotton can be grown with success is denied because the Barrage is closed at a most critical time when the water is most needed. The Barrage is closed not only in March, but again later in the year for a further period of three weeks.

We have heard that the White Paper suggests that Sind should be

separated from Bombay. Sind Hindus appealed that it should be left attached to Bombay. The Sukkur Barrage was supposed to stand security, but it has meant extra taxation. That cry comes from the Muslim and Hindu zamindars. In the Bombay Legislative Council on August 13, Muslim zamindars tabled a resolution to the Government (Syed Miran Mahomed Shah) appealing for 25 per cent. remission in the land assessment in the Barrage zone in Sind. Those people who have land in the non-Barrage area are practically bankrupt as they cannot compete with those who are supplied with water. This has gone on so long that a Petition has been sent to the Government of Bombay. I have a copy of that Petition in my hand now, stating that it is necessary to have a remission of taxes.

Sir ARNOLD MUSTO: Sir Montagu Webb leaves me almost speechless. He has paid me a most generous personal tribute, and I can only say that throughout the fifteen years or so that I have been acquainted with Sir Montagu and associated with him publicly in connection with the Barrage, I have never received from him anything but the greatest assistance and kindness. His constant advocacy of the Barrage project, and the assistance he gave to the Public Works Department and the Government generally over pushing through the project, was probably the greatest single factor leading to the inception of the scheme of any factor outside direct Government action.

I think Sir Montagu Webb and his very useful journal the *Daily Gazette* have been responsible for, as the Americans put it, "gingering up" Government for a good many years, and they have done a very great service to the public of Sind in helping forward the Barrage project. Sir Montagu pointed out that I had not said very much about the Barrage itself. Perhaps that was conceit on my part. I thought it was all taken for granted. The Barrage to me is always the background of everything. I am afraid I thought it was to everybody else.

Mr. Woods raised a number of points, purely technical points, which I do not think this is the right place to answer. This is not a technical society, and the points raised by Mr. Woods are highly technical. They should be discussed before an engineering society. I have tried also in the paper to avoid contentious matter and highly technical matter. As a matter of fact, Mr. Woods is incorrect in stating that no reply has been given to his criticisms in the past. There is a printed volume of replies to Mr. Woods' criticisms. I think it covers something like sixty or seventy foolscap pages of print, replying directly to every single point raised by him. I tried to give a brief résumé of the past because it was necessary to explain the future.

Sir Henry Lawrence's remarks were again very generous indeed. But I should like to associate with myself, in connection with Sir Henry's remarks and Sir Montagu Webb's remarks, the whole of my staff in the construction of the Barrage. I myself, although I may have been the directing agency on the spot, depended entirely on the very loyal and tremendously hard-working support of a very fine staff. One of my late

officers is present in this room. The dangers and anxieties of the work, pointed out by Sir Montagu Webb, fell most heavily not on the Director, myself, but on the executive officers who had to deal with the details of the protective arrangements. We did have many very anxious nights. Sir Montagu said that when all arrangements had been made, I sat down quietly and waited events. Well, perhaps I did, but the quietness was external, not internal.

Sir Stanley Reed paid a very great tribute to my work and to the work of the Public Works Department generally. I am very glad that Sir Stanley has mentioned this very great Government Service, the Public Works Department. Nothing he has said is too great a tribute to the work of a magnificent Department, a Department that has never been advertised and never advertises itself. I have had the honour to belong to it for the last twenty-seven years, and have only recently retired from it with very great regret. The works carried out by the Public Works Department in India would amaze the engineering world as well as the general public if they were only known. There are literally hundreds of immense engineering works of all descriptions, irrigation, railway and so on, scattered about hidden in the backwoods of India, which are never heard of and never have been heard of even by the engineering profession, and which would simply take the wind out of the sails of our American neighbours.

Sir Louis Dane's remarks were extremely interesting to me. There is one point on which I should like to answer him: that was his remark about the Sindhi cultivator. The Sindhi cultivator, I think, is a much abused man and always has been. He is most unfairly abused. It is true he has been a bad cultivator in the past, but I wonder how many of us, keen as we may think ourselves at our own work, if we were cultivators in their position would be good cultivators, in the conditions they have had to live under for centuries.

I have seen a keen cultivator in Sind plough his land for cotton very early in the season, have his seed ready and wait with folded hands for the river to rise and the water to flow into the canal and on to his land, hoping for an early rise of the river in order to get an early crop. The river was kind and rose. He sowed his seed early. He got another watering, and the crop grew and was six or nine inches high when the time for the next watering came. By this time the river had fallen, and the crop died. He immediately set to, ploughed up his land, and by the time he had finished ploughing the river had risen again. He gave it another watering, and the same thing happened. His crop grew again—no water. He ploughed the land a third time, sowed again, and the same thing happened. Eventually he sowed jowari very late in the season. His neighbour was not a keen cultivator. He did not bother about ploughing and sowing early. He said, "The river will probably drop." He waited till August, sowed jowari, and got just as good a crop as his neighbour. Those are heart-breaking conditions. Apart from that, of course, he can lose his whole crop by locusts and other pests.

I think that probably Sir Louis Dane will agree that the Punjabi cultivator on the old inundation canals was no better a cultivator than the Sindhi. I have seen equally dirty fields in the Punjab. I do not think there is any doubt that the Sindhi will become a good cultivator, and will not only improve the quality of his cultivation but will take advantage of every drop of water he can get.

With regard to the remarks of Mr. Ayscough, all his statements are complete news to me. I have never heard anything of most of the points he has raised.

In reply to a question of Lord Lamington, Sir Arnold said: The work is classed as productive. The latest forecast shows that ten years after completion it will pay 5½ per cent. I am not sure if there have been many new cultivators. I fancy that the present increase of cultivation has been carried out almost entirely by the existing population in Sind.

• Lord LAMINGTON: I have in the past very often brought up this question of the Sukkur Barrage in the House of Lords and elsewhere. It seemed to me much more prudent to make the canal first of all before embarking on the larger scheme of the Barrage. Secondly, it was such a gigantic work that I felt it would be desirable to have a committee of independent experts to get an unbiassed opinion of such a very big enterprise. There were many experts of repute, including the late Lord Sydenham, an engineer of high standing, who criticized the scheme.

I congratulate Sir Arnold Musto and all his coadjutors for having been successful in this stupendous work, one of the wonders of the world as regards engineering. Having been a critic, I should like to say how much I congratulate Lord Lloyd and also the engineers who shared in this work. We have had a most interesting evening, and it has been a great pleasure to have had Lord Lloyd presiding over us on this occasion.

Lord LLOYD: In the briefest manner I must just thank you very much on behalf of Sir Arnold Musto and myself for the very kind way in which you have received Lord Lamington's vote of thanks. We have had a very interesting discussion tonight and have seen many old friends here. There was one very distinguished "old Sindhi" before me, Sir James Crerar, whose voice I should like to have heard, and whose never-failing interest and affection for Sind are well known to us all. We are sorry that an old and persistent critic of the scheme, Dr. Summers, is ill and has been unable to come, but we hope Mr. Woods will convey to him our hopes that he will soon recover.

I should like to say how much I can testify to Sir Montagu Webb's assistance in forming public opinion on this matter. There are people in Government circles who have sometimes felt Sir Montagu Webb as a spur—sometimes even as a goad—but to me he was always a great tonic, and I have ever been grateful for his constant sympathy and help. Also to Sir Stanley Reed, who rightly claims to have done much to form public opinion and help us.

Lastly, may I just say to Lord Lamington, who urged that he would have liked another committee to examine the scheme before sanctioning it, that there must be some end to committees. We had had committee after committee for many decades, and if anything in this world is ever to be done, someone sometimes must face the personal responsibility of a decision. Rightly or wrongly we felt that the time had come, and I was prepared to take the responsibility of a decision.

In conclusion, but most important of all, I should like to pay my tribute to that silent service of the Bombay Public Works Department, which in the faithful discharge of great duties, apart from footlights and publicity, has produced work as noble as any which is recorded in the history of any people—for the betterment of the conditions of millions of people, who have no power to answer for themselves. That service will leave behind, whatever may be the future of India, an imperishable monument of patient, selfless, and unselfish labour for the masses of the Indian peoples.

I congratulate you, Sir Arnold and Sir Charlton Harrison, very warmly on the wonderful work you have done.

Dr. N. N. GANGULEE writes :

I recall the discussions the members of the Agricultural Commission had on the questions relating to agricultural development of the vast area under this great scheme. Sir Henry Lawrence is apprehensive of the ruin of the Barrage under the proposed political changes, but irrigation channels are like the King's Government—it must be above politics and must go on. The flow of political oratory cannot obstruct the flow of water through the Barrage.

Sir Arnold tells us about crop prospects, and says that the area under cotton, at the present rate of increase, will reach 760,000 acres in 1962. Is it not possible to speed up the extension of cotton cultivation in this area? I lay so much emphasis on this question because I believe that the success of India's agreement with Lancashire depends largely on the supply of long and medium staple cotton to Lancashire. Since the Ottawa Agreement Lancashire mills have shown real interest in Indian cotton. In 1929-30 the United Kingdom imported 270,000 bales of Indian cotton; but from April, 1933, to May, 1934, the figure went up to 426,000 bales. This growing desire for Lancashire to buy Indian cotton imposes some responsibility on the Indian Government. They must make adequate arrangement to satisfy this market. Sir Arnold does not tell us about the quality of cotton grown under the Barrage. We hope that every possible effort will be made to minimize the cultivation of multiple varieties of cotton in this area. The cultivation of one or two *selected* varieties would greatly help in organizing cotton marketing.

There is another point which is of utmost importance if the blessings of the Barrage are to reach the cultivator. It is the question of land settlement. I hope that Government will not repeat the mistakes of the past. Sir Arnold should have told us the principles that are being adopted in disposing the land. I am anxious to see the area mostly under the culti-

vating proprietor. One of the alarming symptoms of agrarian injustice is that there has been a growing increase of rent-receivers in the *Ryotwari* tracts. In the Punjab alone the number of rent-receivers has increased from 626,000 to 1,008,000 during the last decade. Similar increase is recorded in the Madras Presidency.

The Linlithgow Commission suggested three main principles for land settlement in the area to be served by the Sukkur Barrage: (1) The claims of the indigenous population should receive due consideration. (2) "The smallholders must form the backbone of any intensive system of cultivation and should be encouraged in every possible way," and it is important to insist that the smallholder must himself cultivate the land. (3) Large grants are to be made to those who can be trusted to carry on agriculture by progressive methods and who possess such public spirit as would lead them to contribute substantially to the social advancement of their small neighbours. The Commission suggested that the size of these grants should be from two to four thousand acres.

One more point. Sir Arnold has rightly told us the difficulties that lie in the path of interprovincial adjustments under the proposed Constitution. The Dow Committee hope that "some machinery" will be set up to ensure unity of policy and of action in regard to the administration of Sukkur Barrage. Even in those countries where the conditions for Federation are more favourable than those existing in India, the task of interprovincial adjustments has not been easy. In Australia the Commonwealth and the States had disputes over the waters of the River Murray. In Indian Federation there is bound to be a conflict of interests in the distribution of irrigation water. The White Paper smooths over the difficulty in the case of Sukkur Barrage by making it "a special responsibility of the Governor." Between the Governor and the future Provincial Cabinet this matter may prove to be a source of friction.

RECEPTION TO SIR JOHN ANDERSON

THE Maharaja of Burdwan gave a reception to members of the Association at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on Wednesday, October 17, 1934, to meet the Right Hon. Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, and Miss Anderson. The Maharaja, who was assisted by his son and daughter, received some 300 guests.

After refreshments had been served, Lord LAMINGTON said: We are met together under the kind auspices of the Maharaja of Burdwan, and it is a family occasion. There are many distinguished gentlemen here present this afternoon, and no doubt we shall be glad to hear a few words from them. For a third occasion the Association is honoured by the presence of the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare. With enormous pressure of business on him, he has found time to come here this afternoon. I will ask him to say a few words to this very distinguished assembly.

Sir SAMUEL HOARE: Your Excellencies, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, —We are here not to listen to a speech by the Secretary of State, but principally to do honour to a great public servant, Sir John Anderson.

I have known Sir John Anderson for a good many years. When first I made his acquaintance I was a very junior Minister, and he was a very distinguished civil servant. Being a very distinguished civil servant, it was his duty to tell the Ministers what to do. A cynic once said that it was also the duty of the Ministers not to do it, but that was not true in his case. His advice was almost invariably—indeed, I might say invariably—sound advice.

Particularly do I remember him, first of all in the difficult days after the War, and then a little time later in the difficult days of the General Strike. I am breaking no confidence when I say that it was not a little due to Sir John's energy and ability that those crises were brought not only to a satisfactory termination, but to a satisfactory termination without delay and with a large measure of good-will between the people upon both sides who had hitherto been fighting each other.

Well, when I had to make a recommendation to His Majesty to one of the highest and most responsible appointments in India, what better name could I imagine than the name of Sir John? A man of less courage and of less enterprise might well have refused that offer, however tempting it might appear to many people. There he was in Whitehall, with a great post, as much responsibility as anyone could desire, with his family and his associations around him. It needed great patriotism upon his part, in view of his great career at home, to go overseas and to start upon a new career. I am glad to say that Sir John accepted the offer. A testimony to his great work we now see around us upon every hand.

We hear that our Indian friends, no less than we here in London, have come to realize not only his energy and his ability, but also his sympathy.

I am informed—and no doubt there are many in this room tonight who from their own direct impressions can confirm my view—that he already has today a position in Bengal as high as that of any of his predecessors. (Applause.) In the face of a whole series of difficult situations, he has shown great courage, intellectual and physical, and it is not always that intellectual and physical courage are combined. Very often the people with the greatest intellectual courage have not any large share of physical courage, and conversely people with physical courage are very often deficient in intellectual courage. Both those types of courage meet together in the present Governor of Bengal. (Applause.)

Tonight we are here to congratulate him upon the success that he has achieved in the first period of his office, and to wish him even greater success for the subsequent period, to which he is returning in a few days' time. Already there are signs that public opinion is beginning to mobilize behind him in the gallant effort that he is making, not only in the cause of law and order, but also in the cause of constitutional progress. May he have every success in this last chapter of his work, to which he is now returning. He goes back to India confident that his many friends here are watching his career with the greatest satisfaction and the greatest sympathy, and we look to the most excellent results in consequence of his Governorship in Bengal itself, where I hope that his greatest claim to fame will be that he has reconciled to the people of good-will in this country a large body of people of good-will in the Province of Bengal. (Applause.)

THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN: This is an occasion to give a rousing welcome to Sir John Anderson on his well-earned holiday from India. Sir John, I think, sees for himself that the welcome that the East India Association have given him today is one which is sincere, not only from the volume of feeling, but from the number of those that are present here today.

After the encomium, so well deserved, given by Sir Samuel Hoare on the first half of his Governorship in Bengal, there does not remain much for me to say to Sir John, especially as I have been away from my Province during that first half of his administration. I am hoping, however, that at the beginning of next year I shall be near him to watch him carry on the great tradition of his office.

You know with what courage he faced the dastardly attempt that was made on him a few months back. The disease of terrorism in the body politic of Bengal goes back to the time when I entered public life in 1907, and it has grown in volume. Although some of Sir John's predecessors—I see both Lord Lytton and Sir Stanley Jackson present—had to cope with different phases of that anarchism, Sir John Anderson has had the most trying time of all. But the way that he has met and is meeting the situation calls for the thanks of all those who want to raise Bengal once more to its proper and legitimate position. (Applause.) As the senior Hindu noble of Bengal, it is to me a source of constant regret that my Province should in this respect behave so badly. But we hope that better times are coming, that the people are beginning to realize how essential it is to carry on an

administration with proper safeguards against anarchy and with proper law and order in the Province. Therefore on your behalf I wish to convey to Sir John Anderson our best wishes on his return to Bengal before very many weeks.

Sir Samuel Hoare has mentioned his intellectual and physical strength. Sir Samuel Hoare perhaps does not know that the day this incident happened His Excellency the Governor of Bengal in the evening won four rubbers of bridge, showing he had a very cool head. (Laughter and cheers.)

We wish also to convey our thanks to his charming daughter, Miss Anderson, whom I am delighted to see here. She has had a very difficult task to perform, and with such a distinguished father, with so many responsibilities on his shoulders, I can assure you that for one of her age she has done exceedingly well.

Before I sit down I wish to thank you all for having responded to my invitation, and I am particularly glad to meet so many old friends and old faces. I see over there a nobleman, a great statesman. Sometimes I am called the Aga Khan. I don't know why unless it be on account of stature and girth. (Laughter.) But I am glad to see His Highness the Aga Khan with us. That is a special pleasure, for I know it must have been some effort for him to come away from Newmarket! (Laughter.) I thank you for making this function a success, and I feel greatly honoured by your company. (Applause.)

SIR JOHN ANDERSON: When I accepted the Maharaja's very kind invitation to come here this evening, I had no intention whatever of opening my mouth except for what might be regarded as the truly legitimate purpose of such a gathering. And after the remarks to which we have just listened, from my friends the Secretary of State and the Maharaja, I feel, as I am sure you will understand, rather overwhelmed and hopelessly inadequate to the unexpected task that has been laid upon me. The Maharaja, as most of you probably already knew, is a born orator, whose platform reputation is international: and as for the Secretary of State, talking is part of his business. The Secretary of State for India, as is now well established, can say almost anything he likes.

But really, words would fail me to express my sense of appreciation of the far too kind remarks of the Secretary of State. I dare say some of you would like me to tell you exactly what I think about Bengal. Those of you who know me will not be surprised to be told that I have no intention of doing anything of the kind. I will only say this about Bengal, that, having spent rather more than half of my normal term in the Province, I have no regret at having after due deliberation accepted the Secretary of State's offer. (Applause.) It has been a task full of interest, and I believe a task well worth doing to the best of one's ability. I am glad for one reason that I have been given the opportunity of saying a few words this afternoon, because I should like most particularly to express my sense of obligation to the Maharaja, to whose generous thought this gathering owes its origin, and whose hospitality we are all enjoying.

I consider it a very great honour indeed, and one which I feel I have really done nothing to deserve, to have been invited here as the Maharaja's guest in the midst of so distinguished an assembly. (Applause.)

LORD LAMINGTON: It now only remains for me to ask you to express to the Maharaja our deep sense of gratitude for having given us the means of meeting together this afternoon in this friendly fashion. Sir John Anderson has already on his own behalf thanked the Maharaja for having given us this reception, but on behalf of us all, who have been the other unofficial guests, we desire to express our real gratitude to the Maharaja, who is Vice-President of the Association, for his kindly hospitality. There is only one fly in the ointment. I believe that in a few weeks he will be leaving these shores. We shall miss him very much, and we shall no longer have the able speeches that the Maharaja delivered in the past.

THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN: Lord Lamington,—You are the head of the organization of which I am the Vice-President, so I think we can share the thanks. And our best thanks are really due in the first place to our invaluable friend, Mr. F. H. Brown, and to Mr. Richter and Mr. King, who have worked hard to get this entertainment up. I have done my share, it is true, and I am also glad that the authorities of Grosvenor House have given us all the facilities. I am particularly pleased to find one of the Directors here, Major Black, who used to be A.D.C. to the late Sir Edward Baker in Bengal, and afterwards Private Secretary to Sir Edward Maclagan in the Punjab.

I can assure you that it has been a great pleasure for me to be your spokesman on behalf of the East India Association to get up this gathering. We have done honour to a man who has deserved much honour, and once more wish him great success in Bengal.

REFORM AND CO-OPERATION IN INDIA

BY R. S. SARMA, C.I.E., M.L.A.

(Founder and Editor of *The Whip*, Calcutta)

I AM deeply sensible of the great honour done me by the East India Association in affording me an opportunity to speak on Indian reform—a theme which has aroused prolonged controversy in both countries and on which it is imperative there should be a clear and correct understanding of the fundamental issues. I have always believed that, once a discussion is reduced to fundamental terms, the scope for misunderstanding and the occasion for divergence of opinion is correspondingly reduced to a minimum. It is in this spirit and with that objective that I propose to address myself to this question of Indo-British co-operation.

However, I stand before you today with considerable diffidence for three reasons. First, the quality of the audience gathered to hear my humble performance, and the distinguished galaxy of public men who have lectured to the East India Association bring home to me my temerity in undertaking to follow them. Secondly, where a topic has aroused so much heat it does not seem prudent for me to lead in a full-dress debate. Thirdly, we are within ten days or so of the publication of the report of the Joint Select Committee, and meanwhile silence on what it may or may not contain is golden. If, despite the disabilities I have mentioned, I have accepted the invitation to give this lecture, it is because I believe in the unifying influence of a frank exchange of ideas among people who feel and think and speak sincerely, and because a discussion on fundamentals is independent of time, or occasion, or personnel.

It would be foolish and futile to enter into a detailed discussion of the White Paper proposals. What will be before the country very shortly will be the White Paper as modified by the Joint

Parliamentary Committee. While, therefore, we cannot enter into any of the detailed proposals, we are agreed, I hope, that we should help in the creation of an atmosphere suitable for the proper reception of the Reforms Report. It is with this end in view that I venture to make an appeal first to my British friends here and then to my countrymen in India.

SEVEN INQUIRIES

I ask my British friends to ponder over certain outstanding facts. As long ago as 1917 responsible government by progressive stages was laid down as the goal of India by His Majesty's Government. Since then the Pronouncement has been emphasized and confirmed and, indeed, amplified. Under the Act of 1919 there was to be an inquiry within ten years with a view to further advance. The inquiry was held by Sir John Simon and six colleagues, who went into the whole matter in great detail and gave their conclusions in a momentous report. With them the Indian Central Committee, composed not of rabid agitators or suspect extremists, but of men of probity and administrative or legal experience, investigated the problem, examined witnesses, studied relevant documents, and presented a report.

Later there came the famous despatch of the Government of Lord Irwin (now Viscount Halifax). Then followed the Round-Table Conference, of which there were three sessions. The Joint Select Committee of both Houses was thus the seventh investigating authority, and it had the co-operation of an Indian delegation, which heard all the evidence and conferred with the Committee. This Committee was drawn from members of each of the three main parties in this country. No one in England can question the bona fides, the ability, the sincerity, or the party loyalty of any member of the Joint Select Committee.

What do all these inquiries, examinations, conferences, commissions, committees, and despatches portend? Does anyone, does Mr. Churchill himself, believe that, after all these elaborate processes lasting seven years, England can go back on her assurances or whittle down her promises? The time spirit is working in Asia as in Europe, in the tropics as in the temperate regions,

among brown as among white peoples. You cannot put back the hand of the clock. You can no more succeed in doing this than did King Canute in stemming the tide. The better part of wisdom and an enlightened sense of self-interest demand that you should realize this. With all the emphasis and earnestness I can command, I appeal to every Britisher not to play into the hands of those who would burke delay or whittle down Indian constitutional reform. Not only are they attempting the impossible; they are playing into the hands of the Indian extremists. Verily do extremes meet.

UNDER WHOSE LEAD?

If you look for a lead in this matter of Indian aspirations, I think you will find it best in Lord Willingdon and Sir Samuel Hoare. When the present Viceroy assumed charge of his high office the Indian National Congress, which is without doubt the most influential organization in my country, was in a sullen, truculent, and positively defiant mood. "We will not touch the reforms with a 100-foot pole. We will keep as far away from Councils as the high-caste Hindus keep away from the Untouchables." This was the dominant and aggressive assertion of the Congress. What is the position today? The Congress has decided to enter the Councils. This means that, whether they like the reforms or not, they will work the reforms. Since 1919 the blighting creed of non-co-operation has held the field with little intermission, but now there has arisen a nation-wide faith in co-operation through the Councils. Who has brought about this magical change? If Lord Willingdon had done nothing else, he would be entitled to rank among the greatest Viceroys of India for the marvellous transformation wrought in the Congress psychology.

As for Sir Samuel Hoare, the strongest tributes to his sincerity have been paid by his leading Indian political opponents. Firm in the principles and policies of his party, he has fought for them and interpreted them with loyalty and with imagination in their application to the greatest work of political reform which even the British Empire has ever undertaken in its history. Will you

follow his lead or that of Mr. Churchill, whose party loyalty has undergone many transmutations, and whose brilliance in speech and with pen is matched only by his amazing inconsistency? It seems to me that you cannot do better than place yourselves unreservedly in the hands of the two great Englishmen who have devoted their best thought and time in the past two or three years to the planning of reforms on a well-balanced basis.

Let me also remind you that he who gives quickly gives twice. I may add that he who gives quickly and gracefully gives a hundredfold. There has been great, if unavoidable, delay in these meandering processes of investigation and despatch writing. Waiting has made sick the heart of educated India. In God's name act speedily and act generously, and you will not be sorry. A grateful India is the best asset for the British Empire. It will once again be the brightest jewel in the British crown. A discontented India is a menace. Your reviving industries will suffer severely if popular ill-will reduces your now expanding markets in India.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

I wish to supply a corrective to the adverse effects, in the financial sphere, which the scare propaganda has been producing. Most of the apprehensions fostered on the White Paper proposals pertain to finance and trade. They relate to the amounts invested by Britishers in Indian securities, the future of Indo-British trade, and heavy increase in expenditure as a result of the reforms.

British investors, instead of losing on their Indian securities, have reaped good profits by the phenomenal appreciation of the last three years. Flaring headlines about "Surrender of India" and so forth have not availed to stem the tide of rise in Indian stocks. All competent students of public finance and money markets are convinced that the technical financial position of India is now so strong that there is a still brighter future in store for investors in Indian securities. This is the direct result of the sound and vigorous policy pursued by Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Willingdon during the last three years.

As for Indo-British trade, I need only mention the preference

given to British steel. We went to the length of halving the normal revenue duties so as to enable Britain to secure lost markets from the Continental manufacturers. The conclusion of a mutual trade pact is simple; and such a pact will work admirably in practice, as Britain and India are complementary rather than antagonistic over a range of important commodities. What is needed is good-will on either side, businesslike clarity of understanding, and a spirit of "give and take."

As for the increased financial burden imposed by the reforms, do we need many crores more by way of additional annual revenue? Sir Walter Layton has done much to solve this conundrum in his able supplementary note to the Simon Report. If we need crores of rupees for new public works the Indian capital market is ready and able to put up all the requirements. Let me assure you that it is not on the rock of finance that the reforms will be wrecked. Instead they need to be saved from disaster by political intransigence and party truculence.

BENGAL TERRORISM

I must now appeal to my own countrymen. They must realize that there are serious difficulties in the path of economic, political, and social betterment which we must tread before any schemes of reform can function successfully in the country. Our first and foremost duty is to help forward the extermination of Terrorism in Bengal and other subversive movements. The dark blight of Terrorism is the peculiar calamity of Bengal. It has tended to paralyze all wholesome activity and effort, and has undermined the very basis of the social fabric. It has made civilized life well-nigh impossible in the province, and brought thereto a great loss of reputation. A stigma of shame has been drawn across the fair name of the most important Indian Presidency, which has as its metropolis the second city in the Empire. Our city of palaces is veritably the foundation-stone of the great Indian Empire. The world-famous Clive Street is second only to Wall Street in New York and Throgmorton Street in the City of London. More than all, Calcutta is the home of a fine race of people, the Bengalis.

Today the world thinks of Bengal only as the home of Terrorism. The stain of the Black Hole of Calcutta, an almost forgotten eighteenth-century story of a period when the people lost their heads, has not only been revived, but has been extended, so that the whole of this fair province is known from America to Australia and from Russia to Mexico as India's Black Hole.

Even the extreme Nationalists admit that in the Indian Civil Service my country has had a fine body of men who have done incalculable good to India and her peoples. Even the most extreme Home Rulers agree that India will for a long time to come welcome the assistance and advice of the I.C.S.; but Bengal has repaid the debt by murdering some of the finest of them, even those who were particularly favourable to India's aspirations. The reward given by the province to those who have striven for her progress has been to shoot them, to send the weeping widows and the fatherless children back to England as sad evidences of Bengal's lack of a sense of gratitude and justice.

Action should immediately be taken to kill this movement, for to delay action will be to defeat Bengal's right to be regarded as a province which can claim equality as a self-governing community of a mighty federation in a still mightier Empire.

THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC OPINION

It has been difficult so far to break down this movement because of the lack of public sympathy with measures which the Government have been compelled to take. Firm government policy is one of the means of restricting the ramifications of the terrorist movement, but more important is sound and indignant public opinion directed against this national menace. The Government has done its part with efficiency and thoroughness. It has checked in a very marked degree the outer manifestations of crime. It is for the public to check the psychological aspect of Terrorism, but unfortunately the public has been slow to recognize this.

It is, however, gratifying that there are now definite indications of public opinion coming more and more strongly on the side of Government. Thanks to the great administrative skill, courage, and ability of Sir John Anderson, Bengal is today showing signs

of waking up and concentrating her mighty intellectual and moral power against this evil.

Sound and courageous Indian leadership is required in Bengal today to counteract this menace and to direct the energies of young men towards peaceful and useful avocations. In this connection I venture to make an appeal to the Maharaja of Burdwan, an honoured Vice-Chairman of this Association. Many of you know that after a few years of residence in this country the Maharaja is returning very soon to his estates. He is the first nobleman in Bengal, and as such is the natural leader of the people. He has held positions of trust and dignity in the province, including membership of the Executive Council, and he is held in great esteem and respect. His stay in England has widened his experience and political outlook to a degree which very few Indians can claim. Shall I be wrong in saying that it is providential that he is now returning to Bengal? Is it too much to hope that he will take the reins of leadership into his own hands and help Bengal to recover her lost reputation and restore her former glories?

The fight against Terrorism is essentially a fight in the interests of the people and not merely in the interests of Government. The essential object is to prepare the way for political progress and for a successful working of the reforms, which will not be possible while terrorists block the path.

THE COST OF BOYCOTT

Another obstacle in the way of good feeling between the two countries is the tendency among some of our peoples to boycott British goods. Shorn of political animosity, the question of trade between Great Britain and India becomes a matter of business. When politics are permitted to interfere with commerce, both sides are injured. Without being recriminatory I cannot help thinking how much more prosperous India's finance would be today if the country had not to face the appalling losses caused to business by the meddlesome politicians with their boycott plan. Apart from the enormous revenue lost by the decline in British imports resulting from the boycott policy, it is probably safe to say

that India would not now be faced with the Japanese menace, in so many lands in anything like the same degree, had the way for Japanese effort not been prepared by the persistent campaign against British manufactures. The boycott of British goods afforded an opportunity for Japan which that wide-awake nation was prompt to seize. I hope that one day some enterprising statistician will try to work out the exact cost to India of the boycott movement. Some of us in India have in the past tried to calculate how much the movement prejudiced Great Britain, but it is now being slowly impressed upon politicians that it is India which has suffered most. Happily, better sense has begun to prevail with my countrymen. Since arriving in London I have had exceptional opportunities of meeting leaders of commerce, and I have been struck by the readiness of Englishmen to promote better and more friendly co-operation between the business men of the two countries. It has been gratifying to me to find amongst these business men every confidence in the sincerity and ability of Sir Joseph Bhore and Sir James Grigg and in the measures they are adopting for the economic and financial recovery of India.

ADVANTAGES OF CO-OPERATION

Non-co-operation has led India into an arid Sahara. The Congress itself has at last come to realize this in a poignant degree. If only the political leaders of India had agreed to the round-table proposal of Lord Reading during the Prince of Wales's visit we might have had a further instalment of reforms some years ago. Things are even more inconclusive and chaotic in 1934 than they were a decade ago. The next golden opportunity missed by the Indian politicians was the Simon Commission. Some allege that the Simon Report is a more progressive document and gives to India more than does the White Paper, or than will the report of the Joint Select Committee. India has lost not only in time, but she is getting actually less in reality because of the intransigent attitude many of the politicians chose to take up. Obstruction for the last fifteen years has not brought the day of reforms nearer nor enlarged their scope. It has only postponed the coming of constitutional reform.

There is a grave warning in these facts. Further obstruction will only mean further waste of valuable time in the upbuilding of a nation. If the past has any meaning for India it is this: Give up a policy of churlish obstruction; take in good spirit what is given in good spirit; work what is given to the best of your light and understanding; and nothing can prevent your securing your full birthright in due time. India should have Dominion status sooner or later. She will have Dominion status sooner rather than later if she makes up her mind to taste the sweet fruit of co-operation.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 13, 1934, when a paper entitled "Reform and Co-operation in India" was read by Mr. R. S. Sarma, C.I.E. (Editor of *The Whip*, Calcutta). Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Viscount Goschen, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.B.E., the Maharajahdiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir James Crerar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Edward A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Miles Irving, C.I.E., and Lady Irving, the Hon. Lady Jackson, Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. H. M. Hood, C.I.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, K.-i-H., Mr. C. S. Rangaswami, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. Wilfred Hindle, Mr. B. C. Sen, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. W. A. Lee, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. V. S. Swaminathan, Dr. K. N. Sitaram, Mr. K. N. Das Gupta, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mrs. Maneklal Premchand, Mr. G. J. Ellis, Mr. W. T. Day, Mr. G. Montagu Harris, Mr. Sunder Kabadi, Mr. Leonard Matters, Rev. W. Stanton, Miss Stewart, Mr. E. M. Phillips, Mr. and Mrs. J. L. McColl, Mr. Roger Chance, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Miss C. K. Cumming, Mrs. Berry, Mr. J. Aspinall, Mr. C. E. Hardwicke, Major L. H. Corkram, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. Dawson, Mr. H. B. Edwards, Mr. F. Grubb, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

LORD LAMINGTON, in opening the proceedings, said : The cards sent round stated that Viscount Goschen would be in the chair. He is here, but has lost his voice on account of a chill. I can take his place only temporarily, as I have another meeting to attend in this building.

I am sure you will enjoy Mr. Sarma's views, which are moderately and clearly expressed. I have had the opportunity of reading his paper beforehand, and I think you may all consider yourselves very fortunate to be here this afternoon to hear him deliver it. I have two letters to read to the meeting. The Secretary of State for India has written to Lord Goschen, and General Smuts has written to Mr. Sarma.

Sir Samuel Hoare wrote : "I should have liked to come to the East India Association meeting this afternoon when Mr. Sarma is to read a paper, but I have to be at the House of Commons. The East India Association exists for the purpose of clarifying the various points of view upon Indian questions. I am sure it has done well in giving Mr. Sarma an opportunity of putting forward a point of view which is important, but which unfortunately few people have the independence and the courage to express. I am sure the meeting will be a valuable and an interesting one."

General Smuts wrote : " I am sorry, as I am leaving this country tomorrow morning, I am far too busy to be able to attend your lecture today at the East India Association. I am a great believer in freedom. I am sure that India will ultimately have her political ambitions realized, but I consider it will be good for India to have her freedom by easy stages. My message to your countrymen will be to work the reforms successfully and prepare themselves for the next stage."

The lecture was then delivered.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Malcolm Seton): I am sure I am speaking for all of you in welcoming Mr. Sarma here. We were prepared to do that because of what we knew of his public work in India. Our feeling of welcome is accentuated by the very interesting paper that he has read to us. He has, I am told by our Honorary Secretary, kept within the limits of half an hour, which is very rare. We could easily have condoned a breach of the usual practice in his case.

I should like, if I may, to express the great pleasure it gives us to see Lord Goschen here. We had hoped that he would have taken the chair, which he would have done but for the chill which has prevented his speaking. I think we shall agree that for one who has governed for five years one of the most important Presidencies of India—the Presidency from which Mr. Sarma himself comes—and also has acted as Viceroy to come here and sit in enforced silence while Indian questions are discussed is the acme of unselfishness. I should like to pretend that anything I have to say had been suggested by Lord Goschen, because he would be unable to contradict me (laughter), but there are limits to one's unconscientiousness.

I shall not attempt to cover the ground over which Mr. Sarma has passed in his most interesting paper. The vitality and the prosperity of our Association depend on keeping in touch with India, on maintaining touch with men who are actually working in India. We are therefore always particularly glad to welcome people who are taking their part in the public life of that country and who, when they visit England, will come and address us.

We feel that he has told us, apart from the very interesting expression of his own views, a great deal that is of importance. As regards Bengal, he feels—as all of us feel who are in touch with the province—the horror of the atmosphere that has existed for some years past; and he feels it as one who went to Bengal originally from another province. We realize not only the futile tragedies of the deaths of some of our own people who have been foully murdered when they have been devoting their lives to India, but also the fact that many young Bengalis, sincerely and ardently patriotic, have been perverted into the paths of terrorism, while a kind of apathy seems to have rested on the Bengali people. No one is doing more to shake up and dispel that apathy than Mr. Sarma in his newspaper *The Whip*. It is a work of real courage which we all appreciate. Therefore we appreciate the frankness with which he has spoken to us.

How many of us have wished, after talking to Indian friends, that they would come out into the open. Sometimes modesty prevents them; various considerations seem to prevent them from speaking out. Those who could

exercise so much influence on their own people for one reason or another have hesitated to speak out. Of course, there are great difficulties. If you study different countries in which government has in the last resort rested with authorities outside, you must recognize that those amongst the people of that country who are thoroughly dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs are in a difficult position. They are exceedingly sensitive about their reputation for patriotism. It is not in India alone. If you look at the revolutionary history of Italy about 1848, to say nothing of examples nearer home, you will see the same thing. They pass in silence things which they should have condemned.

We have reason to think that a better feeling is coming to Bengal. It is comforting to be able to say that today, because today Sir John Anderson is returning to his post in that country, a post the difficulties of which we all recognize. Courage and frankness, it is a mere commonplace, but still courage and frankness are the qualities needed in Indian politics if India is to make the best of future constitutional developments.

We feel—I am sure I speak for you all—that we have had a signal example of that today.

The Maharaja of BURDWAN: I think you will all agree that on the eve of the publication of the Joint Select Committee's Report one should not either foretell or say what we want for India in the new Constitution. The only thing that we should concentrate upon at the moment is that, whatever shape the reforms may take, without the goodwill of England and the co-operation of the Indians themselves, no constitution can work in India. Bearing this fact in mind, let us now examine some of the things that my friend Mr. Sarma has said in his paper.

In his appeal to Englishmen in this country and to his own countrymen he has asked for the very same thing: and I hope that he will on his return to India continue the courage and the frankness with which he has spoken during his sojourn in the British Isles. As a newspaper editor he has a great influence, and a greater opportunity to influence those who write glibly in the Press about these matters than others. I wish I could share the optimism that he has with regard to the Congress. It remains to be seen whether the desire of the Indian National Congress to enter these Councils, and the victories they are achieving in the elections to the Assembly, will mean real co-operation or whether, holding the reforms to be disappointing, they will go back to non-co-operation. The decision is for co-operation for the moment, at any rate.

Mr. Sarma has adopted the Province of Bengal for his public activities. He has made a special appeal to me in view of my impending return to Bengal to renew my public life and to try to form a party. May I point out to him that all my life my principle has been to be a non-party man. He describes me as a natural leader; I have always thought that the guiding principle of a natural leader should be that, whilst he is always on the side of law and order and good government, he should step into the breach when parties are at loggerheads. That is the principle which I have followed. I have always placed my services at the disposal of the State when it demanded

them, and used them for the public good. Now, when autumn tints have begun to appear in my life, I am not likely to change that principle and to come into the arena of party politics.

On the other hand, during my sojourn in this country and my fleeting visits to my homeland, I have realized the need for a comprehensive agricultural party. This is especially so in a province like Bengal, where agriculture is, after all, the main occupation, where the bureaucratic form of government will change to a more popular form under Ministers responsible to the Legislatures, where the revenue member will be a thing of the past, where tenancy legislation will no longer be introduced by dry-as-dust bureaucratic Indian Civil Service men. One thing must be realized in Bengal, and that is that the tenants and the landlords must combine to make an agricultural party in which the interests of both sides will be well represented. On that point I spoke very clearly when I was out in India a little over a year ago; and if on my return my services in an advisory capacity are wanted by those who represent both the landlords' and the tenants' interests in Bengal, I can assure Mr. Sarma that those services will be at their disposal. But I must tell Mr. Sarma that although there is now an awakening in Bengal to the dangers of terrorism, although there is a change of opinion, I still want to see a real change of heart in the matter. And one thing further: If there be only one party that has got any vitality in Bengal at the present moment, and it is the Congress party, it is too much to ask a natural leader or anyone else to form another party without men, as no general can lead a phantom army. Let him produce the men, let him produce moderate thinkers who will be on the side of law and order, of a stable Government, and I am sure that, whether it be myself or others, we shall then perhaps again get together a band of men who will be real moderate thinkers like some of my friends of the past. I hope, for the sake of Bengal at any rate, that such a thing will happen.

Meanwhile I should like to join with Sir Malcolm Seton in offering Mr. Sarma my congratulations on the tone of his lecture and to wish him all success and good luck on his return to India.

Mr. YUSUF ALI: There are three kinds of co-operation which are absolutely necessary if any country is to make self-government a success. One is hearty co-operation and understanding between the Government and the people; secondly, we want a cordial understanding and co-operation between the various sections of the population; and, thirdly, we want an intimate understanding and co-operation between the representatives of the people in the legislatures and those whom they represent.

I am very glad indeed to see that Mr. Sarma has laid special stress on the first form of co-operation. That is essential if any form of Government is to be carried on by the popular suffrage and through representatives elected by the people. It is for me now to stress the other two kinds, which in some ways are equally important. They are specially necessary in India, because in Indian conditions I feel that the past history of failures is mainly due to those as well as to misunderstandings between the Government and the people or between the British and the Indians.

When we think of the communal problem which occupies so large a place in Indian discussions, and which has, I think rightly, been given a great deal of prominence both in the White Paper and in the evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, we sometimes feel appalled at the state of matters even at the present day. I have very recently returned from India. Every time I go back in order to serve my country with such advice and assistance as I can give them, I find that the door to all progress is barred by the mutual suspicion and hostility of various sections of the people. Sometimes it is fomented by vested interests, sometimes by individuals for personal ends; but there is mass mentality behind it, depending on different traditions, different histories, different temperaments and modes of thought. The tragedy is that it is not growing less but more pronounced. Prospects of power accentuate such differences.

This is not the time nor place for apportioning the blame, but I would say this, that when, after the publication of the Parliamentary Report, we get down to business and discuss matters, I hope that both the Hindus and the Muslims, to mention just the two sections which constitute the vast majority of the people, will take settled facts as the starting-ground for further progress, and not eternally wrangle on first principles.

At present, in the political party to which reference has been made—the Congress—there is actual hostility to any scheme which rests upon communal electorates. A wing of the Congress is openly waging war against them. The main body of the Congress, as a matter of tactical prudence, says that it is neutral on this point, but as it rejects the White Paper scheme it obviously rejects communal electorates, which are a part of that scheme. The Hindu Mahasabha is bitterly opposing them.

There is absolute unanimity amongst the Muslim community that their existence as a political factor in India will be in danger if the separate electorates are abolished. I do not wish to discuss that question in the abstract, but I should like to say to my Hindu friends, "You cannot have complete and satisfactory self-government if both sides take up an attitude of determined intransigence."

As regards the communal electorates, a good deal could be said theoretically against them, from a purely British point of view. But they have been now part of the Constitution of India for many years, and after the most patient enquiry, both by the Simon Commission and by the proceedings preliminary and ancillary to the White Paper, it is absolutely clear that there is no hope of working any form of constitution unless we take it as a settled fact that what the great minority community is unanimously determined to have should be conceded at least in the earlier stages.

Now I come to the third form of co-operation, and in that perhaps I can appeal both to Mr. Sarma and to my friend the Maharaja of Burdwan. Mr. Sarma occupies a responsible position as the editor of a paper in Bengal. The Maharaja, I hope, is going back to India not only to be there to act in an advisory capacity if his advice is sought. I hope he will come forward boldly and not only advise, but use all his influence and all his experience to see that things get done. I know from personal observation that the Maharaja is one of the very few men who are able to command the confidence of

both communities. If I may for a moment advise him, I would suggest that he should put himself boldly forward at the head of a movement to cause greater and greater confidence to arise between the communities. Also, I hope, he will not stand aloof from the Legislatures, but take his rightful place and work in the Legislature.

Until we achieve a close contact between the electors and the members all our schemes of reform will be merely illusory. Hitherto it has not been the case that members go to their constituencies and spend very much time in educating their constituents. Education does not depend upon schools and colleges, and in the new era that is dawning for India political education will depend very much on how much contact each representative can establish with every one of his constituents. I know that is a very sore point with large constituencies, but I feel it is worth doing, and unless it is done I am quite sure that real representation will be impossible. I would therefore ask my Indian friends especially to work on the lines of the closest co-operation and understanding between the representatives and their constituencies, between the various sections of the people, between the two great races that have to work the destiny of India together, and between the Government and the people.

MR. R. A. BUTLER (Under-Secretary for India): I hope that I may be excused if on this occasion I confine myself to one topic, and that is the most important one—Mr. Sarma himself. I have had the honour of serving on the Joint Select Committee, and as I see from the notice of your next meeting the Report of that Committee is to be discussed, I should like to be excused from touching on any subjects to do with the findings of that Committee..

Mr. Sarma is the editor of a very important paper and is a very active person. He had a great deal to do with propaganda on the occasion of the previous reforms of 1919. He has come to this country at this very important juncture, and he has thrown himself into the active work of propaganda in exactly the same way as he did on a previous occasion. He has therefore been associated with the relations of India and Great Britain at two very important periods in their history, and my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for India has asked me to express to him on his behalf his regret at not being able to be present today, and his thanks for the very distinguished work which he has been doing in this country. (Applause.)

If I might just talk to one point: it has been said by Mr. Yusuf Ali that education today does not depend on schools and colleges alone. As he has said, it depends upon the work of such people as our lecturer this afternoon. Mr. Sarma has, both in private conversation with many distinguished people, some of them present in this room, and with public speeches in the Press, made a great impression in this country in his short visit, and I hope when he returns to India he will continue those two very useful pieces of work which he is doing—encouraging the spirit of co-operation, with which nobody can disagree and which is vital in the relations between our two countries, and in fighting that menace of terrorism which does so much to harm the good name of the province in which he is at present working, and to a certain extent the name of India as a whole. I therefore wish him

success in this noble endeavour when he returns to India, and thank him very much for his paper this afternoon.

MR. C. S. RANGASWAMI: Mr. Sarma has paid me an unprovoked compliment. I was almost going to say that he has launched on me an unprovoked assault. For the statement which he has made in his speech on the financial implications of the new régime is so terse, complete, and effective that there is hardly anything for me to add thereto. But I am glad to have this opportunity in the sense that since my coming over here I have noticed that all this scare propaganda has sought to create apprehensions on financial and economic grounds; but it is not the financier or the City man that is figuring in this controversy. It is the politician that is taking a part, and I can assure you that the politician knows precious little of the real financial situation today in India, or of the financial situation that will confront us in the future.

As indicating the present strength of the Indian financial position, I need only say that in the sterling area the credit of India stands only next to Great Britain itself. There is a common 5 per cent. loan maturing round about a decade hence between England, India, Australia, and South Africa, four countries which have shown considerable recovery in these days of depression. Five per cent. British 1944-54 is quoted at 121; 5 per cent. India 1942-47 is quoted at 116½; 5 per cent. Australia Commonwealth 1945-75, 115·4; and 5 per cent. South Africa 1945-75, 118. Considering that the maturity of the Indian loan is three years earlier, it should be concluded that Indian credit on the London market is next only to British funds. Its high position is based on absolutely intrinsic grounds. India is one of the few countries in the world today which have balanced their Budget. We have balanced it in spite of our Finance Members. (Laughter.) When they reduce the taxes next year the yields will be larger and they will be able to balance the Budget better.

Now as to our borrowing capacity. We have today in London a surplus of something like £40 million which we do not know what to do with. If there is any sterling loan maturing we should be in a position to pay it out of our surplus balances. So far as India itself is concerned, in the local market we are able to raise our funds on a 3 per cent. basis. The Indian capital market is in a position to supply all the capital requirements that our Government might need. As a matter of fact, the annual savings in India have a peculiar characteristic in that a portion is earmarked only for gilt-edged. There are a number of people who will put their money in gilt-edged and only gilt-edged, and my estimate of such funds is at least Rs. 20 crores per year. The capital requirements of our Government for the next five years cannot be more than what the nation is able to put up in the way of capital earmarked for gilt-edged. In that position I do not see how, in the next quinquennium, the securities of the Government of India can be anything but gilt-edged—hundred per cent. gilt, if you please.

As for our industrial securities, we cannot say that every industry is doing well. There is a remarkable coincidence that similar industries are doing well in both our countries. Steel is having a boom in England and is doing well in India. Sugar is doing well here and in India. Cement and paper

are two other industries in which there is a considerable margin of profit. So that a selective investor can hope to do very well by himself.

Let us remember that India is the one country which never talked of repudiation. That is a word unknown to the Indian character. There is a belief amongst us that if a man dies owing money he will have to be born again and work as a slave until he has paid off the debt. That is a national characteristic of India. Will that nation default? Never!

As for Britain's markets in India, Mr. Sarma has given the instance of steel; and the boom in British steel shares started after that gesture from India. If only negotiations can be conducted in a businesslike spirit, not as a political issue, but as a business proposition, I do not see why we should not give preference to the British products. India and England are supplementary; they are not antagonistic. I do not think that in the Empire itself there are two countries which fit in with each other so admirably as India and England. The possibilities of trade on a reciprocal basis are very great, but you cannot conclude such a pact when you keep talking about things which cause heat and controversy. For Heaven's sake get these things out of the way, and the conclusion of the trade pact will be the simplest thing, and it will work very well in practice.

In the course of my discussions in London, Professor Laski at one end and Sir Walter Layton at the other end tell me the one thing in which they had the least difficulty with Mr. Gandhi was as regards a reciprocal trade agreement between India and England. Even politicians could see the simplicity of the case. What is wanting is a proper spirit to conclude and work it. It rests with you to create and foster such a spirit. Will you do it? On the answer depends your future no less than ours. (Applause.)

MR. G. W. DAWSON: I do not think my worst enemy could tell me I am not sympathetic towards India, but there are one or two questions which I wish to put. In what way can an ordinary man with an ordinary mind be satisfied that the leaders of the Hindu community in India are not being hypocrites in making a demand, as they have done—they have been the most vocal of all the communities—for the introduction into the political structure of Western democratic ideas? In the social structure we know the Hindu community have always maintained an intense autocracy. The leaders have insisted on autocracy, and all down the centuries they do not appear to have given way in the slightest degree. The Dravidians are not allowed to walk in the middle of the road, their children are not allowed to attend the same schools or draw water from the same wells.

Another point that occurs to me is, in what way can it be logically proved that the descendants of the Mogul Court have any better right to govern India than the descendants of the first British to arrive on that continent?

SIR MILES IRVING: I fully agree with all that Mr. Sarma said about the wonderful work that has been done by that very great Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, in all the time of his Viceroyalty, but I do not think Mr. Sarma would like it to be thought that the improvement in Indian affairs began from precisely the time Lord Willingdon took over the affairs of State. Myself I date that improvement from the time when one felt that the worst

was over, from the time when Lord Irwin took that step of wonderful courage and got Mr. Gandhi to come to England. I think that was the bravest thing any statesman ever did. No man more took his political reputation in his hands than Lord Irwin when he took that step. From that time, when the British public saw what an impractical person Mr. Gandhi was, it seems to me things began to change.

But changes are so rapid in India that I almost feel out of date, although I only left last month. Fifteen months ago a friend of mine was talking to an extreme Congress politician. He said: "Why are you in such a hurry? What is troubling you? Take these reforms and work them, and in fifteen years you will have the whole game at your feet." "Sir," he said, "we cannot wait for fifteen years. In fifteen years the other castes will have found their strength." That is precisely what is happening.

I used to be a die-hard, and I am not in the least ashamed of it, because I believe that before 1914 the only thing possible would have been government by the intelligentsia. In the past fifteen years there is not the least doubt that the peasant has found his strength. There is not the least danger now in the Punjab that the peasant will be exploited and ill-treated by the Hindu moneylender; there is a very strong danger that the moneylending classes will be exploited by the peasant.

I asked a friend of mine, a Commissioner who had returned from a tour, why was everything in the Punjab so extraordinarily quiet. What has happened? Prices are bad, but nobody seems to be complaining. He said: "The peasant does not know very much about what the reforms are, but he has got this into his head, that the English have promised him something and they are going to keep their word, and that he is being given a fair show, and therefore he is happy." That is an extraordinary asset. I do not say that people quite understand what is implied by representative government. A young man of good family told me that he was going into politics in the Reforms and might have to be against the Government. I said: "Against what Government? You will be standing in the interests of what will probably be the majority party, and you will be the Government." And he with difficulty understood me. But it will not take long for the lesson to be learnt.

It is not a question of the peasant being exploited. He has learnt his power. The only fear is that he may use it imprudently. But I am sure he would think it a monstrous breach of faith if whatever it is we promised him we should now go back on it and go back on our word.

MR. SARMA: With regard to Mr. Dawson's questions, I was not quite clear what he exactly meant. What I understood him to ask was how any ordinary man will understand that the demand for democratic institutions in my country—all the time he was insisting upon the word Hindu as if the movement for constitutional reform was a purely Hindu movement—whether it was not for the purpose of keeping other classes down.

MR. DAWSON: No, sir.

MR. SARMA: I am sorry if I have misunderstood.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understood the question to be, how people in this

country were to understand that a civilization which was based in the past on a distinction of class would genuinely accept the democratic principles which govern the West.

Mr. DAWSON: What I said was, how could an ordinary man with an ordinary mind be satisfied of the honesty of the leaders of the Indian community in their very vocal demand for the introduction of democratic principles into the political structure when they strenuously refuse to give up the autocracy they have in the social structure?

Mr. SARMA: The social disabilities from which some of these people were suffering no longer exist. The elevation of depressed classes movement had the effect of removing these social disabilities and they no longer existed. (Cries of dissent.) If you are going to enter into a discussion on that, we shall have the spirit of acrimony. What is wanted at this moment is not to demand on the part of India any concessions more than she deserves, or on the part of Great Britain to withhold what is due to India, but to create an atmosphere of goodwill. To enter into the problems Mr. Dawson has raised naturally will lead to a controversy because Mr. Dawson wanted to create an impression that the Hindu community kept other classes down.

With regard to the Maharaja of Burdwan saying that there is no use in his becoming a leader, let me assure him public opinion is ready and waiting for a leader. He has personality and the powers of leadership, and as soon as he comes I am sure he will be able to mobilize public opinion.

I can assure Mr. Yusuf Ali all reasonable people in my country today have taken the communal award as a settled fact. There has been a split in the Congress because the majority of them have taken the view that the communal award should not be attacked.

Mr. YUSUF ALI: They have only said they will not accept it or reject it, but they want to reject the whole of the White Paper.

Mr. SARMA: There are two questions, the White Paper and the communal award. The Congress in their heart of hearts want not to reject entirely the White Paper, but to suggest changes, and they want to improve it. But there is a desire among a large community of our people to accept the communal award because it was made on the invitation of the Indian people themselves. It only remains for me to thank you most sincerely for the very patient hearing you have given me.

Lord LAMINGTON: I am sure you want to express your thanks to Mr. Sarma for having prepared and delivered his lecture. This tremendous question of the future government of India does deserve consideration from every possible point of view. We ought to hear all opinions. Today Mr. Sarma has ventilated his subject in his own way and has provoked a very useful discussion.

I now wish to convey to him our very great thanks for having taken the trouble to prepare his lecture. It has been of great interest to understand his own point of view in regard to this great question. I propose a very hearty vote of thanks to him. (Cheers.)

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE writes: I should like to associate myself with the appreciation of the several speakers of the sincerity and courage of this

address by Mr. Sarma. Everyone knows that the atmosphere in Calcutta is not favourable to free and candid speech, and a man who, as Mr. Sarma has told us, is a foreigner from Madras exposes himself to the greatest hostility when he advocates goodwill and co-operation. These sentiments are the watchword of this Association, but Mr. Sarma preaches the same doctrine in Calcutta in his paper, the very name of which is a challenge, since he has called it *The Whip*. The title appears to indicate that those who do not agree with him may expect castigation.

In Bombay our great Indian leaders have concealed their vigorous resolution under other titles. When the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale was the leader he founded the Indian Servants Society, which has done wonderful work these last forty years. When Mr. Gandhi proposed to join this society on his return from South Africa, Mr. Gokhale told his friends to accept his help but never to put him in a place of authority, as he would be a danger to the movement, and I think it is true that on the death of Mr. Gokhale the society refused to elect Mr. Gandhi to the succession and preferred Mr. Shastri. However, Mr. Gandhi took his own line of action and fulfilled Mr. Montagu's ambition that the people should be "stirred from their pathetic contentment"; I submit that he performed a miracle in teaching multitudes to stand erect and speak boldly. And this miracle deserves the approval of the British mind. It is, however, a remarkable sign of the rapid changes of opinion in India that Mr. Sarma has been able to write this paper without making any mention of Mr. Gandhi. This shows also how far apart Bombay and Calcutta sometimes find themselves.

Is Mr. Sarma able to assure us that the withdrawal of Mr. Gandhi from the National Congress and his proclaimed intention of devoting himself to work in the villages are likely to be beneficial? I wrote to Mr. Gandhi some while back inviting his co-operation in a matter on which I have spoken before now in this Association—the subject of indirect elections from the villages to the provincial councils. I had sent Mr. Gandhi a copy of my pamphlet on the White Paper, and he replies as follows: "I have carefully read your pamphlet, and there is much in it with which I am in hearty agreement. I have no difficulty about indirect election if it does not frustrate the main purpose—namely, the true reflection of the mass mind."

It is gratifying to be assured that Mr. Gandhi is in hearty agreement with anything that I have written, but what I really wanted him to do was to take some action, and that is the point where Mr. Gandhi sometimes disappoints his best friends. However, Mr. Gandhi hits the right point when he talks of requiring the true reflection of the mass mind, for that is exactly the great advantage to be gained from the system of adult suffrage and indirect elections. If we can get the elections to represent the mass mind we shall find amongst the villagers of India a very large measure of goodwill and co-operation. It is for this reason that I hope that Mr. Sarma will bring his great influence to bear and if necessary use the persuasion of his organ *The Whip* to induce the political mind of India to accept *indirect elections* as a reform which overcomes the terrible handicap of illiteracy and which offers the best road to the appeasement of strife and the friendly co-operation of all communities.

RECEPTION BY THE NEPALESE MINISTER

HIS Excellency Commanding General Sir Bahadur Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, G.B.E., the Nepalese Minister, gave a Reception to members of the Association and others at the Legation, 12a, Kensington Palace Gardens, W. 8, on Wednesday, November 7, 1934. He was assisted in receiving the guests by members of his staff and by Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood, a Vice-President of the Association. A feature of the function, at which there was most generous hospitality, was a lecture on "Living Nepal," illustrated by cinematograph films, given by Dr. Arnold A. Baké, who some time ago toured in the country for the purpose of studying the life and customs of the people. There were more than 300 ladies and gentlemen present, and they included the Secretary of State for India, the President of the Board of Education, other members of the Government, and a number of His Excellency's colleagues of the Diplomatic Corps.

Field-Marshal Sir WILLIAM BIRDWOOD presided at the lecture, and in opening the proceedings said: I am sure all of you here will wish me to express on your behalf our grateful thanks to His Excellency for the hospitality he has shown to us, the members of the East India Association, today, and for his kindness in allowing us the use of this room. (Applause.)

For myself, my old friend, I would like to thank you very sincerely for your kindness in asking me to take the chair this afternoon. That I know you have done because you realize what a very long association I have had with your people and the consequent natural admiration and affection I have for them. As a matter of fact, it is just on forty-five years ago since I first had what I shall always regard as a privilege—that of serving in close association with Gurkha soldiers on the North-West Frontier of India. Since then I am glad to think I have twice been able to do what few people have the privilege of doing, and that is visiting Nepal itself.

On the first occasion I was Military Secretary to my great and beloved chief, Lord Kitchener, at the time when His Highness the then Prime Minister, Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung, extended an invitation to him to visit Nepal. Twenty years later, when I myself occupied the position of Commander-in-Chief, the same Sir Chandra asked me very kindly to visit him, for during all those years I had kept in the very closest touch—and a very affectionate touch—with him by correspondence. I naturally accepted, but before I could accomplish my visit, to the very great loss of Nepal and the very deep regret of all his friends, Sir Chandra passed away. Knowing, as I did, the very long mourning that is observed in that country, I naturally realized that I could not again hope to visit Nepal. But his brother, Sir Bhim Shumshere Jung, who was Commander-in-Chief when I visited it in 1907, had then become Prime Minister, and he very kindly wrote and said he held me to my promise of going up there. I remember he added: "But I must tell you that I am afraid I am just about to embark on a war with Tibet. I hope that will not prevent your coming."

I had to write and say that, occupying the position I did as Commander-in-Chief in India, it must be quite impossible for me to go up there if such was going to happen, because both his enemies and mine would certainly say, if I went there, that it was a put-up job and I was going there to give him any help I could. His Highness very kindly wrote back to say he had not thought of that, but he quite realized it and would therefore not go to war till my visit was over! I wrote and told him I could not express my thanks and gratitude to him sufficiently for inconveniencing himself in such an extraordinary manner as that, but I feared, however, it would not do, because, should war start directly I had left, people would undoubtedly say that I had been up there to make arrangements to help him with ammunition and supplies generally. Meanwhile, however, peace negotiations had been pursued with success, and I was able to pay my visit to Nepal as arranged. I only wish I could tell you, but I have no words to do it, the extraordinary hospitality and the delightful reception that is given to one in that country. I know Lord Kitchener appreciated it enormously, as did I. The old-time courtesy, the kindness of every sort and description, the great hospitality, the welcome we received from everybody.

I remember one of the first incidents in that welcome, when we were the guests of His Highness at what was the British Residency when I first went there, but had become the British Legation later. We saw a great winding stream of men coming across the lawn. It was headed by about eighty men carrying a huge wooden cage. We could not think what it contained. When it was set down before us it was a great big wild live boar. That was followed by about a hundred and fifty more men carrying food and drink of all sorts and descriptions. I think the wild boar was the only bit of live bait. The rest were haunches of venison, sheep, goats, pigs, turkey, fowls, all sorts of tinned foods, and drinks of every description. Later on we were told that the size of the *dali* was intended to convey to you the idea of how long you were expected to remain as a guest. Certainly with a huge *dali* like that, my wife used to say, had it really been carried out to the full, we should have had to stay there very many months. I only mention that as a description of the hospitality which is extended to a visitor to Nepal.

As I have said, when I first visited Nepal it was during the Prime Ministership of that very great and magnificent man, Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung. I know it is generally recognized throughout Nepal, India, and in this country what a really great man Sir Chandra was and the immense amount he did for his country. You probably realize that Sir Chandra was one of the many nephews of the great Jung Bahadur, who was the Prime Minister there at the time of the great Mutiny. When that took place Sir Jung Bahadur immediately put himself at the head of his troops and brought down the Nepal Army into India and was our constant and firm ally throughout the Mutiny. What must be a record, I think, four of his nephews succeeded in turn in the Prime Ministership: Bhim Shumshere, Chandra Bhim and Jooda Shumshere Jung. Sir Bhim Shumshere was a very dear friend of mine, but I am sorry to say his rule as Prime Minister lasted a very short time, when he was succeeded by the present Prime Minister, Sir Jooda Shumshere Jung, the father of His Excellency our Minister here. (Applause).

We are fortunate in that fact that we have now got Sir Jooda as the Prime Minister, because he is, I know, following in the footsteps of his uncle, of Sir Chandra and of his other brothers. Knowing him as I do, I realize how entirely he is out to look after the best interests of Nepal and the welfare of its people. I know he is fond of riding and would probably like to be in the saddle for many hours a day, but for the sake of the country he confines himself to about an hour's riding, and the whole of the rest of the day and very often late into the night he is working away in what he considers to be the interests of his country and people. He is most anxious fully to develop Nepal and to develop it with his own efforts and with the labour of his own people.

When I first went to Khatmandu there was not one foot of railway within the territory of Nepal. Now the Nepalese light railway meets you at Raxaul on the Eastern Bengal Railway and takes you right there. Unless you know the country it is impossible to realize what that means. Roads, too, are being extended. I am sure I am right in saying that one of the things that His Excellency has very much in view is maintaining the full independence of Nepal, an independence which means isolation also, because going up there, after leaving the little railway at the foot of the hills, you find yourself with no road whatever. There is a track which goes over two ranges of mountains and through two deep valleys. That you can traverse either riding a pony or an elephant. I am sure His Excellency will arrange for either. Ladies can be carried. Otherwise there is no means of conveyance. But once you are in the valley itself you will find yourself with magnificent roads and beautiful motor-cars, all of which have been carried up in exactly the same way as the wild boar was carried.

When we were there we went to see those two very lovely old towns of Patan and Bhatgaon. In those two towns there are, I think, some of the most beautiful carvings and old buildings I have ever seen : tiers upon tiers of carvings, all the balustrades, both in stone and in wood, beautifully carved with animals and flowers. Time after time you come across a single, slender, beautifully fashioned monolith with the figure of one of the old rajahs seated on top, generally in an attitude of meditation or devotion. I wish we had a magic carpet and could fly over there for you to see what it is like.

I know His Highness in matter of reform and progress follows very keenly in the footsteps of Sir Chandra, who abolished slavery. (Applause.) When you hear of slavery your mind naturally goes to the stories you have heard of the appalling days of the slave trade in negroes in America or Africa. You think of men chained together in gangs, working under the lash, and assembled at night in the most miserable hovels with nothing but bread and water. The slavery that once existed in Nepal was very different; in fact, one might describe it as paternal. The slaves were bound by strong ties to their masters, who always treated them well, but Sir Chandra rightly decided on the policy of emancipation.

I described those towns, being so beautiful as they were; but since then that terrible earthquake took place which devastated Bihar and did such an enormous amount of damage in Nepal. I wrote to His Highness asking for details. He knew I should feel it very much, and he minimized all that had

taken place and said he felt confident he could put it right. I heard afterwards it really had been very serious.

After the earthquake funds were opened by the Viceroy and the Lord Mayor of London. They were very largely subscribed to, and many subscribers expected that there would be division among all the sufferers. When the money went out there His Highness the Maharaja refused to take a penny. He wished every penny given to the people in British India, and said he himself would be responsible for seeing that his people were properly looked after.

Just before we came in here your Excellency told me you hoped I would speak on the subject of my own association with the Gurkha as a soldier. Naturally I am only too delighted to be able to say something about that. It is many long years ago since I first came in touch with them, and I have never been sufficiently thankful for the fact that as a very young officer in India I found myself in the same cantonments with two or three Gurkha battalions and learnt the language. Later it gave me real pleasure to be able to present to Sir Chandra and Sir Bhim Shumshere in turn the sword and insignia of a British General Officer, which rank His Majesty our King had been pleased to confer on them.

I am not by any means alone in my enormous admiration and affection for the Gurkha soldiery. There are many officers here this afternoon who I know would bear me out in every word I say—but I would only refer to two of my most distinguished predecessors, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener. Lord Roberts gave a sign of what he felt for his men when H.M. the Queen raised him to the peerage and he took as one of the supporters of his arms the figure of a rifleman of the Fifth Gurkha Rifles, because that regiment had done such magnificent service for him at the storming of the Peiwar Kotal when he was commanding the army advancing into Afghanistan in 1879 to avenge the murder of Sir L. Cavagnari and his escort. He never forgot them, and I remember how delighted he was when many years later the King made him Colonel of the Fifth Gurkha Rifles.

Lord Kitchener had not the advantage that both Lord Roberts and I had of being associated with Gurkha soldiers throughout his service, because he did not come to India until he arrived as Commander-in-Chief. But he very quickly appreciated them, and I remember how delighted he was when he, too, was made Colonel of the Gurkhas, though his stature was not at all in accordance with the height of the ordinary Gurkha soldier! I equally appreciate the fact of being made Colonel of the Sixth Gurkha Rifles ten years ago. The present Maharaja for the first time has become honorary Colonel of every one of our ten Gurkha regiments. I am very glad to think that I had almost a brigade of Gurkhas serving under me in Gallipoli, where again they were just as good as you wanted them to be, facing the Turks on every possible occasion.

I remember one curious episode out there. I was going along a deep trench when I saw stretcher-bearers bringing along a wounded man. I stopped and looked at him, then I addressed him in my best Gurkhali. I saw him looking at me in a puzzled way. After a bit he said, in the most perfect English: "Sir, I have not the slightest knowledge of what language

you are addressing me in." I looked at him again and said: "You are a Gurkha, are you not?" "A Gurkha!" he said. "No, I am a Maori." In 1920, when I was out in New Zealand, I met several of the Maori chiefs and asked if they could tell me where their race originally had come from. They said they had no idea, but they had a tradition that they had come from Northern India and had found their way down to Malaya and later to the South Sea Islands and so to New Zealand.

But it is not only in war that we have such an admiration for our Gurkha soldiers, but also in peace-time they are most delightful little men. They are absolutely delightful companions in every possible way. They "click" so much better with the British soldiers than any other of our Indian troops, possibly because they are the only ones who enjoy playing Association football. I have seen a Gurkha and a Highlander walking out together in the country, each talking at the top of his voice, each with his face wreathed in smiles, and neither of them understanding a single word the other said! I have often thought that possibly when the hearts of friends are really vibrant there is no necessity to call upon vocal chords.

It is not only the men, but the women and children are so delightful. The time you see them at their best is when large parties of Gurkha soldiers are going off to their homes on their long furlough. They assemble there in great numbers, the men wearing most beautifully coloured comforters round their necks, the women often wearing very thin gold plaques, and the children like the most delightful celluloid babies you ever saw. The British officers' wives do appreciate it when they have Gurkhas looking after their little children.

From all I have said you will probably realize what an enormous asset we feel the Gurkha soldier is to us. But it is not all a case of taking and not giving, because those Gurkha soldiers come from some of the very poorest districts, districts in which the actual arrival of pay counts for an enormous lot. We certainly pay our Indian soldiers well, and the amount of pay—we have something like 20,000 Gurkhas—remitted by them, and their pensions and the pay that goes to Reservists, all means a very great deal to the country of Nepal, as I am sure His Excellency will agree.

Your Excellency, against you I have one grievance. As you know, we Britishers love to entertain our guests, visitors from abroad especially, and the form of entertainment we generally like to give is a *burra khana*. On grounds of orthodoxy, His Excellency absolutely refuses to feed with us. However, he has promised to pay me a visit at Cambridge. (Cheers.)

H.E. THE NEPALESE MINISTER, who was received with great applause, said: Field-Marshal, Your Excellencies, My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to welcome you all to what is the first considerable gathering in this Legation since its establishment a few months ago. My pleasure is increased by the presence in the chair of the Field-Marshal, and I thank him most warmly for the very kind remarks he has made, which are characteristic of his old and valued friendship with His Highness the Maharaja, with me as his representative here, and with his two predecessors in the Prime Ministership. I recall with keen gratification the visit Sir William

paid to Khatmandu when he was Commander-in-Chief in India, and I rejoice in the privilege of describing him as a fellow-General of the Nepalese Army.

It is appropriate that we should meet here under arrangements made by the East India Association, for it has existed for nearly seventy years as a non-party body to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of India by all legitimate means. To that welfare Nepal, whose territories border those of British India for 500 miles, has contributed. (Cheers.) For 120 years there have been very cordial relations between us and the British Government in India. The proofs of that cordiality are abundant. Nearly eighty years ago the renowned Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur, who framed the present Constitution and was, indeed, the maker of modern Nepal, led 10,000 of his troops down into India to aid the British cause in the Mutiny. For the first twenty-eight years of the present century that far-sighted statesman, Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung, my revered uncle, pursued the policy of internal progress and reform, side by side with the maintenance of warm friendship with the British Government.

During the Great War, indeed, Nepal made the British cause her own and did everything in her power to help forward the victory of the Allies. (Applause.) In fact, she could not have put forth more sustained effort had she been faced with the necessity to defend her own territories from invasion. Of the 200,000 fighting men she provided, 55,000 were enlisted in the regular Gurkha battalions of the Indian Army, while the rest were taken in other contingents raised for the war. The Gurkha soldier fought in almost every theatre of war, cheerfully enduring both tropical heat and the cold of Northern winters. In addition two contingents of fully equipped troops from the regular Nepalese Army were sent into India to do garrison duty. These were from time to time supplemented by drafts of about another 4,000 men to fill up gaps in their ranks. The work of organizing this military aid and raising and training these soldiers of Nepal fell to His Highness the present Maharaja in his capacity as *Jungi lat*. In spite of poor health at the time, he was unsparing of himself in the great effort to help the cause of the Allies. Contributions in money, in stores, and in arms were freely given. I mention these facts since the British public, confronted as it was by overwhelming tasks, probably could not at the time gain any clear realization of the extent of the Nepalese contribution to the vast British effort. (Cheers.)

It is no more than a natural development of British-Nepalese friendship that Nepal should now enter into direct diplomatic relations with the Court of St. James's. The purpose of His Highness the Maharaja in promoting the development has been to bind still closer the bonds of mutual helpfulness. No change of policy is intended. Indeed, we can adopt the happy phrase once employed by my friend Sir Denys Bray when asked to define the policy of the Government of India towards Nepal: "We have no policy—only friendship." (Cheers.) You can understand, therefore, how deeply I appreciate the honour and privilege of being the first Nepalese Minister in this country, though both Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur and Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung, in their respective days, paid visits to Britain as honoured guests of the British Government.

I venture to express the hope that the new departure of which I have spoken will not be without some effect in helping forward the cause of international goodwill. The distracted condition of the Western world sixteen years after the end of the Great War cannot fail to be a source of anxiety to all serious thinkers. Owing to her isolated geographical position Nepal may not be able to contribute substantially to more stable conditions, but every step towards the strengthening of international friendship is a step forward. Our sympathies are with those who are strenuously endeavouring to bring about peace and the welfare of humanity as a whole.

In spite of sharp divisions, Europe attained a unity of culture and religion issuing in a great and beneficent civilization. Her high position in the world was the result of centuries of effort, to which each of the European peoples made some contribution. If this joint effort, without the aids which modern science gives, resulted in moral and material progress, then surely such effort can be attempted again. The solution of present difficulties lies not in arsenals and in armaments, or the manipulation of the "balance of power," but in change in the outlook of those guiding the destinies of nations. They have to think, not "nationally" alone, but "internationally," holding fast to the ideal of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God. (Cheers.)

When I arrived in London to establish the Legation, Nepal was still suffering from the great calamity of the earthquake of January 15 last. I take this opportunity to say, on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja, how greatly he appreciated the messages of sympathy and inquiry received from this country, and also the desire expressed in many quarters that a portion of the Earthquake Relief Fund opened by the Lord Mayor of London should be allotted to Nepal. His Highness felt, however, that the needs of Northern Bihar were so great and pressing that no part of subscriptions raised, whether in India or this country, should be diverted therefrom, and that we in Nepal should carry our own burden. (Cheers.) I am happy to be able to inform you that from our own resources the damage is being rapidly repaired. My father informs me in a recent letter that already some 75 per cent. of the work of reconstructing the dwellings of the people and meeting the pressing needs of agriculturists in the districts has been carried out; for fortunately the rainy season did not bring serious floods or other calamities to delay restoration of normal conditions. (Applause.)

I must add a word of personal thanks for the sympathy shown to me by many present today, and others, on the severe illness of one dear to me and the subsequent bereavement which so overshadowed the earlier days of my delegation to this country. Your kindness has been a consolation, and I can say that, notwithstanding such sorrows, I have been happy in the discharge of the great and honourable responsibility placed upon me by His Highness the Maharaja. And now, with the Field-Marshal's permission, I will invite your attention to the story the distinguished lecturer, Dr. Baké, has to tell us regarding "Living Nepal."

Dr. ARNOLD A. BAKÉ said he greatly valued the honour of the invitation to speak about Nepal, where Mrs. Baké and he had the privilege of enjoying most generous hospitality for many weeks on the occasion of their tour. He continued :

Nepal is a country of 50,000 square miles, wedged in between the enormous expanses of British India to the south and Tibet to the north. This remarkable country owes its independence to the indomitable courage of its inhabitants and the wise statesmanship of its rulers.

The 50,000 square miles constitute the kingdom of Nepal; but Nepal also designates more especially the heart of the country, the city of Kathmandu, and the surrounding valley in which the ancient cities of Patan and Bhatgaon are situated, once capitals of separate kingdoms, but now for some centuries under the rule of Kathmandu. The valley is extremely fertile and contains many scores of villages, and one more old city—that of Kirtipur, on a hill some five miles south-west of Kathmandu. The Valley of Nepal, covering an area of about 200 square miles, is the cultural centre and core of the country. A visit to Nepal means a visit to Kathmandu and the valley, in the first place because of their cultural importance, and secondly because it is the only part accessible to foreigners. The rest of the country is unknown to European visitors, and is perhaps more of a *terra incognita* than Tibet.

It would be difficult to find a country where past and present are so intimately linked together, where the history of the people has developed with such flawless continuity, as in Nepal. Manners, customs, and beliefs that have been swept away elsewhere by invasions of Greek, Hun, Arab, or Western races have continued to develop and grow in Nepal, not as by artificially created conditions, but as a part and parcel of the life of the people. The value of such a living past will be easily understood, especially here in England, where many customs, dating back sometimes even to the early middle ages, are still vigorously alive, often to the envious astonishment of the other peoples of Europe.

It stands to reason that Nepal has known changes, wars and disasters, but the break in traditions and customs caused by invasions in India never has taken place in Nepal. Islam, for instance, has never penetrated thither, and where a clash has occurred in religion, as between Hinduism and Buddhism, the natural conditions of the valley have had a mellowing influence. Hinduism and Buddhism have clashed, but in the struggle they have influenced one another to a great extent. Consequently there is a large common zone where it is impossible to distinguish whether we are considering Hinduism or Buddhism. Even in the heart of Nepalese Buddhism we find things of undeniably Hindu origin, whilst in the heart of Nepalese Hinduism the leaders have been obliged to recognize the value of certain Buddhist customs and beliefs.

A legend exists of the creation of the Valley of Nepal and the origin of the most holy and ancient Buddhist sanctuary of Svayambhunath, dedicated to the Primordial, "Adi," Buddha. There seems little doubt that the legend is based on fact.

"Where the Valley of Kathmandu lies now was once an enormous lake. [See Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepal*, I., p. 330.] In the middle of this lake one of the earliest Buddhas, by name Vipacin, having seen with his mind's eye the future glory of Nepal, threw a seed of a lotus. In due time the lotus germinated, and a miraculous flower sprang into bloom, big as a cart wheel, with 10,000 golden petals, studded with diamonds on the surface and with

pearls below, and rubies in the middle. From the pistil arose a flame purer and more brilliant than the sun. That was the Primordial Buddha, the Adi Buddha, who manifested himself without symbol or emblem, in his very essence.

"The Boddhisattva Manjuçri, who lived to the north of China, knew that a spontaneous manifestation of the Primordial Buddha had taken place, and undertook the long journey to distant Nepal with a band of followers and devotees. When he had arrived at the lake, he adored the heavenly flower and made the prescribed circumambulation of the waters, keeping the object of devotion always to his right. It was then that he saw a vision of the glorious task entrusted to him. Acting accordingly, he forthwith cut the rocks to the south of the valley, where Kotwar lies now, with one stroke of his invincible sword, and thus made an outlet for the waters of the lake that rushed forth, leaving the fertile soil of the valley for cultivation by human beings."

On the spot where the root of the miraculous lotus had been the Boddhisattva Manjuçri erected a hill, on which the sanctuary of Svayambhunath stands now. The sanctuary, originally a semi-spherical relic mound or stupa, is approached from two sides. The main approach is from the south by an enormous flight of steps, recently restored by the pious generosity of a rich merchant of Kathmandu. A more roundabout way leads to the western side of the upper terrace, and has little wayside shrines and stupas all the way and some remarkable pieces of sculpture. The main stupa is adorned by the emblem of the Adi Buddha on the cube of masonry just above the semi-spherical base: wide-open eyes that seem to look out and watch over the valley. On the terrace just at the top of the stairs stands an enormous vajra, shining like gold, a donation of King Pratapa Malla, of the seventeenth century, and by its side a beautiful bell with an exquisite wrought-iron top. Both these are of local craftsmanship. Vajra and bell are the Buddhist counterparts of the Hindu linga and yoni. The vajra, originally the weapon of God Indra—namely, the lightning—stands for Buddha and the male principle. It is used by the priests during the ceremonies to ward off evil influences. The bell stands for Prajna, wisdom, and the female principle.

Just as Svayambhunath is the centre of devotion of the Buddhist population, so the temple of Pashupati, to the east of Kathmandu, is the most holy shrine of the Hindus. Both centres of worship have an importance that reaches far beyond the confines of Nepal. Svayambhunath receives homage from Tibetans, Mongolians, Kalmucks, Kirghis, Buriates, Manchus, and Chinese devotees (Sylvain Lévi, I., p. 316). Pashupati attracts worshippers from the whole of India, not only the north, but also the extreme south.

Another important centre of worship is Bodhnath, which, however, is held in special esteem by the Tibetans, who flock there in great numbers and even have a resident Lama and some minor priests.

Apart from these three holy places, there are many temples and shrines of varying importance. As a matter of fact, the life of the Nepalese, whether Hindu or Buddhist, is built on religion and is regulated by it. Devotion as well as the more exuberant utterances of life find an outlet in the different religious functions and festivities.

During the days preceding the joyous festival commemorating the birth of the popular deity Krishna, in August, one may meet in the streets of Kathmandu and the neighbouring cities and villages a man dressed up as a demon, "Lakhe," impersonating one of the monsters that were sent by Krishna's vicious uncle to destroy the child. Needless to say that the holy baby confounded them all, much in the same way as the infant Heracles killed all the monsters sent by the furious goddess Hera to destroy him.

To speak about Nepal without mentioning the army would be to omit one of the most characteristic features of the country. The ruling race, the Gurkhas, known all over the world for their prowess and military genius, organized the country on a military basis after their conquest of Kathmandu in 1768. Military service is a privilege of the members of the ruling race; those belonging to the subject race, the Nevars, are, with very few exceptions, not admitted into the army. The army is largely officered by members of the ruling family. The garrison of Kathmandu consists of regiments of various types, some of which bear no resemblance to the Gurkha type in the Indian Army. As a matter of fact, a good number of different tribes are represented amongst the soldiers one sees in Kathmandu.

A choice regiment amongst them is that of the tribe called Gurung, ethnologically and linguistically related to the Nevars, but with more pronounced Mongolian features. Their home is in the high mountains to the west of the valley. Their connection with the ruling race is of long standing. They have been courageous fighters under the banners of the Gurkha conqueror of Nepal, Prithi Narayan, and his successors up to the present day. They are a fine type of men, tall and vigorous. No man under 5 feet 6 inches is admitted into their regiments. By religion they are Buddhists of the Tibetan type under Lama priests, but when serving in the army they worship Hindu gods and turn to the Brahmins for their spiritual needs. They have dances of their own, which they perform in their villages, for instance, at harvest time. In Kathmandu, where they have none of their own women to participate, they dress a couple of men to fill their part in the dance.

Considering the importance of religion and military life in Nepal, it stands to reason that there are many occasions when they are combined. So at the feast called Indra Yatra, in September-October, in honour of the protecting deity of Kathmandu and god of war from the earliest times. The festival lasts for several days. A procession has belonged to the feast for about two centuries. In 1750 a girl, only seven years of age, proclaimed in trance that the goddess Kumari had taken possession of her. The king, refusing to acknowledge her claim, banished her, together with her family. This act was followed by calamities. To atone for his sin the king instituted the procession, in which the chosen girl was placed on a high chariot of several storeys and was given the full honours due to the goddess. Eighteen years later, on the day of this procession, Prithi Narayan captured the city by surprise, and was immediately given the divine sanction at the hands of the goddess herself, impersonated in the girl. The procession thus has a double importance for the ruling race. First as a homage to the goddess, now as then impersonated by a young girl, chosen after severe tests, and second as a commemoration of the capture of Kathmandu.

I hope I have given you at least a glimpse of this wonderful country. Nepal is interesting from every point of view—in its archæology, history, religion, social structure, economic organization, military order, architecture, both religious and secular, the applied arts, especially woodcarving, its music and folk-lore.

The wisdom of the present rulers inspires us with confidence that it will continue to be possible to keep the balance between old and new, that the genius of the country, the skill of the indigenous artists and craftsmen, and the devotion of Hindus and Buddhists will find ever-increasing possibilities for development, and that the real treasures of art and skill of the country itself will thrive by the stimulus and impetus of its wise and liberal government. (Cheers.)

LORD LAMINGTON said: I regret that owing to House of Lords business I was not able to get here in time to hear the most admirable speeches which I am told were made by His Excellency and by Sir William Birdwood. I was also sorry that I missed seeing some of the excellent screen pictures that were shown to us. I should like to congratulate the lecturer on his able address.

I imagine that, like myself, most of those present have never been at a Nepalese entertainment. We all know what a remarkable kingdom Nepal is, remarkable in its outward relations with the world at large, particularly with our Indian Empire; unique in its interior organization; and also remarkable in geographical features and the very beautiful nature of the country. We have seen something of the wonderful architecture in the views given us this afternoon.

I only now, on behalf of the East India Association, of which I have the honour to be President, wish to thank His Excellency for having provided us with such wonderful entertainment. It is the first time there has been any entertainment of this character given in London. We all appreciate very much indeed what has been done for us, and I ask you now to join me in showing our gratitude by acclamation. (Applause.)

THE REPORT OF THE INDIAN JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE

BY THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND,
P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

THE Committee whose Report forms the subject of my paper this afternoon—that is to say, the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament appointed to consider the future Government of India—came into existence on April 11, 1933. It consisted of thirty-two members—sixteen from each House—and during a considerable part of its time it was assisted by twenty-seven delegates from India, and for a short time by twelve delegates from Burma. It examined more than 120 witnesses, who between them replied to over 17,000 questions. The Secretary of State for India was himself in the witness box for nineteen days, and during that time answered nearly 6,000 questions. Between April 11, 1933, and the issue of its Report on November 22, 1934, the Committee held 159 sittings.

Command Paper 4268, more generally known as the White Paper, which was referred to the Committee for its particular consideration, was itself the outcome of no less than three Round-Table Conferences, the first of which was inaugurated by His Majesty on November 12, 1930. These conferences had been preceded in their turn by the investigations and recommendations of the Statutory Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, appointed by Royal Warrant on November 26, 1927; and by the Report of the Indian States Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler, appointed in December, 1927. I mention these facts with a view to reminding you that the consideration of the problem presented by the future Government of India has not been either hurried or superficial; on the contrary, it has been prolonged, exhaustive, and profound.

THE WHITE PAPER PLAN

Let me now come to the document which was the subject of the Committee's particular scrutiny—namely, the White Paper. No official document, I should imagine, can ever have been subjected to a more searching examination; and it would have been strange, indeed, if it had emerged from the ordeal altogether unscathed. For its underlying principles it has secured from the Committee a measure of support which must be gratifying to its authors. Let me remind you in what these principles consist. The provinces to become self-governing units, equipped with electorates, parliaments, and ministries, upon whom will rest responsibility for the good government of their territories, including that most essential function of good government, the maintenance of law and order. At the centre a Federal Legislature consisting of two Houses representative of the Indian States and the provinces of British India which will have control of policy in all federal matters, and from which will be chosen an Executive which will be responsible to it for the administration of all such matters as will lie within the federal sphere. This sphere to embrace all matters other than those to be allocated by the Constitution Act to the provinces, or reserved to the Governor-General in his discretion.

For the sake of clarity let me explain that when the Governor-General, or the Governor of a province, is referred to as acting in his discretion, what is meant is this—that the Governor-General, or the Governor, as the case may be, is lawfully acting independently of any authority in India and in responsibility to Parliament in this country. The phrase is of great significance, for it implies the presence of powers in the Governor-General and the Governors which, though latent, are none the less real—powers which, within limits clearly defined by the Constitution Act, may be exercised at any time, should occasion arise, in the sphere of self-government both at the centre and in the provinces. Over the departments of Defence, of External Affairs and of Ecclesiastical Affairs the Federal Legislature will exercise no control; they will be reserved to the Governor-General. So far, therefore, as the administration

of these departments is concerned, the Governor-General will in effect be acting at all times in his discretion. In the provinces there will be no reserved departments; but certain special responsibilities will be laid upon the Governor, as upon the Governor-General, in discharging which he will be entitled to act in his discretion.

The matters in respect of which a special responsibility will rest upon the Governor-General and the Governors are set forth in paragraph 25 of Part I. and in paragraph 70 of Part II. of the White Paper. They relate in the main to the maintenance of order, the protection of minorities and of members of the public services, the prevention of discrimination against this country in matters of commerce and industry, and, in the case of the Governor-General, to the maintenance of the financial stability and credit of India.

CHANGES PROPOSED IN THE REPORT

Such, then, is the framework of the Constitutional edifice as planned in the White Paper. It has been approved, as I have already observed, by the Joint Select Committee, and you may, perhaps, ask if the outcome of the herculean labours of the past eighteen months has been nothing more than this—that the surviving thirty-one members of the Joint Select Committee have merely said ditto to the authors of the White Paper. The answer is that this is by no means so. While the Report of the Joint Select Committee accepts the main principles of the White Paper scheme, it recommends some radical alterations in their application. These recommendations relate in the main to those matters round which controversy has chiefly raged.

Take first the alterations which we recommend in the actual structure of the Constitution. All who have had experience of the working of the Constitution in India since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms will be familiar with one weakness which has made itself apparent—namely, a lack of stability on the part of the Executives. This has been due in part, at any rate, to a strongly marked tendency on the part of members of the Legislatures in India to attempt to exercise control not only over policy

which is their proper function, but over the day-to-day acts of the Executive. This tendency to magnify the importance of the Legislature at the expense of the Executive results from the fact that it is the Legislature that has hitherto offered to Indian public men the main field of political activity. It is reasonable to expect that with the measure of control and responsibility to be conferred upon Indian Ministers under the new Constitution this tendency will become less marked.

Nevertheless we consider that everything possible should be done to give increased stability to the Executive. With this in view we recommend an alteration in the form of Second Chambers proposed in the White Paper. The Chamber which we recommend will be indissoluble. Its members will be appointed for a period of nine years, one-third of whom will retire every three years. It is a not unreasonable expectation that such a Chamber, while less likely to be carried away by passing waves of political feeling, will, nevertheless, reflect more permanent changes in the political outlook of the country. We advise further that Second Chambers should be set up in Bombay and Madras as well as in Bengal, Bihar, and the United Provinces; and, differing again from the proposals of the White Paper, we advise that the power to abolish Second Chambers should be vested in Parliament here and not in the Indian Legislatures themselves.

THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

I now turn to the Constitution of the Federal Legislature at the centre. Here again, as in the case of the provinces, we recommend an indissoluble Upper House whose members will retire in rotation every three years. Members from British India will be elected by the Second Chambers of the provinces where such Chambers exist, and in the remaining provinces by electoral colleges chosen by electorates corresponding broadly to those for the Second Chambers in the bi-cameral provinces. The members from the States will be appointed by the Princes.

In the case of the Lower House we recommend an important departure from the proposals of the White Paper. We hold that in the circumstances of India—with its lack of communications, its

multiplicity of languages, its widespread illiteracy, its immense diversity in the matter of social and cultural development—the vast constituencies which would be inevitable under a system of direct election would reduce the representative system to an absurdity. We recommend, therefore, that the Lower Federal House should be constituted by a system of indirect election, the electors, so far as the representatives from British India are concerned, being in the main the members of the Lower Houses in the provinces. The Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, and the Europeans, whose representation in the provincial assemblies is necessarily small, will be elected by electoral colleges consisting of the members of their respective communities, other than those filling special interest seats for whom provision is made in Appendix II. of the White Paper, in all the provincial Lower Houses. The representatives from the States, as in the case of the Upper Chamber, will be appointed by the Princes.

There is, apart from the actual nature of the constituencies under a system of direct election, a further reason for accepting the views of the Simon Commission on this question rather than those of the authors of the White Paper. It is this. The provinces of India will be far from homogeneous. They will be sundered by the fundamental cleavage arising out of the agelong rivalry between Moslem and Hindu. In the north-west of India you will have a solid block of Moslem provinces stretching from the waters of the Arabian Sea to the highlands of Kashmir, coterminous with the independent Moslem kingdom of Afghanistan, which will on all communal questions be at issue with provinces which are predominantly Hindu in outlook.

This is only one of the factors which will exert a strong centrifugal influence upon the Federation. And in the view of many of us the fissiparous tendencies inherent in any Federation of which the provinces are component parts will be most effectively counteracted by making the provincial Legislatures the constituents of the Federation. I should have been glad if in these constituencies at least we could have escaped from the anomaly of communal electorates and have relied on the working of a system of proportional representation to secure to the various communities a

fair distribution of the seats; but circumstances have been too strong for us, and even in this case the system of communal electorates is to remain.

TRANSFER OF LAW AND ORDER

So much for the structure of the new Constitution; what of the functions and powers of the new legislative and executive bodies of which the structure will in the main consist? In the provinces they will be, subject to certain functions and powers reserved to the Governor, those which are habitually discharged by the Legislatures and the Executives under a system of parliamentary self-government. And that brings me at once to a consideration of the transfer to Indian Ministers of the department which is known compendiously as that of law and order. For reasons similar to those which led the members of the Simon Commission to their conclusion on the subject, we recommend the transfer. After all, the portfolio of law and order has already in more than one province been successfully administered by an Indian; and experience has shown that Indians are no less capable of administering the department than Englishmen.

It has to be remembered, however, that the portfolio being, under the existing Constitution, a reserved department, the member in charge, whether an Englishman or an Indian, has not been subject to the control of the Legislature, so that the circumstances of today and those of tomorrow are not altogether comparable; and to provide against the possible risk of the efficiency of the police force suffering as a result of undue interference at the hands of inexperienced Legislatures, we make certain recommendations in amplification of those contained in the White Paper. In the discharge of his special responsibility for the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of his province and for the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the public services, the Governor will be armed with wide executive, legislative, and financial powers, which will enable him to intervene effectively should occasion arise. But we wish further to secure to the Inspector-General of Police in the day to day administration of the force the same measure of control over its internal organization

and discipline as he enjoys today. And with that object in view we recommend that no alteration of the existing Police Acts or of the more important rules made under these Acts which affect the organization or discipline of the police shall be made without the

original Instruments of Instructions to Governors and any proposed alterations of them will require the assent of Parliament before they are issued, so that Parliament will retain complete control in this matter.

With these various safeguards for the efficient functioning of the police in reserve, I am satisfied that any objections which it may be thought still attach to the proposal to transfer the department of law and order are far less than those which would be inherent in any attempt to deprive a ministry, in all other respects self-governing, of responsibility for the discharge of what, all the world over, must be regarded as the most essential of all the functions of government.

POWERS OF GOVERNORS

Let us now consider for a moment the position of that most important figure in the Constitution, the Governor of the province. The duties which will devolve upon him will be of an exacting and a highly responsible nature, and I do not deny that from the first I entertained doubts whether the machinery provided under the proposals of the White Paper would prove adequate to enable him successfully to discharge them. It was clear to me that if he was to discharge his special responsibilities effectively he must be informed in advance of any action contemplated by his ministers which might call for his intervention.

Let me explain what I mean with the help of an illustration. Municipal orders relating to cow-killing might obviously affect the Governor's special responsibility for the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the province, since in many parts of India where a belief on the part of the Hindu in the sacredness of the cow is still held with passionate intensity there could be nothing more calculated to give rise to communal strife. Could the Governor count on being informed of the impending issue of such an order in time to intervene should he consider it desirable to do so? With my experience of the actual working of the Administration in India, I could easily picture circumstances in which he could not.

To provide against this possibility we recommend that it shall

be specially laid down in the Constitution Act that the rules which the Governor is authorized to make to regulate the disposal of Government business *shall* contain a provision requiring both ministers and secretaries to Government to submit to the Governor any matter under consideration in their departments which involves, or is likely to involve, any of his special responsibilities. He will thus be kept fully informed of any impending order which may require his intervention, and he will have unfettered authority to take any action, such as postponing, or withholding, the issue of the order, which he may consider that the circumstances require.

TRADE RECIPROCITY

I turn now to a subject of supreme importance both to Great Britain and India—namely, the conditions under which trade shall in future be carried on between the two countries. Our view is that each country has much to gain by fostering Anglo-Indian trade, and we regard as of excellent omen for the future the ratification by the Indian Legislature of the Ottawa Agreement on the question of inter-imperial trade, and still more the spontaneous negotiations which took place recently between representatives of the Lancashire and Bombay textile industries. So strongly do I hold the view that the greatest and most effective safeguard for British trade is a contented India carrying on its commerce with us under conditions which minister to the self-respect of its own traders, that I venture to quote the words of our Report on this head; the relevant sentences run as follows :

“ We think that the United Kingdom and India must approach their trade problems in a spirit of reciprocity, which views the trade between the two countries as a whole. . . . The reciprocity which, as partners, they have a right to expect from each other consists in a deliberate effort to expand the whole range of their trade with each other to the fullest possible extent compatible with the interests of their own people.”

We make it clear that it is not our intention that the right of either partner to make agreements with third parties should be restricted when the circumstances make such agreements desirable :

“ The conception of reciprocity does not preclude either partner from entering into special agreements with third countries for the exchange of particular commodities where such agreements offer advantages which it

cannot obtain from the other; but the conception does imply that, when either party is considering to what extent it can offer special advantages of this kind to a third country without injustice to the other partner, it will have regard to the general range of benefits secured to it by the partnership, and not merely to the usefulness of the partnership in relation to the particular commodity under consideration at the moment."

Those are the lines on which we hope that the trade relations between the two countries will now develop. Nevertheless, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that utterances have been made in some quarters in India which have excited fears that circumstances may arise in which efforts might be made by the Indian Legislature to strike at the imports of the United Kingdom into India, not with the object of fostering Indian industries, but for the purpose of bringing political pressure to bear upon the British Government. And we think that the omission of the White Paper to make provision against such an eventuality should be made good by an addition to the special responsibilities of the Governor-General to be enumerated in the Constitution Act, and by an addition to his Instrument of Instructions defining in precise terms the scope of his responsibility in this respect.

So far as the protection of British subjects in India itself against legislative or administrative discrimination is concerned, we make recommendations which are designed to strengthen the proposals contained in the White Paper, and we recommend in particular that separate provision should be made for the case of ships and shipping. Indeed, a careful study of the paragraphs of our Report which deal with the whole question of commercial discrimination should serve to allay any fears which there may be in this country that British trade will be endangered even in the unhappy and, I hope, remote event of an avowedly hostile Government coming into power at Delhi.

THE JUDICIARY

There is another matter upon which, I am well aware, anxiety exists—namely, the position of the judiciary. We have all of us a right to be proud of the achievement which stands to the credit of Great Britain in India, in establishing the rule of law and in conferring upon India a just administration and an upright

judiciary. And it would certainly be a matter for grave concern if, as a result of the constitutional changes which we propose, the existence of these things were to be in any way imperilled. If you will consider carefully the position as it will be if our recommendations are given effect to, you will be satisfied, I think, that no such danger exists.

Let me sketch briefly the position as it will be. There will be established at the centre a Federal Court which will serve as the interpreter and guardian of the Constitution. Judges of the Federal Court will be appointed by the Crown, and their salaries will not be subject to variation without the assent of Parliament. There will be no opening for political influence here. In the provinces the High Courts will be subject to the administrative control of the Provincial Governments, as, with the single exception of the High Court of Calcutta, is the case under the existing Constitution; and fears are, I know, entertained in some quarters that this may lay them open to undesirable interference at the hands of the Legislatures. Our recommendations have been so framed as to eliminate this possibility. The Legislatures must clearly have the power to make laws touching the jurisdiction, powers and authority of the courts; and in theory, at any rate, this would enable them, if they so desired, to transfer much of the jurisdiction of the High Courts to courts of an inferior status.

It is as a matter of fact extremely unlikely that any Indian Legislature would adopt such a course; but in order that the position of the High Courts may be fully safeguarded the Governors will be directed in their Instruments of Instructions to reserve for the significance of His Majesty's pleasure any Bill which would in their opinion endanger the position of the High Courts in this respect. The actual constitution of the High Courts will be beyond the purview of the Legislatures in India; the judges will be appointed by the Crown, and their salaries, while a charge upon the revenues of the province, will not require to be voted by the Legislatures. There remains the question of the expenditure incurred by the High Courts; and here, within my own experience, the Legislatures have not always resisted a temptation to embarrass the courts by refusing particular items of supply. We

make provision against such a contingency in the future by laying it down that the amount required for the proper administration of the High Courts shall be determined by the Governor after consultation with his ministers and will not be subject to the vote of the Legislature.

The independence of the High Courts will thus be secure, and the nature and extent of the superintendence to be exercised by a High Court over the subordinate courts will be laid down in the Constitution Act itself. To secure the integrity of the personnel of the lower courts, all matters of appointment, posting, and promotion will be placed beyond the control of the Indian Legislatures. Indeed, we go so far as to recommend the adoption and enforcement of a strict rule that recommendations from, or attempts to exercise influence by, members of the Legislature in the appointment or promotion of any member of the subordinate judiciary shall be sufficient in themselves to disqualify a candidate, whatever his personal merits may be. The rule would apply in the case of such officers as Deputy Magistrates as well as in the case of the civil judiciary. So far as these latter are concerned, they will be selected for appointment by the Public Service Commissions in consultation with the High Courts, and all questions of promotion, leave, and postings will be dealt with by the High Courts. I hope that this brief sketch of the position will have relieved anxieties which may have been felt that the independence and integrity of the judiciary might suffer as a result of political influences or, indeed, interferences of any kind on the part of the Legislatures.

THE SERVICES

It is, indeed, not only the judiciary that will enjoy immunity from the risk of improper political interference. The Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police, on whose well-being and contentment depends the smooth and efficient running of the administrative machine, will be recruited as hitherto as all-India services by the Secretary of State, in whose hands control of their conditions of service will remain. Their salaries and pensions will be secured to them and will not require to be voted by the Legislatures.

The pensions payable to the families of officers, civil and military, are a charge upon moneys subscribed by the officers themselves and are, consequently, in a special category. In this case provision will be made, should the subscribers so desire, to convert existing rupee credits in India into sterling funds held in this country, so soon as possible after the Constitution Act is passed. Provision, too, will be made for securing to the European members of the services the same facilities for medical treatment which they enjoy at the present time. No cause for anxiety need, therefore, arise to prevent the continued recruitment to these services of men of the calibre which has secured for them in the past the reputation of being the finest administrative services in the world.

CENTRAL RESPONSIBILITY

I have now explained in brief outline the nature and the measure of the control which the Executives and Legislatures will exercise over the future government of the country, and I have given a rapid sketch of the powers which will be held in reserve by the Governor-General and the Governors against the possible abuse by the Executives and Legislatures of the wide range of authority which will be conceded to them. The scheme involves not only the establishment of parliamentary self-government in the various provinces of British India, but the transfer from Parliament here to a Federal Legislature at Delhi of a measure of the control which Parliament has hitherto retained in its own hands. In other words, we recommend what has come to be known in the political jargon of the day as a measure of "responsibility at the centre."

My own conviction that sound statesmanship demands this step is of no very recent date. My mind became gradually clear upon the matter in the course of prolonged discussion with the representatives of the Princes, with the delegates from British India, and with my own colleagues of the British Parliamentary delegation on the first Round-Table Conference in 1930. The conviction which I then formed was enforced by a dispassionate consideration of the difficulties in which an irresponsible Executive had found itself for some years past, even under the existing Constitution,

when confronted with a large, popular Assembly which had been given unlimited facilities for criticizing the Executive but no possibility of displacing it.

I stressed this aspect of the case and pointed to the inevitable weakness of an Executive in such circumstances in the course of a paper which I read before the East India Association in May, 1931, and I need not repeat now what I said then. But it must be obvious that difficult as is the position of an irresponsible Executive under the existing system, it would be infinitely more difficult when confronted by a Federal Assembly which was in itself a microcosm of the Legislatures of self-governing provinces. Is it conceivable in such circumstances that an irresponsible Executive at the centre would be able to exercise control of any kind over the Governments of the autonomous provinces? Would not the inevitable result of any attempt on the part of the Central Executive to force its view on the provinces be not merely to give full play to, but enormously to accentuate the centrifugal tendencies which, as I have pointed out, are inherent in the circumstances of India?

Consider also this aspect of the case. The financial conditions in India are such that the Central and Provincial Governments will have to be financed each year to a large extent out of one purse, with this result—that the irresponsible Executive at the centre would be saddled with the unpopular task of imposing taxes, a large part of the proceeds of which would be spent by provincial Governments who would be accountable to Legislatures all keenly interested in costly administrative projects for the projects themselves, but neither to the Legislatures nor, indeed, to any other authority for the extent of the taxation required to finance them. And if you tell me, as perhaps you may, that the control of the purse would give to the irresponsible Executive a hold over the autonomous Governments in the provinces, I would ask you to picture to yourselves the kind of warfare which would inevitably break out between the Central Executive on the one side and the Central Legislature representing the provinces on the other side. Could any Constitution be expected to function in the atmosphere of bitter hostility which would thus be created? The

fact of the matter is that so long as the financial situation remains as it is, the co-existence of autonomous Governments in the units of the Federation with an irresponsible Executive at the Federal Centre, would constitute an anomaly which could never be expected to work.

THE FEDERATION

So much for the position as between the Central Government and the provinces of British India. What of the relations between the Central Government and the other units of an All-India Federation—namely, the Indian States? The Princes have made it abundantly clear that they will enter an All-India Federation only if the Federal Government is in principle responsible to the Legislature. If, therefore, no measure of responsibility at the centre is conceded, the whole scheme for an All-India Federation falls to the ground, and the prospect of associating the Princes with the future government of India is indefinitely postponed, if not finally destroyed. And what, after all, are the objections to conceding to a Federal Government the measure of responsibility which we recommend in our Report? Defence, involving, of course, the control of the Army, will lie outside the control of the Federal Legislature and will be in the hands of the Governor-General; so will the conduct of external affairs. The Governor-General will be there with the wide powers of which I have spoken in reserve; and those who talk of the policy as one of abdication at the centre are surely guilty, to say the least, of using language of the wildest exaggeration.

There is, on the other hand, a very strong reason based on the universal experience of human behaviour for making Indians, where no special reasons to the contrary exist, responsible—in such matters to give a single but significant example as social legislation—for the conduct of their own affairs. That reason is this, that man—*homo sapiens* if I may refer to him in this connection by his scientific designation—acts in a responsible manner when the responsibility is his and, conversely, that he acts in an irresponsible and even in a reckless manner when responsibility is denied him. My own experience in India itself has provided me with striking illustrations of that universally established truth.

It would be easy to argue the matter at great length, but there are limits to the time at my disposal, and I would, therefore, sum up, so far as this aspect of the future Constitution is concerned, by saying that, with a Federal Executive and Legislature composed of representatives of the Princes as well as of the provinces of British India, with a Second Chamber constituted as we propose, and with the Governor-General with his reserve powers at the head of the Executive as representing the Crown, I look confidently for a far more stable and efficient Administration than could possibly be hoped for under any system which sought to set up under the roof of a single edifice a series of autonomous provinces and an irresponsible Central Executive.

RESERVED, NOT ORDINARY POWERS

In conclusion I would say one word of explanation lest by what I have said this afternoon I should have given a misleading impression of my views as to the way in which the future Constitution may be expected to work. My observations have been addressed to an English audience, and my particular object has been to endeavour to allay fears which, from some at least of the evidence which was given before the Joint Select Committee, I know are quite genuinely entertained in this country, that we are recommending too long a stride forward along the road which was first definitely and authoritatively marked out by the Declaration of August 20, 1917.

I have devoted a disproportionate amount of space to describing the reserved powers which, if brought into constant use, would clearly make a formidable inroad upon the measure of self-government which we desire the peoples of India to enjoy. These reserve powers are very real, but I would lay stress upon the fact that they are powers held *in reserve*. I do not picture them as being ordinarily exercised at all. "It is in exact proportion," to quote words which find a place in our Report, "as Indians show themselves to be . . . capable of taking and exercising responsibility . . . that both the need for safeguards and their use will disappear."

And one last word, also of explanation. When speaking of the

recommendations contained in the Report of the Joint Select Committee, I have often used the word “we.” It must not be supposed, because I have done so, that the whole of the recommendations have the support of all the members of the Committee. As the published proceedings show, some members dissent from some parts of the Report on the grounds that its recommendations go too far, other members on the grounds that they do not go far enough. Is not the moral that we may draw from these facts this—that the recommendations of the Report embody the golden mean between two extremes, and that they bear for that very reason the hall-mark of what, I think, will be generally admitted to be the peculiar genius of the British people?

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, November 26, 1934, when a paper entitled "The Report of the Indian Joint Select Committee" was read by the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Earl and Countess of Antrim, Mary Countess of Minto, the Lady Carmichael, the Lady Sydenham, the Maharaja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., and Lady Seton, Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, the Dowager Countess of Minto, Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Abdul and Lady Qadir, Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Basil Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and Lady Innes, Sir Charles Fawcett, Sir Maurice Hayward, K.C.S.I., and Lady Hayward, Sir Clement Hindley, K.C.I.E., Sir Alexander Murray, C.I.E., Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Thomas Richardson, Major-General Sir William Beynon, K.C.I.E., C.B., D.S.O., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Miles Irving, C.I.E., and Lady Irving, Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., and Lady Hartog, Sir George Godfrey, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., and Lady Wheeler, Sir Reginald Spence, Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., and Lady Barnes, the Right Hon. Sir Shadi Lal, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., and Lady O'Dwyer, Colonel Sir Cusack and Lady Walton, Lady Frances Stewart and Mrs. Stewart, Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Maynard, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Stewart Patterson, K.C.V.O., C.S.I., C.I.E., and Lady Patterson, Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Arnold Musto, C.I.E., Sir James Crerar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lady (James) Walker, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Sir Laurie Hammond, K.C.S.I., C.B.E., Sir William McKercher, Lady Campbell, Lady (Frederick) Sykes, Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., Dr. Nagendra N. Gangulee, C.I.E., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. H. K. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mrs. Briscoe, Mr. S. K. Brown, C.B., C.V.O., and Mrs. Brown, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, K.i.H., Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mr. A. C. Armstrong, C.I.E., C.B.E., Mr. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Miss F. M. Wyld, M.B.E., Mr. W. A. Cosgrave, C.I.E., Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Kenneth Keymer, Mr. J. G. Drummond, Mrs. M. Roy, Miss F. Leatherdale, Mr. C. C. Fink, Mr. and Mrs. P. S. Patuck, Mr. J. C. McCallum, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Dr. K. N. Sitaram, Mr. A. T. Penman, Mr. M. A. Jahl, Mr. R. S. Anjer, Mr. and Mrs. G. B. Coleman, Mr. A. W. Trethewy, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. Hugh Macgregor, Mr. A. H. Joyce, Mr.

G. H. Ormerod, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. Sambidananda Das, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Wilmot, Mr. R. A. Wilson, Rev. E. S. Carr, Mrs. R. M. Milward, Miss Percival-Hall, Miss Mary Sorabji, Mr. and Mrs. T. A. H. Way, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. W. Stenhouse Lamb, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Gray, Mr. J. C. Curry, Bishop Eyre Chatterton, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. Edward Villiers, Mr. and Mrs. Caryl Fiennes, Mr. S. M. Rab, Mr. and Mrs. Ford, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. Blair, Mr. J. A. Maxwell-Stirling, Mrs. Sands, Mrs. Borton, Mr. A. Preston, Miss Vincent, Mr. Wilfred Hindle, Miss Ashworth, Mr. F. Grubb, Mrs. Laurie, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Mr. S. A. Rafique, Miss Farquharson, Mrs. Hickie, Mr. R. A. Cary, Mr. Noel Hicks, Mrs. Maneklal Premchand, Mrs. Masani, Mr. V. S. Swaminathan, Brigadier-General M. F. Gage, Major L. H. Cockram, Mr. G. W. Dawson, Mr. V. E. G. Hussey, Mr. A. H. Clarke, Syed M. Sayeedulla, Mr. Robert B. Hyde, Mrs. W. H. G. Hally, Miss Blackett, Miss Stella Mead, Mr. T. E. Congdon, Colonel and Mrs. Wilkinson, Mrs. Jali, Mrs. Philip Barker, Mr. W. O. Witt, Mr. H. T. Recknell, Mr. C. Plowden, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said: It is a great honour and privilege for me to preside this afternoon when my noble friend the Marquess of Zetland is to give an address upon the Report of the Indian Joint Select Committee, of which he and I have been members in very close co-operation during a period of eighteen months—rather long and weary months—which only terminated a few weeks ago. It is also pleasant for me to feel that, knowing his views, I shall be in complete agreement with those that he will express here tonight.

There is no need for me to introduce Lord Zetland, as he and his name must be known everywhere by everybody. As Lord Ronaldshay he was known as a very distinguished traveller. As a Member of Parliament he came to India in 1912 as a member of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Public Services in India, and if I remember rightly he spent two cold winters there. Later he became the Governor of Bengal, the most difficult province in India, where by his knowledge and sympathy with Eastern peoples his administration was marked by complete success and by the affection of the people whom he governed. (Applause.)

I know of no other member of the Joint Select Committee who is more competent than Lord Zetland to address you upon this most difficult and complicated question.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure that we all appreciate and are very grateful to Lord Zetland for the very admirable address to which we have listened, explaining most clearly the provisions and purport of the Report of the Joint Select Committee.

There is just one point connected with the Report upon which I would like to say a few words. It is the question of responsibility at the centre upon which a fire of criticism has all along been directed by the opponents of the White Paper and of the Report. It appears to be their principal line

of attack. This opposition, I gather, is based on the theory that responsibility at the centre should be withheld until it is seen whether provincial self-government has proved a success. Now I do not wish to say that their attitude is unreasonable, but we have got to be practical and to look facts in the face.

Lord Zetland has explained to you with great clearness the reasons why the majority of the Joint Select Committee have embodied in the Report the principle of central responsibility. At the same time it is well to remind you that, although Parliament is in no sense committed upon this question, it cannot be denied that at the close of each of the first two Round-Table Conferences definite pledges were given, first by the Socialist and then by the National Government. These were to the effect that the view of H.M. Government was that responsibility for the government of India should be placed upon the Legislatures, central and provincial, and that with Federation the Government would be prepared to recognize the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature.

This declaration by H.M. Government was made at two of the Round-Table Conferences, at which no less than seventy-three Indian members, representing every class, caste, and creed in India, were present. These definite pledges have, in my opinion, to be redeemed. Even the Lord Chancellor, addressing this Association on January 16 of last year, made a statement in the following words: "In any future constitution of India there must be responsibility at the centre. That we have nailed to the mast." That is a very definite and important statement made by an important member of the Government.

It is a common saying abroad that an Englishman's word is as good as his bond, and it would be deplorable if occasion were given to Indians to impugn the truth of this sentiment. I would even go further in saying that, if our Government were to fail to carry out its pledges to the Indian people, our moral influence, our real source of strength in India, would be irretrievably damaged, and that all hope of securing India's co-operation in working the new Constitution would be dissipated. I personally consider the inclusion in the Constitution of a framework for responsibility at the centre as essential, and that no constitution for India without it would be workable.

It is quite clear, however, that there must be delay between the inauguration of provincial autonomy and responsibility at the centre, since there are several conditions to be fulfilled which have been accepted by the Indians, and which must take time. Some of these are:

1. The accession of the Princes to a Federation, there being no responsibility at the centre without Federation.
2. The establishment of a Reserve Bank, operating and free from political influence.
3. The budgetary position of India to be assured.
4. The provinces to be financially solvent, and
5. As provided in the White Paper, Federation is only to be brought into being by Royal Proclamation after both Houses of Parliament have presented an address to the Crown with a prayer for its promulgation.

If all these conditions are to be fulfilled, the general expectation is that

there must be a reasonable delay of some years before the inauguration of responsibility at the centre, and I hope that those who oppose the principle may be satisfied with the delay and with the provision that its introduction must be dependent on a vote of both Houses of Parliament. It is hardly to be expected, under these circumstances, that the Government would introduce a Bill in Parliament from which responsibility at the centre was excluded, and I need hardly comment on the possible repercussion in India if it were rejected by Parliament.

I, like others, had serious misgivings in connection with the White Paper, but I regard the Report as a well-reasoned and comprehensive scheme, which is in accordance with the historic tradition of this country in the progressive and political development of its dependencies, and which will, I believe, meet with the approval of moderate opinion both in this country and in India.

I will say no more, but in inviting a discussion may I remind members of a quotation from Sophocles, I believe, which says: "A short saying oft contains much wisdom"? (Applause.)

The Maharaja of BURDWAN: My first duty is to congratulate Lord Zetland on the very lucid way in which he has drawn the picture of the future India as recommended by the majority of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. We are fortunate this afternoon in having as our chairman an ex-Viceroy, whose liberal views with regard to India are well known, and I am glad to find that some of the misgivings of His Lordship have been set at rest by his working in this Committee; so he gives it his weighty support. With an ex-Viceroy in the chair and an ex-Governor of Bengal, in whose Cabinet I worked, I would have been inclined to appear as an *umidwar* for things that are missing in the Report, but instead of that I am going to appear rather as a critic with regard to one or two omissions.

One of those omissions has fortunately been rectified by Lord Hardinge when he said that the new reforms are not likely to come into full working order unless solvency of provincial coffers has been guaranteed. That is a thing which I rather missed in Lord Zetland's remarks. However much we may desire to have new provinces—and I hope the new provinces of Sind and Orissa, starting with their deficit budgets, may in the course of years become prosperous—knowing as I do the condition of Bengal, I am certain that the new Constitution would be an impossibility unless we had a reasonable surplus. (Applause.) That was one of the reasons why, when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms came in, the first Ministers were so unpopular, as they had no money to provide for what were known in those days as the nation-building departments.

The next criticism that I have to offer is in connection with the proposed Upper Houses. I am glad to know that it is proposed to make these Upper Houses, or rather their lives, permanent so far as it may be possible for human hands to make them. But I miss in the formation of these Upper Houses the stabilizing element of the representatives of the baronial houses of Agra and Oudh or Bihar or the great Zemindars of Bengal.

Only yesterday I was looking at a book by Sir William Barton, just published, called *The Princes of India*. Anyone on going through that book

will realize that it was by a mere accident that some of those who are today known as the barons, or Taluqdars of Oudh, and the great Zemindars of Bihar and Bengal, were not regarded as rulers of Indian States. It would be a great pity, a very great pity indeed, for this element not to find a right place in the Upper Houses of the provinces. (Applause.) I know it has been proposed that the Governors of the provinces should have the power to nominate. The privilege of a nomination by a Governor will not have the same value in the new councils. However much power he may possess to keep law and order or to protect minorities, the Governor will not be able to get by nomination representatives of these old houses to come and give their services. They will wish to come through some electoral college of their own. I think that the lack of some such arrangement is a very regrettable omission.

Lastly, what I wish to say is this : No one knows better than perhaps Lord Hardinge how much the Bengali has suffered since the time that he agitated against the first partition of Bengal. Being, perhaps, the largest stakeholder in Bengal, and at the same time belonging to a family which is non-Bengali in character, I can appreciate and sympathize more with the sentiments of the caste Hindu than the caste Hindus of Bengal themselves. I have no desire to bring up in my few remarks the controversial question of the communal award. I for one am prepared to accept it as it is and to work it, and I am sure others will do the same. But I only wish that the Committee, instead of making a halting recommendation or a pious wish, had stipulated that the Poona Pact must be modified for Bengal, for whereas the irritation will be there between the caste Hindu, or rather the Hindu intelligentsia, and the Muhammadans over the communal award, there is no reason for further pin-pricks at the caste Hindu and for opening the door further for friction between him and the non-caste Hindu. I sincerely hope that when legislation is brought before Parliament this question will be thrashed out.

May I, in conclusion, congratulate Lord Zetland on his excellent paper?

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER : I am very glad to be given the opportunity of saying a few words, because those of us who are critical of the White Paper and the Joint Committee's proposals often find it difficult to obtain expression for our views in influential organs of the Press. However, that is another matter.

I would like to endorse what has been said on the masterly and lucid way in which the Marquess of Zetland has presented this problem before us. We all owe him a debt of gratitude, because he has cleared up many obscurities and made the proposals, to me at least, far clearer than I had found them from many hours' perusal of the Report itself.

I think we will all agree that where the Committee has departed from the proposals of the White Paper they have considerably improved them. I will not go into details. I think the improvement is almost self-evident. My only comment on what Lord Zetland has said is that the amendments did not go far enough.

There is one significant omission. It appears in the White Paper, in the Report of the Joint Committee, and even in that very luminous and thorough

summary which Lord Zetland has presented to us. There is hardly a single sentence, as we read these proposals, how they are going to promote the welfare and advancement of the peoples of India. That is, to my mind, a fundamental omission, and in that respect I hold the Joint Committee has not carried out its instructions. In paragraph 12 of their Report they say that "the ultimate aims of British rule in India have been finally and definitely set out in the Preamble of the Act of 1919." What does that Preamble say? It says that Parliament has two duties: to further the gradual development of responsible government in India by successive stages, and also that Parliament is to be the judge of the time and the manner of each advance, because Parliament is responsible for the welfare and advancement of the peoples of India. To my mind, the Committee, like the White Paper, have concentrated on the first of those points, and the Joint Committee, like the White Paper, to my mind, have entirely ignored the second principle—the welfare of the Indian peoples.

I hold that throughout all that Report and the discussions that test has never yet been applied. All that the White Paper considers and all that the Joint Committee consider indicate that they were simply concerned with satisfying the aspirations of Indian politicians and ignoring the conditions of the Indian masses. That is to say, that wherever the two do not coincide—the aspirations of the politicians on the one hand, representing, in the words of the Committee, "but a small fraction of the vast population," the welfare of the masses on the other—the scale was always tipped down in favour of the politicians. Therefore I hold that in this enquiry the welfare of the masses has not been kept in view. Had it been kept in view we should have been saved many of the faults which vitiate the work of the Committee.

To take only one. The Committee proposes to eliminate the British element from the superior Executive, almost entirely from the Legislatures, and in time from the Services. We all know that the administration has been built up in the past and is still mainly maintained by the small British element. The White Paper proposes that that British element is to disappear from all the Services except for a time in the Indian Civil Service and the police. It is clearly laid down that for all the other Services which have made India the most progressive and civilized country in Asia—irrigation, forests, public works, education, agriculture, veterinary, etc.—the recruitment in this country is to cease. We all know what that means. The recruitment is left to Indian Ministers, who will naturally recruit from their own people. All these great departments, on which the development of India has depended, will suffer from the elimination of the British element. Is that asked for or in the interests of the Indian masses?

There is one thing for which we must all give credit to the Committee, and that is as regards the judiciary. They have handled that department thoroughly well, but even here you will notice how their attitude is deflected by the influence of the Indian politicians who were associated with them. Above all things in India it is important to maintain the status, dignity, impartiality, and efficiency of the High Courts. That has been maintained in the past by the very salutary provision that one-third of the judges of the High Court are to be recruited from the Indian Civil Service with executive

and judicial experience, one-third from men who have been called to the Bar in England or Scotland, and one-third from practitioners in India.

That system has admittedly worked well; but the White Paper does away with that provision and leaves all appointments to the discretion of the Government here and in India, thus leaving an opening for political pressure. In this respect the Committee's proposals fall short of what was expected of them, and we hope Parliament will retain the present statutory provision.

May I say how glad I was to see that the section of Socialists who dissented from the proposals of the Committee, as well as the Conservative minority, have seized the point of the welfare of the masses which the Conservative majority have ignored? Major Attlee, who was the chief Socialist representative on the Committee, writes: "Our problem was a dual one. It is necessary to satisfy as soon as possible the natural aspirations of the Indian people, but at the same time to see that as far as possible the poorer sections of the community should not be handed over to be exploited by the landlord and the capitalist." They therefore would give the workers and peasants the potentiality of using the vote to make their voices heard, though they recognize that it will be long before they learn to do so. The proposed remedy, however, is a very poor one, as for generations perhaps it leaves the masses at the mercy of those whom the Joint Select Committee would place in power. My proposal is that till the masses are able to protect themselves Parliament cannot abandon its admitted responsibility, and that responsibility can only be discharged by the maintenance of an adequate British element in the Government, the Legislatures, the judiciary, and the services.

SIR PATRICK FAGAN: I do not propose at this late hour to offer any criticisms on the immensely complex subject of which we have just listened to such an illuminating exposition. My questions refer firstly to the subject of responsibility at the centre, with which you, my lord, have dealt and which the noble lecturer has characterized as one of the crucial elements of the whole problem. I understand that the position of the Committee is that without partial central responsibility no All-India Federation is possible. My question—I think that in some respects it may be regarded as hypothetical, but I am encouraged to raise it because it has been dealt with to some extent in the Report itself—is whether the converse of that proposition is true, that without All-India Federation no central responsibility is possible.

In paragraph 33 of its Report the Committee deal with the subject, and as I understand it that converse proposition is affirmed. The purport of paragraph 37 is very much the same, except that the Committee goes on to suggest some doubt. They say that under normal financial conditions complete non-responsibility at the centre might be expected to work reasonably well, but they go on to say that "the present adverse financial conditions to some extent nullify that reasonable expectation." From that I gather that the two factors which are held to render central responsibility of the kind proposed indispensable are the fact, firstly, of All-India Federation, and, secondly, the present comparatively adverse financial conditions; and that apart from those two factors there is nothing in central responsibility which

would necessitate its preference to the proposal of the Simon Commission for complete non-responsibility at the centre.

My second question refers to the subject of pledges. I have listened with the utmost respect to what has fallen from your Lordship in reference to it. Those pledges have been outside and beyond the terms of the announcement of 1917, and also outside the provisions of the Act of 1919; and we have been told that those pledges, outside those two documents, have bound the British public and the British Parliament to do certain things. The question I want to ask is how far the Joint Select Committee recognized the existence of those pledges, and how far they found themselves bound by them in the course of their deliberations and in the making of their recommendations?

MR. J. C. FRENCH: May I ask in whose hands, in the proposed new Constitution in the provinces, will be the postings and promotions of the district magistrates—in the Governor's hands or in the Minister's hands?

THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND: The answer to the last question is that postings of members of the Indian Civil Service and the police will be subject to the approval of the Governor. He will be entitled to dissent if he thinks it desirable to do so.

With regard to the observations made by my friend the Maharaja of Burdwan, I quite agree with him that it is essential that the provinces should be solvent. Unless we rise out of the depression it will be very difficult to put the whole of the scheme of reform into operation, at any rate straight away. Certainly I agree with him entirely as to the importance of securing to Bengal a proper share of the revenues of India. It is for that reason that we recommend—and, if I may say so, I pressed very strongly for this myself—that half the export duty on jute should be allocated to the Province of Bengal.

With regard to what the Maharaja said as to the baronial houses in India, I agree with him entirely that it is of the utmost importance that we should have representatives of the great Zemindars, the Taluqdars of Oudh, and so on, particularly in the Upper Chambers, and I think with the electorate proposed for the Upper Chambers there is every prospect of our securing that. At any rate, I hope my noble friend will follow the example of the baronial house in this country and throw himself into the fray and will not refrain from using the great authority he has in the future political life of his country.

He made one remark with regard to the communal award, and particularly with regard to the Poona Pact. I and my noble friend in the chair today made a very strong effort to obtain a modification of what is known as the Poona Pact, which in my view will operate with great harshness and great unfairness, particularly in Bengal.

Then may I make this observation on what Sir Michael O'Dwyer has said? (I see he has gone.) He told us that those who opposed the White Paper scheme and the scheme of the Report of the Joint Select Committee found it sometimes almost impossible to secure publicity for their views in the influential newspapers. Am I to deduce from that that Sir Michael does not regard the *Morning Post* or the *Daily Mail* as influential organs of the Press?

There I rather differ from him. I have always regarded them as very influential organs of the Press.

Since he is not here, I will not go into his other points in detail, but I did feel inclined to ask him at the conclusion of his remarks, when he referred with such apparent enthusiasm to the views of Major Attlee, whether he would prefer the scheme which Major Attlee placed before the Joint Select Committee to the scheme which the Joint Select Committee have recommended. I should very much doubt it.

With regard to central responsibility, I was asked whether the converse of the proposition which we laid down—namely, that responsibility at the centre was essential if we were to have an All-India Federation—whether the converse of that was true—namely, if we could not have an All-India Federation we ought not to have central responsibility. As the questioner said, that is rather a hypothetical question; but you will find that point dealt with in our Report. If we were not to have an All-India Federation, I think it would be very difficult to introduce a scheme which involved responsibility at the centre; for this reason, that an Executive drawn from the provinces of British India would be responsible to a Legislature also drawn from the provinces of British India, and would deal with matters which vitally affect the Indian States, who would *ex hypothesi* not be there to have any say in the matter. I agree that in those circumstances it would be very difficult to construct a satisfactory scheme involving responsibility at the centre. But the whole of our scheme is based on the assumption that you are going to have an All-India Federation.

About the pledges, I was asked whether the Joint Select Committee were bound by the pledges which have been given by various persons at various times. I do not think we ever took those pledges into our consideration at all. We point out in the opening paragraphs of our Report that the policy of Great Britain had been authoritatively laid down by Parliament in 1917, and that the policy which was to be followed was to be found in the Preamble of the Act of 1919, which was based on the declaration of 1917. That was our sole guide so far as the direction of the policy which we are pursuing is concerned.

There was one other point raised by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He said we had paid attention to one part of the preamble, but no attention to that part which said that Parliament was to determine the stages by which the advance along the road was to be made. Of course we did not deal with that, because we were appointed by Parliament to make certain recommendations to them. Parliament still is absolutely entitled to determine whether it will accept our recommendations or whether it prefers something else. Parliament is supreme and remains supreme, and no Committee appointed by Parliament could make it otherwise. So I did not quite follow the point of that observation.

Sir Malcolm Seton reminds me that Sir Michael laid stress upon the fact that it was the welfare of the people of India which had to be kept in mind. Parliament is still the custodian. If Parliament thinks the recommendations we have made are not in the interests of the people of India, Parliament is perfectly entitled to say so, and to act accordingly.

I think those are the main points that were raised, and I should like, if I may, to thank you very much for the kindly hearing you have given me, and also the questioners for the courtesy with which they have addressed their questions to me.

LORD LAMINGTON: I think most of us who are general supporters of the White Paper feel very satisfied by the attitude of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He has been such a strong opponent of the White Paper. This afternoon his criticisms were mild, and he acknowledged that some improvements had been made by the Report of the Joint Committee. I think that is a great gain in favour of the White Paper as a whole.

We have had many occasions in this Association when we have had valuable papers and very prominent people who have delivered them, but this evening we especially appreciate the fact that Lord Zetland has given us the benefit of his knowledge and experience, and also that the occasion has been presided over by Lord Hardinge, a very distinguished ex-Viceroy of India. We have had a very interesting discussion, and on the whole I think it has been extraordinarily favourable to the proposals put forward by the Joint Committee.

With these words I ask you to show by acclamation your appreciation of the fact that Lord Zetland has addressed us and that Lord Hardinge has filled the chair. (Applause.)

FAREWELL RECEPTION TO THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN

SIR ALEXANDER AND LADY MURRAY gave a reception to members and friends of the Association at Grosvenor House on Friday, December 14, to meet the Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan (Vice-Chairman of the Council) on the eve of his return to India. There were some 250 guests.

After refreshments had been served, Sir Alexander Murray spoke of the great pleasure it gave his wife and himself to be associated with their guests in doing honour to the Maharaja of Burdwan. He added : We are all very sorry that he is going back to India, though we can quite understand the attractions that take him there. When I think of the Maharaja in Bengal, I recall the prominent part he played there when reforms were last in the air. He was then one of that brilliant band of men who did so much during the war and immediately afterwards to get the new machine working. Probably Lord Zetland can tell us more about those days than I can, and I will ask him to say something regarding the Maharaja and to propose him *bon voyage*. (Cheers.)

The MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, who was cordially received, said : It is naturally with very mixed feelings that I rise to say a few words this afternoon. My feelings are feelings of great satisfaction to think that the East India Association should be holding this gathering this afternoon in honour of the Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan. Indeed, it is very fitting that this Society should show him honour on the eve of his departure to his own country, for the Maharaja has done great service to the East India Association. (Applause.) For more than a quarter of a century he has been a member of the Association, and for nearly as long as that he has been a Vice-President of it, and more recently still he has served as Vice-Chairman of the Council. I think I am right in saying that there has been no occasion on which he has been asked to render service to the Association when he has refused to do so.

I said that my feelings were mixed. My feelings of delight at being present this afternoon to do honour to our chief guest are mingled with feelings, I was going to say almost of melancholy at the thought that he is so soon to leave us. The Maharaja has become almost an institution in this country. (Applause.) For a number of years past he has lived amongst us and has identified himself with all our interests. Now, I wonder what sort of a storehouse of memories is enshrined within the Maharaja's mind.

It is, I suppose, very nearly thirty years since, as a young man, he took what in those days was the very bold step for a man of his caste and position, of breaking away from tradition and travelling to this country to see for himself something of the life of the people, of whose administration in

India he had, of course, long been an observer. What must have been his feelings when he first broke away from these ancient traditions and embarked upon this adventure?

Since those days his experiences, of course, have been numerous. In his own country he has played a distinguished and always a valuable part in the public life of the land. He goes back now, eminently qualified to take a great part in that new era which is opening before the peoples of his country, and we look forward to seeing him playing a predominant part in bringing together, as we hope, the people of India and the people of Great Britain. (Applause.)

But it is not only in the sphere of politics that the Maharaja has played, and as we all hope will continue to play, a prominent part. He has realized the importance of bringing together the two peoples of East and West on a higher plane than that of mere politics. He has realized the importance of displaying to his own people something of the culture of the West. He has realized the equal importance of displaying to the people of this country something of the culture of his own land. He is a generous patron of the arts of his own country, and only a few days ago he was a prominent figure at the opening of that Exhibition—and I would advise anyone who has not yet visited it to do so—that Exhibition of Modern Indian Art, which shows us the lines on which the arts are developing in India at the present time.

More than that, you may, some of you, have come across an extraordinarily interesting volume written a year or two ago by the Maharaja of Burdwan, entitled *The Indian Horizon*. If any of you who have not done so will peruse that book, you will get an insight into the character of the Maharaja which you perhaps never achieved before. You will see something of his courage, of his administrative ability, and his great insight into public affairs.

Ladies and gentlemen, we all are gathered here this afternoon to wish him God-speed. We trust that the days that lie before him are going to be happy days for him and for his, and we look forward with feelings of the keenest anticipation to those visits—briefer, I am afraid, than the visits of the past, but still not too infrequent, I hope—which he will pay to this country. (Applause.) He knows that whenever he returns to pay a visit to this land, he will always receive the warmest of warm welcomes from the members of this Association. (Applause.)

THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN, who was received with hearty applause, said: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Partings are always sad, and from that point of view it is hard to bid farewell to so many friends present here this afternoon. I am very grateful to the East India Association for having given me this opportunity to meet so many friends here and to say good-bye to them. I am further gratified that my host and hostess this afternoon should have been Sir Alexander and Lady Murray. (Applause.)

When I look back upon those happy days with the Bengal Government—the happiest perhaps in my public life, associated with one for whom I have the highest esteem and greatest affection, Lord Zetland, and associated with my friends here today, Sir Henry Wheeler and Sir John Cumming—I do

not forget that during some of our stormy days in the Government that one of the big four and one of the beacon lights from the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce was my friend, my host of today. Often, after difficult and stormy days when we all went to play that elusive ball known as the golf ball at Tollygunje, we found Alexander Murray there to cheer us up. I am very grateful to Sir Alexander and Lady Murray for their hospitality to us, my son, my daughter, and myself this afternoon.

Lord Zetland has been your spokesman today. It is a great honour and privilege that he should have been so when you were entertaining me as you have done this afternoon. When I look back to the day when Lord Zetland, as Lord Ronaldshay, arrived in Calcutta on the Islington Commission, I recall that I was anxious to go and thank him for having defended me in the House of Commons when the late Mr. Keir Hardie had called me, in the course of debate, the "big, burly bully." (Laughter.) At that time Lord Hardinge and his staff were nervous of comments on the "Delhi Move," so when I went to Government House and asked to see Lord Ronaldshay, who had made a speech not too friendly towards the "Delhi Move," they seemed to think I had come to intrigue with him against that policy. Sir James Du Boulay, the then Private Secretary to the Viceroy, came down and asked me what I wanted to see Lord Ronaldshay for. After I had explained to him my purpose, I saw his Lordship, and from that day we have been good friends.

Lord Zetland has told you that I am going back to India. Many conjectures have been made as to why I am returning. A Press representative called two days ago, and wanted to know whether I had been chosen by the Secretary of State for India as the mediator between the Congress and Government. Many a wild thing has been suggested. It is only natural that when a new era is about to start in my own homeland I should take a keen interest in it and forward it. But I am going there mainly as a dutiful father, who has been here for seven and a half years, to watch over the interests of his second son, whom I am taking back to India in the hope that with the help of my esteemed friend, one of your guests, Sir Thomas Catto, he may find his feet. That is the main reason of my going back to India.

Apart from that, I may tell you this : that I have no desire for one moment to plunge myself into politics, as politics are understood in England. I have always been a non-party man in India, but if I have been in any way of service in this country to the East India Association, and through the Association to the British and the Indians, the purpose has been to bring about a better understanding and friendship between the two races. (Applause.) And I may say without exaggeration there is going to be a very great test to that friendship. When that test takes place in India, I hope that I may not be found wanting on the part of my many English friends who are present here today.

Lord Zetland mentioned to you my first visit to this country over twenty-eight years ago. I do not suppose Lord Zetland knows this fact : that I made history then by having come over from India with merely a letter from my Lieutenant-Governor, the late Sir Andrew Fraser. When I went to the

India Office, where Sir Curzon Wylie was Political A.D.C., he was horrified that neither I nor the Bengal Government had informed the India Office of my coming visit. A circular went out that in future no Indian of any position must come over to this country until the India Office had been intimated. But, as a man who has always stuck to his guns, I tenaciously held on to that one letter of Sir Andrew Fraser, and through the good offices of the late Marquis Curzon I had a most interesting and happy time, and when I left the British shores Sir Curzon Wylie and I were the greatest friends. Nobody regretted more than myself when he died at the hands of an assassin.

I would say to all of you, especially those of you who have served many years in India, that the time has come for those who cling to the fetish of efficiency, who are anxious lest that efficiency should be lowered by the enlargement of the Indian element in the Governments, when you can do a great service here and counteract much of the disservice that some retired officials in this country have been doing. Over this India question there is an attempt to try and bring about a split in the great Conservative Party, to which I belong. It would be most unfortunate if Indians thought that the Conservatives at heart were not their friends. That will be one of my interests to explain, but I certainly hope that those of you who overcome a shrinking from publicity or from entering into this controversy will pull your full weight with those who are trying to help India to go forward: for go forward she must.

After relating an amusing story of official circumlocution in the days of Lord Curzon, the Maharaja added:

I beg of you to believe in India and the Indians, and I think that when from the present régime of absolute irresponsibility in the Central Government, people get some responsibility, they are sure to play the game. (Applause.)

Before I conclude, may I say I feel rather like King Dushantya. If any of you have read the translation of *Sakuntala* by Monier Williams, you will find a beautiful story of when Dushantya was leaving Sakuntala. While his car was going away from Sakuntala, the poet has said that his body was going forward but his mind was going back; like the pennant on the top of his car, it was flying backwards against the wind. That is what I shall feel like if, according to programme, I leave Marseilles in the good ship *Kaiser-i-Hind* on January 4, and when the P. & O. pennant flutters back towards England, so will my heart and spirit. (Applause.) Although I shall go to my beloved Ind, the Kaiser of my Ind lives at Buckingham Palace in London. England is my Sakuntala with all of you dear friends in it. I thank you most cordially, and I wish you all a most cordial farewell. (Applause.)

SIR MALCOLM SETON: Our President, Lord Lamington, is unfortunately detained at the House of Lords, where I understand that legal questions of great constitutional importance are being discussed with some vigour. I know how much he will regret having missed this meeting. But before we depart I am sure you will authorize me to speak on your behalf and to ex-

press our thanks, the thanks of the Association, to Sir Alexander and Lady Murray for the delightful hospitality they have shown us.

Before I pursue that theme, perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words about my friend, the Maharaja of Burdwan. It would be presumptuous of me to attempt to emulate what Lord Zetland has said with such felicity. We in this Association are most grateful to him, as Lord Zetland has said. I have been for a very short time on the Council, but long enough to appreciate what a loss we suffer when he goes back to India. He will know that he carries with him the affection of all members of the Association.

If I may turn to a reminiscent vein, it is now seventeen years since I first had the pleasure of meeting the Maharaja. I knew him already well by name, but when I was privileged to be Lord Ronaldshay's guest in Calcutta I met the Maharaja for the first time and enjoyed his hospitality. I think I may say our friendship has dated from that time, a friendship which has meant a very great deal to me, as to all of us who are privileged to know him. We are really touched and affected by what he has said, and we do appreciate it. We appreciate it very warmly, and our heartiest good wishes go with him. We shall hope to see him back often. We know that he will do good work for India wherever he is, and we repose great hopes in the efforts he is going to make.

Sir Alexander Murray embodies one of the happiest examples of the long-standing association between Scotland and Bengal, which has benefited both countries so much. I remember dining at Government House in Calcutta seventeen years ago, and I really thought myself back in Scotland! (Laughter.) In this connection I am sure Lord Zetland will not mind my telling you a little story about him, which I do not think he knows that I know. He was engaged in one of those attempts to recruit indentured labour, or in other words to persuade University students to go out and serve in India, and visited Glasgow University. He was speaking of Calcutta with affection and described it as the second city of the Empire. A howl of indignation from the Glasgow students, which turned to frantic applause when Lord Zetland said, "But, gentlemen, I never said that Glasgow was not the first!"

I am sure Lord Lamington very much regrets that he is not here to express better than I can the thanks of our Association to Sir Alexander and Lady Murray. They have given us a most delightful afternoon, and we are really grateful for it.

THE THOUGHTS OF A PROGRESSIVE INDIAN RULER

BY SIR STUART FRASER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

THIS volume* contains a selection from speeches delivered by H.H. Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, Maharaja of Mysore, between 1902, the year in which he was invested with his powers at the early age of eighteen, and 1933, six years after he celebrated the Silver Jubilee of his reign. The book was printed and issued in Mysore. But the light which it throws upon this important Indian State and the character of its Ruler should interest a wider public now that federation of the States with the British Indian provinces has become a question of the hour, as the ultimate constitution of "All-India."

The Native States of India differ from one another in their methods of government as in the personalities of their rulers. No one of them can be represented as typical of the rest, and Mysore, it will be understood, is not a type. Popularly it has long been termed the "model" State, and some idea of the reasons why it has been thus distinguished may be gathered from perusal of this book and the inferences it suggests regarding both the development of the State and the equipment, moral and mental, of its responsible Ruler.

The Maharaja of Mysore is not one of the Indian Princes whom visits to England have made familiar to the British public. In India there is no member of his Order whose consistent record has earned higher universal respect and ties of more lasting friendship with a succession of Governors and Viceroys and, it is permissible to believe, with the members of our Royal House, who have honoured Mysore with their presence. In many of these speeches His Highness refers to the "tradition of personal regard and, indeed, affection between the Ruler of Mysore and his European friends, and the peculiar relation in which Mysore stands with regard to the Government and officers of the Paramount Power." This special relationship is inspired by deep gratitude for the survival of this ancient Hindu dynasty through a series of vicissitudes, which, making one of the romances of history, are worth recalling.

By 1761 the usurpation of the Government of the Mysore terri-

* *Speeches by H.H. Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Mysore, 1902-1933.* (Mysore: Government Branch Press.)

tories by the Muhammadan adventurer, Haidar Ali, was complete. The then Raja was strangled by his orders. The puppet Raja, whom Haidar thought it expedient to put in his place, died childless in 1765, making the third break since 1731 in the direct line of descent, and a successor was chosen by the method described in a familiar story. The male children of the different branches of the family were assembled in a hall strewn with fruits, sweet-meats and toys, and when in the scramble for the things one little fellow took a dagger in one hand and a lime in the other, Haidar was pleased to exclaim, "That is the Raja!" This incident, apparently whimsical, proved fateful for the restoration of the old Hindu dynasty. For, this pageant Raja so chosen, in time had a son, who was luckily overlooked when Tippu Sultan in 1795 put aside his father Haidar's make-believe of keeping up a nominal Raja, expelled the inmates of the palace, and would not have hesitated to murder the child prince, who, after the capture of Seringapatam by the British and their Allies in 1799, was discovered in a hovel outside the fortress. But for the existence of this descendant of the ancient Rajas the Mysore territory, there is reason to believe, would have been divided between the East India Company and the Nizam. The boy in question was the grandfather of the present Ruler, who, as this book records, in 1915 opened a memorial built on the spot in Seringapatam where his ancestor was born. So much for the luck of the Mysore house which preserved the life of this scion of the family. His succession, however, to the throne as a child of five years of age in 1799 was the result of further precarious chances. History shows that both Haidar and Tippu Sultan had repeated opportunities of being recognized as the *de facto* rulers of Mysore. And even when the folly of Tippu in provoking the fourth and last Mysore war left his territories at the absolute disposal of the conquerors, it was a debated question who should be set up by the British as the new Ruler of the remnant of Mysore which remained at their disposal: whether it should be the son of Tippu or the descendant of the Hindu Rajas. Finally, it was the Governor-General, Lord Mornington, who decided in favour of restoring the Hindu dynasty, partly from considerations of policy and partly from motives of generosity and sympathy. This generous attitude on the part of the Honourable East India Company towards the State of its own creation was fortunately reflected in the protective character of certain provisions of the Subsidiary Treaty, which the Company concluded with the Raja in 1799—provisions without a parallel, it is believed, in any treaty made with other Princes during that early period of the Company's struggles with the Country Powers. Mysore before long reaped the benefit, when in 1831 the Governor-General was compelled to intervene in order to

quell a rebellion of his subjects, provoked by the extravagance and misrule of the Raja, who had disappointed the promise of his earlier years. The Raja was deposed. But the State was not annexed and was brought under the direct management of the Company; in striking contrast with the fate of the adjacent State of Coorg only three years later. There, under the terms of its treaty, the Governor-General was debarred from interfering to save the Raja from the consequences of his cruelties and gross misgovernment. So, when intervention became necessary, no middle course was open, such as was adopted in Mysore, and Coorg was conquered and annexed. Finally, among the lucky accidents to which Mysore owed its continued existence as a Native State was no doubt the long life of the deposed Raja. Had he died before or during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie, then its direct administration by British officials would have proved a half-way house to annexation, and Mysore almost certainly would have become a British province under the Doctrine of Lapse, since the Raja had no legitimate son, and even down to 1864 was steadily refused permission to adopt a successor to the State. He lived on, however, to the ripe age of seventy-four, dying in 1868, an age which carried him into the post-mutiny time. By then a new conception had arisen of Indian Sovereignty which held out a way to reconcile native rule with the welfare of the subjects, in the belief that the existence of well-governed Native States was a benefit to the stability of British rule. In 1867, only a year before he died, the British Government reconsidered their attitude. The decision not to reinstate the old Raja was confirmed, but it was settled to maintain his family on the throne in the person of an adopted son upon terms which should afford a guarantee for the good government of the people and for the security of British rights and interests. The rendition or regnant of Mysore to Indian rule, under conditions embodied in the Instrument of Transfer, was effected in 1881 when the young Maharaja (father of H.H. Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar) was installed under a Proclamation of the Viceroy and Governor-General. In 1913, eleven years after his accession, the present Ruler, as we read here, enjoyed the satisfaction of having the Instrument of Transfer replaced by a treaty, in proof of the British Government's confidence in the high standard of his administration.

This glance at the background of Mysore history is pertinent to much of the matter contained in the volume under review. Fifty years of Government under the British Commission bequeathed to Mysore a body of laws and a system and standards of administration, together with a trained Indian *personnel*, which were very far in advance of any found in other Indian States at the time when the rendition took place. That system was carefully

preserved by the late Maharaja and, on his death, by the late Maharani during her Regency, with the aid of a succession of able Dewans, notable among whom was that eminent statesman, Sri Sheshadri Iyer.

Thus, to quote words used by His Highness, the inheritance to which he succeeded was no ordinary one. On these sound foundations H.H. Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar cautiously built up step by step a superstructure of "administrative machinery and a constitution adapted to new times, needs and aspirations." A shrewd and dispassionate judge of men, His Highness has chosen his ministers and principal officers without regard to race or creed. For instance, his present distinguished Dewan is a Muhammadan; his private secretary, a senior retired officer of the Indian Civil Service, is among the number of British officials still employed in the State.

The speeches reveal his ambitions and also some measure of his success in attaining them over the first thirty years of his rule. Their style is terse and characteristic of the man. "It is no bad plan to speak as little as possible and act as much as possible"—this is his own practice as well as his precept to the Boy Scouts of Mysore. The Maharaja indeed, as his friends know, is reserved by temperament and averse from egotism, exaggeration, or anything that savours of self-advertisement.

The multifarious occasions on which the Ruler of a modern State has to make or reply to addresses defy any detailed review of much in this book that deserves notice.

Certain recurring lines of thought, however, may be observed in the Maharaja's aspirations for the uplift in the widest sense of his people. The Mysore State is an active centre of education. There is located the Indian Institute of Science, which was founded for the promotion of advanced scientific research by the late Mr. J. N. Tata, a national benefactor and a great pioneer of industry and commerce, of whom a statue was unveiled by the Maharaja in 1922. The Institute received further endowments from the Mysore Government, which also provided a site in Bangalore for its imposing buildings in the appropriate neighbourhood of the Kolar Gold Mining Field, and its hydro-electric installation—the first great work of its kind in the East. In Mysore flourishes also the first University to be founded outside British India, which was inaugurated by His Highness, as its Chancellor, in 1916.

In his addresses to these local institutions and in his speech as Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, the Maharaja, looking at their problems "from the point of view of a layman," stresses that their ideals should combine the best of the East with the practical efficiency of the Western system of modern education. His conception of what the prominent aims of a university should

be includes the higher education of women; the jealous maintenance of the highest standards of examination; and the production of "a new type of learned men, who will be fit to be captains of commerce and industry." Incidentally, we read that His Highness' experience leads him to share the opinion that "the real trouble in India is not over-education, but mis-education . . . in the insistence on a type of education which is no longer suited to our conditions . . . making as it does a fetish of Government service as the be-all and end-all of a majority of the graduates who leave our Universities." In his view, he said at Benares, an Indian University should aim at a definite preparation for citizenship in the largest sense of the word, having in mind, no doubt, the chief difficulty that impedes India's progress towards becoming an integrated community or nation. "The cultivation of the ethics of citizenship and patriotism is specially needed in India, where clan, tribe, and caste have had a deplorable tendency to produce communal exclusiveness and differences." Of the political bitterness engendered by such differences, the Mysore State was not without its own experience, and its Government, His Highness tells us in another place, found it necessary to arm itself as a matter of precaution with summary powers against a small but irresponsible section of the public press.

As concerns his own State, "forming, as it were, a nation within a nation," the Maharaja, while recognizing the limitations of what Government or forms of Government can achieve, so far as in him lies promotes citizenship and patriotism by the practical method of "associating the peoples, as far as possible, with the administration of the State" in work for the common good.

To sum up broadly what appears to be his faith or philosophy, the unity in fundamentals, whether secular or religious, is much deeper than the differences. So, while revered by his people as a devout Hindu, the Maharaja frequently commends to the diverse castes and creeds of Mysore the ideal of "unity in diversity," whether he is addressing a Conference of the World's Student Christian Confederation, the Jain Conference, or is opening a new Muhammadan mosque or laying the foundation-stone of a Christian Church.

Special interest attaches at the present time to the speeches relating to the reformed constitution which was proclaimed by the Maharaja in 1923 after long and careful deliberation (a detailed appreciation of the Report upon which it is based will be remembered by readers of Lord Ronaldshay's book *The Heart of Arya Varta*). The goal aimed at was a constitution which, while taking cognizance of present-day tendencies throughout the world, should yet be based upon Indian rather than upon Western theories and give expression to Indian rather than European ideals. In spite of

the difference in scale, the contrast it presents with the machinery foreshadowed by the British Government for transferring the rule of the Indian continent gradually to its many peoples lends a particular interest to the main features of this constructive development in an Indian State like Mysore.

The basic fact which differentiates it from a Western democratic constitution is the existence of the head of the State as the supreme executive head as well as the source and sanction of the law. So the ministers, who form the Executive, are the agents of the Ruler of the State, chosen by him, and neither responsible to nor removable by the Legislature. In a unitary Indian State the head thereof is regarded, it has been explained, as the symbol of Dharma or the law, and represents the people primarily in his own person in a more direct relationship than the members of any representative body, however he may delegate his functions to such bodies in order to provide machinery for giving effect to the one undivided will of the State in the domain of legislation and administration. The rudiments of the essential bodies already existed in Mysore in the organs known as the Representative Assembly, the Legislative Council, and the Central Economic Board. Thus, the developments made in 1923 were, in fact, not the result of any insistent demand from the people, but an evolution from past constitutional progress in the State.

The Representative Assembly first claims a few words of description. This institution, indigenous to Mysore, was created as far back as 1881 by executive order in the time of the famous Dewan, Rangacharlu. Its purpose then was to make the views of the Government known to the people and to remove misapprehensions with regard to its action. Later on the principle of election was introduced, and the powers of the Assembly were extended to allow of the representation of grievances and the expression of opinions on matters, including the Budget, which might be referred to it by the Government. The Assembly discharged with moderation and good sense these functions, which not only consolidated the sense of a common interest between the Government and the people, but conduced to their political and administrative training. Its success, it must be remembered, was favoured by the special circumstances in which the Assembly was summoned to meet each year during the double social and religious festival of Navaratri and Dasara, marked as it is by special solemnity in the Mysore State. For ten days and nights the central point of the festival is the Maharaja, who—if the religious ideas involved on the occasion can be summarized in a sentence—then receives the public homage of his subjects “as both the representative of God to them and of them to God.” Any similar purely political experiment, it need hardly be said, would

be handicapped by the absence of this theocratic association, if it were tried in provinces under British rule—or equally, for the matter of that, under any Indian democratic substitute for that rule.

There was a time when exaggerated claims of the importance of the Representative Assembly used to be made by politicians, Indian and British. Did not even Sir Charles Dilke—misled perhaps by its rather pretentious title—once profess to see in this institution a solution of the problem of Parliamentary Government for the people of India? Such exaggeration, however, never emanated from the Government of Mysore, and under the new Constitution the Representative Assembly did not become anything like a Lower Chamber, but kept its character (to quote His Highness) “as essentially a body for consultation and reference as well as representation, directly voicing the needs of the people.”

Its powers and *status*, however, were further developed in important directions. The Assembly was placed on a statutory basis with a definite place in the Constitution. No new taxes can be levied until its opinion has been ascertained, and the annual State Budget is laid before it for discussion as a whole, subject to certain restrictions, the principle being broadly conceded that the people who provide the revenues shall have some control over their expenditure. Not less noteworthy is the new function entrusted to the Assembly as the primary organ in the threefold process of law making. Now constituted to be “an epitome of the people,” it expresses its opinion on the general principles of all-important legislative measures, save in the case of bills, which the Government considers to be of extreme urgency, before they are dealt with by the Legislative Council.

This latter organ, too, is no new creation, having been established in 1907 in order to associate with the Government a certain number of officials and non-officials qualified to assist in making laws and regulations. Its members belong to the more educated classes, whereas the Representative Assembly in the main represents the middle, lower, and agricultural sections of the community. Until the reforms came into force, the Council was on the whole merely an advisory legislative body with very limited functions and powers. Since then its numbers have been enlarged, and the elected element has been increased to ensure a statutory non-official majority. The Council is given the power of voting on the annual State Budget by major heads, with the exception of certain categories specially excluded from its cognizance. Further, it was provided that the Council may refuse a demand for grants or reduce the amount thereof: but the Government has reserved specific powers to ignore such refusal, where it considers the expenditure to be necessary or emergent.

As its title denotes, the Council performs the actual work of

legislation after the secondary process of the technical examination of bills has been discharged by certain standing committees of experts. No measure of any description can be introduced into the Council without the previous consent of the Dewan or become law until the assent of the Maharaja is received. The list of subjects excluded from the province of the Legislative Council has been curtailed, and in regard to these the Government reserves power to frame measures, which, with the Maharaja's assent, have the force of law.

Recurring to the Standing Committee, just mentioned, the Mysore Government had for a long time recognized the advantage of associating representatives of the people with officials in the consideration of important measures. This policy is now embodied in the Constitution by the creation of these permanent committees, elected from among members both of the Assembly and the Council, whose advice is to be availed of by the Government and the Legislature.

Lastly, the constitutional machinery of Government was completed by the incorporation of a third already existing body, the Mysore Economic Conference, which now takes the shape of Economic Development Boards dealing with education, agriculture, commerce and industries, and intended to work in close relationship with the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council.

The liberal character of the Constitution is further illustrated by certain of its general provisions. The franchise was extended to all persons paying income tax; all disabilities attaching to women as voters were removed, with the result that the electorate was increased from 28,000 to over 110,000 in a total population of nearly six millions. Direct election replaced a mixture of direct and secondary election. Representation was made to include minorities and a number of special interests as well. Or, as it has been expressed, the constituencies are not merely territorial, but vocational, in accordance with an essentially Indian tradition. Fostered by the State's active policy of trade encouragement, Mysore is a great industrial centre, and provision was included for the special interests of the Coffee Planting Associations, European and Indian, the Kolar Gold Fields Mining Board, and the Mysore Chamber of Commerce, not omitting, it is to be noted, factory and mining labour. The vexed question of the representation of communal minorities was dealt with by a scheme of representation through organized associations, each formed to advance the specific interests of a particular community, a scheme which had already been tried out in the case of certain special interests under rules framed by the Government. It is significant, however, to observe that, while the device of communal electorates

was rejected, the Government of Mysore was constrained to secure adequate representation of Muhammadans, Indian Christians, and the Depressed Classes, as distinct social units, by guaranteeing to each of them a minimum number of seats both in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council.

Such in bare outline was the original contribution which the Mysore State eleven years ago made to the problem of constitution building in India.

As regards the future of "All-India," His Highness as far back as 1927 publicly expressed the hope that a way might be found in which it would be open to the Indian States to play an honourable part as partners with the British Provinces in whatever form of Federal Government might hereafter be decided upon. And these words, there is reason to believe, represent this State's general attitude to-day. Lord Curzon in 1903 spoke of the Princes of India as having become "the pillars that help to sustain the main roof of the Imperial edifice." The weight of responsibility they will as such have to bear is being increased to a degree never contemplated in Lord Curzon's day. In view of this fact, it would be vain to deny that occurrences of recent years in certain of the States have caused misgiving among their friends regarding the future security of the foundations on which these pillars rest. No such question, however, has arisen in regard to Mysore. Stable itself in the firm attachment of the people to their Ruler and to his methods of Government, the Mysore State, as one of the partners in the Federation, will make for its stability and the upholding of its connection with the British Crown.

A JAPANESE VIEW ON THE LIMITATION OF NAVAL ARMAMENTS

By S. FUKUOKA

(London Representative of the Rengo News Agency.)

It being a commonly accepted fact that mutual respect of the right of national existence is indispensable to modern intercourse between nations, any agreement for the limitation of armaments, to be acceptable to all signatories, must assure to each the security of its national defence. For if the agreement should fail to give such assurance, any nation thus affected would be reduced to such a state of constant anxiety as to fall an easy prey to that state of mind which is all too prone to magnify the slightest incidents to proportions not warranted by facts. If, on the other hand, the agreement can free all nations from preoccupations regarding their defences, their peoples would be enabled to address themselves to their daily pursuits with placid assurance, and the cause of world peace would be greatly enhanced thereby.

Should a country, with such armaments as she possesses, entertain serious misgivings in respect of another country possessing larger armaments, there are two ways in which the situation might be remedied in view of the relative nature of armaments. One would be for the former to increase her armaments to a level sufficient to enable her to resist the latter, and the other for the latter to effect reduction to such a degree that her armaments can no longer constitute a menace to the former. And it goes without saying that the second remedy is to be preferred, for the first would be a step directly contrary to the current universal demand for reductions.

The Washington Conference produced an epoch-making agreement of very broad scope, notwithstanding the deep-rooted difficulties that beset its path. The spirit of mutual concession and the indefatigable efforts of the delegates and the Governments concerned, which made success possible, command our highest admiration and respect.

Japan, Great Britain, and the United States were at the time busily engaged in carrying out their naval expansion programmes. Not only was this race already becoming a heavy burden on the nations concerned because of the huge expenditure entailed, but it threatened the future with dire consequences unless it could be effectively checked. To arrest this dangerous naval competition, then, was the immediate object of the Washington Conference.

The time has come when the capital ships of the signatories to the Washington Treaty must all be replaced in turn. To complete their replacement, however, would call for naval construction no less huge in scale than that of the period just preceding the Washington Conference. To realize the immensity of such construction it would only be necessary to envisage the building programmes that would have to be projected to replace existing capital ships in pursuance of the replacement provisions of the Washington Treaty. But that is not all. For even after replacement has once been completed there must come another of similar dimensions after an interval of ten or more years. To forestall such interminable and futile building must be the foremost aim of the 1935 Conference.

Moreover, if by removing the aggressive nature of armaments defence is made easy and attack difficult, the principle of non-menace and non-aggression would be firmly established and the task of disarmament fulfilled. Further, a definite demarcation should be laid down, within which armaments of the smallest size compatible with the needs of national defence would be allowed. An agreement embodying the above ideas would be one that would be assured of a long duration and would give satisfaction to all signatories.

Let us now turn to the question of what should be done to limit armaments to the defensive.

Japan is of opinion that, first of all, aircraft carriers should be totally abolished. This particular class of naval ships are, because of their wide range of activity, not only capable of launching an aerial attack upon undefended centres of population, but are also the veritable eyes or antennæ of a fleet, without which a fleet would find it difficult to attack the coasts of other countries across the expanse of ocean. Japan also desires to abolish capital ships. To do so would be to reduce the destructive power of a fleet as well as to greatly diminish its radius of action, thus rendering it still more difficult to approach the coastal waters of other countries.

We understand the circumstances which make it difficult for certain Powers to abolish capital ships immediately, but a substantial reduction of ships of this very expensive category is highly desirable from the standpoint of minimizing the aggressiveness of naval forces, and also of alleviating the onus on taxpayers, who bear the burden of heavy naval expenditure. (A reduction of a capital ship would mean approximately £6,000,000 off the naval expenditure of a country.)

On the other hand, nothing is more of a menace to an advancing fleet than submarines. If Japan were to plan aggressive naval operations, she would abolish submarines altogether

and claim to have as many capital ships and aircraft carriers as possible. In reality, however, her claim is the reverse, and is an earnest of her sincere desire to bring about disarmament.

Her claim with respect to the limitation of armaments is also designed to usher in the reign of peace in the world, which in turn will enable her people to pursue their legitimate activities in contentment. I trust that Great Britain—a seafaring nation just as we are—will understand how we feel about such questions as unobstructed commerce and sea routes.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF HYDERABAD

By R. W. BROCK

THE title of "Faithful Ally of the British Government" was conferred on His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad by an autograph letter from His Majesty the King, dated January 24, 1918: a date which will perhaps be accepted as an adequate reminder of the circumstances in which the title was conferred. No Sovereign or State, it will be agreed, could seek or attain a more honourable status in the comity of nations than such a title implies. Whatever transient conflicts of interest and outlook may from time to time have disturbed the normal serenity of the relations between Hyderabad and the Suzerain Power, it is hardly necessary to recall that in periods of crisis, from 1857 onwards, the active loyalty of the Nizam's Dominions has proved equal to every test. Nor is there any reason to doubt that, without weakening any of the links which bind it to the Crown, Hyderabad will prove an equally "faithful ally" of the Federation now in process of creation. This Constitutional project, however formidable the doubts and difficulties it may engender, is prompted and inspired by the dual aim of preserving and even strengthening the unity of India, and of enabling the Princes and peoples of this great section of the British Commonwealth to reconcile loyalty with patriotism. In many directions, it is foreseeable, the establishment of a federal form of government will enforce a progressive co-ordination and pooling of resources, economic and financial, and the Census Reports which have been appearing are therefore peculiarly useful and opportune as affording authoritative and detailed assessments of the contributions which each Province and State will be in a position to make to the Greater India they are co-operating to establish. It is impossible to read the Report on the Census of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions (1931), recently issued, without realizing how substantial are the resources of that pivotal State and how indispensable its co-operation is, if the new Federation is to reach its full economic and political stature.

Excluding the assigned Province of Berar (18,000 square miles), the Hyderabad State, as the Census Commissioner reminds us, is as extensive as the Bengal Presidency, having an area of 82,698 square miles. Among Indian States, Hyderabad ranks next to Kashmir and is ten times the size of Baroda. "England and Ireland together command as much area as that of Hyderabad, while

the Republican State of Switzerland in Europe is not equal to a fifth part of these Dominions." When the first census was taken in 1881 the population of Hyderabad numbered 9,845,594. By 1891 it had risen to 11,537,040, but it had fallen to 11,141,142 ten years later. It had increased to 13,374,676 by 1911, only to drop back to 12,471,770 in 1921. Thereafter the advance was again resumed and by 1931 the population had reached the new high level of 14,436,148, an increase of 1,964,378, or 15·8 per cent., the only other Province or State showing a larger proportionate advance being Travancore State, which recorded the abnormal rise of 27·2 per cent. The average absolute density of population in Hyderabad is now 175 per square mile, compared with 151 in 1921, and a density of 195 in India as a whole. As a comparison nearer home Hyderabad has approximately the same density of population as Portugal. By way of explaining the increase in population in the last decade compared with its immediate predecessor the Census Commissioner recalls that 1911-21 was eventful for the calamities caused by plague in the beginning of the decade and the influenza epidemic of 1918-19, not to speak of the general trade and economic depression as a result of the Great War. Their deleterious effects more than counterbalanced the advantages accruing from the expansion of road and rail communications and irrigation projects, development of industries and popularization of improved and profitable methods of agriculture. Happily the decade 1921-31 was not scarred by similar misfortunes. According to the Census Commissioner's summary, it consisted of three good years, six moderate ones and one bad year; and the whole period was free from famine.

An increase in population unaccompanied by a proportionate increase in production and values can obviously result only in a decline in the average standard of income and living, which in India is already distressingly low. In Hyderabad, it is therefore satisfactory to observe, in addition to research and propaganda directed to the promotion of a higher level of production on land already in cultivation—by such methods as the use of improved seeds and implements, better manure and better methods of cultivation—the area brought under cultivation steadily increased from 20,254,000 acres at the beginning of the decade to 21,349,000 acres in 1930, as far as *kharif* area is concerned. At a juncture when far-reaching schemes are under consideration, of which the ultimate aim is to substitute India for the United States as Lancashire's principal source of supply as regards raw cotton, it is of interest to learn that by legislation in Hyderabad the area under *Gaorani*, the much-prized indigenous long-staple cotton, was protected and the cultivation of the variety encouraged. In 1928-29, according to figures quoted in the Hyderabad Banking Enquiry

Report, the quantity of cotton exported from Hyderabad exceeded 500,000 bales, the area under this crop ranging between three and four million acres.

In relation to schemes directed to the development of oversea trade, however, Hyderabad, unlike certain other States, is handicapped somewhat by lack of direct access to the sea. In this connection, the Indian States Enquiry Committee (1932) directed attention to the Hyderabad Commercial Treaty of 1802, which contemplated "free use of the seaport of Masulipatam." On the assumption that the treaty remains valid, the Nizam's Government has recently claimed the right to a free corridor to the sea at Masulipatam and a permit to develop a port so as to enable Hyderabad to make effective use of it "under the conditions that would obtain in the India of the future." The Nizam's Government urges that "this consideration renders it very necessary that Hyderabad should own and control a railway of its own from its border to Masulipatam." In a non-committal reference to this claim, the Indian States Enquiry Committee points out that the seaport of Masulipatam is situated in British India 60 miles from the borders of Hyderabad and that it has no harbour facilities.

Some of the surplus funds available to the Hyderabad Administration were recently employed to acquire the railway system of the State, previously under the control of a sterling company; a substantial sum has been allocated as an Industrial Development Fund; and there is no reason to doubt, in the event of Hyderabad acquiring a special interest in Masulipatam, that ample resources would be available to finance the necessary harbour facilities and, in other directions, to foster the trade and traffic required to make the new port a profitable investment from every point of view. Recent difficulties affecting Kathiawar ports, involving fiscal as well as purely commercial issues, have created prejudice against the establishment of new ports, especially under the control of any of the Indian States. But there is no justification for regarding these difficulties as permanent, and indeed, as the outcome of negotiations between the Government of India and the States affected, agreements of a mutually satisfactory character have already begun to emerge, and a complete settlement of the fiscal status of the Indian State ports may be expected before the new Federal Constitution comes into operation. To competition, unweighted by surreptitious fiscal devices, the older ports in British India have not raised any objection, nor could they reasonably do so. As a result of the disastrous shrinkage in international trade present port facilities in India are in excess of immediate needs, and it would therefore be inopportune to add to them, subject only to the completion of the additional accommodation already sanctioned at Cochin, Vizagapatam, and Chittagong, which will,

sooner or later, lead to their emergence as ports comparable in importance to Madras, Karachi, and Rangoon. Such considerations, however, really have no practical bearing on the desire of Hyderabad to develop a port of its own inasmuch as—allowing for the time-lag required to cover, first, the completion of the negotiations involved; secondly, the preparation of plans and estimates, and the provision of finance; and thirdly, the period of construction—probably at least ten years would elapse before any additional port facilities actually materialized; and by that time, one hopes, the oversea trade of India will have expanded sufficiently to render existing accommodation for shipping hopelessly inadequate. In considering the Hyderabad project, therefore, the practical consideration which should decide the official verdict is not “Does India require additional port accommodation today?” but “Will such accommodation be required, say, in 1945?” It is possible to answer such a question in the negative only by adopting an extremely pessimistic view of India’s commercial outlook.

The gravest economic handicap that Hyderabad, in common with India and primary producing countries generally, has encountered in recent years has been the devastating fall in commodity prices. Whatever the causes of this cataclysmic decline may be—certainly they were of Western, not of Eastern, origin—the effects on the economic and financial structure of India have undoubtedly been most disastrous. In Hyderabad 1925 was a prosperous year from the agriculturists’ point of view, but from 1926 onward “fluctuations of prices set in by slow degrees. Cotton, an important profit-yielding crop, had a precipitous fall in 1926 and had not materially recovered from it when the decade closed. The fall in prices was due to world-wide economic depression.” The latter judgment is undoubtedly correct. With the possible exception of jute, it is not legitimate to say of any staple Indian crop that there has been over-production. Between 1925 and 1930 cotton, one of the most important Hyderabad crops, and a leading export product, fell in value from 47 to under 30 rupees per maund; while the prices obtainable by producers for other staples—rice, wheat, jawar, bajra, til, and castor—fell concurrently in varying proportions. It should be emphasized that the leading products exported from Hyderabad—cotton, linseed, castor-seed, groundnuts, etc.—are products which figure largely in international trade and are, therefore, susceptible to external price movements beyond the range of Indian influence or control. To mention such products, however, is also to indicate the extent to which Hyderabad is benefiting by the Ottawa preferences on Indian produce entering the British market.

It is only at long and irregular intervals that figures are published enabling a clear estimate to be formed of the external trade

transacted by the Indian States, and it may therefore be useful to note the dimensions of the trade achieved by Hyderabad. In the decade under review the low and high limits were 26·37 crores of rupees (one crore equalling £750,000) in 1927 and just under 40 crores (£30,000,000) in 1929, the trade depression setting in during 1930. Such a turnover, although reasonably satisfactory in existing conditions, is chiefly significant as an indication of the scope for further development. The supreme economic and financial need of India—a very substantial recovery in commodity prices as the only alternative to general insolvency—can be satisfied only by financial and fiscal measures originating outside its own borders—viz., in Europe and the United States, whose economic domination of Asia will probably persist long after all traces of political authority have disappeared. Within the limits of its own resources and capacities, however, the Nizam's Government, as the Census Commissioner's Report bears witness, has made appreciable efforts to promote economic progress and recovery. It has, for instance, completed, at a cost of over £3,000,000, the Nizam Sagar irrigation scheme, of which the main canal is $72\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, supplies water for irrigating 275,000 acres, and operates through distributaries aggregating 600 miles. A series of smaller schemes have also been carried through, irrigating an additional 55,000 acres. That is a noteworthy achievement, even though the only effect may be to lead to a further increase in population too large to permit any improvement in the average standard of living.

Industrial development is spreading to the Indian States which share the advantages—and disadvantages—of Protectionist tariffs, without, as yet, having acquired any control over their imposition or incidence. Under the federal form of government the States would obtain a certain amount of influence as regards the use of this potent weapon which means so much to their citizens both as consumers and producers. A greater diversification of enterprise and production than exists at present is undoubtedly desirable, and, as an indication of a movement in that direction, it is of interest to note a considerable expansion in Hyderabad of the number of joint stock companies. Banking, insurance, transit and transport, trading and manufacturing, theatrical and entertainment companies, and textile mills, the Census Commissioner observes comprehensively, "have thriven well," but as the total paid-up capital of all companies registered under the Hyderabad Companies Act and at work in 1930 was under £1,500,000, it may be inferred that this method of collecting capital for industrial purposes has not been very widely applied.

In the absence of independent private enterprise, except on a very limited scale, it has been found necessary in Hyderabad, in order to expedite progress, to resort to State investment. A

separate Department of Commerce and Industries was established towards the end of the decade ending 1921, and this has borne fruit. To three textile mills which existed before, two more have been added, while the cement, cigarette, and button-making industries have been encouraged. Furthermore, we are informed, Government, through the Department, have systematically assisted the development of local industries by the following methods: assistance to large and small scale industries, control of new factories as they come into existence, scientific assistance and advice, encouragement of pioneer industrial works, development of cottage industries by direct action, and technical and industrial training. The main institutions controlled and run by the Department comprise: the Industrial Laboratory, Cottage Industries Institute, Cottage Industries Sales Depôt, Industrial Alcohol Factory, Government Soap Factory, Experimental Carpet Factory, Jacquard Institute, etc.

In addition to financing industrial projects, Government have set aside £750,000 to be invested in large industries and Government securities: the profits accruing therefrom to be applied to the development of cottage and small scale industries, by advancing loans. In a Note by a recent holder of the Director-Generalship of Commerce and Industries in Hyderabad, included in the Banking Enquiry Report, some of the initial activities of the Industrial Fund, which was only established in 1929, are described. Besides undertaking the banking enquiry itself, in collaboration with the All-India investigation initiated by the Government of India, the Fund sanctioned surveys of the poultry industry, the fruit industry, the oil-seed and oil-crushing industry, the hides and leather industry, the handloom and dyeing industry, and the salt-making industry. All these surveys were carried out by experts, some of whom were engaged from outside the State at considerable cost. The Trustees also agreed to finance two experimental factories, one for carpet making, and another to revive the famous Pattan weaving industry. Large loans were made, one to assist in the establishment of a marble quarry and the production of marble, and another to establish an up-to-date rice-hulling and saw mill. The sum of £7,500 was invested in a new concern for making cigarettes in the State. There was even a proposal to establish a jute mill.

In Hyderabad, as in India generally, the most substantial and effective contribution to industrial development would be to increase the margin of income available, among the rural population, for the purchase of industrial products. Hitherto industrial production in India has been fostered almost exclusively by the Protectionist method of excluding imports: a process which does not increase, and may even reduce, the total consumption of manu-

factured goods in the country, and in any event has been applied so freely that its efficacy as a stimulant has been virtually exhausted. Taking cotton piece-goods as a familiar illustration, Indian production, compared with imports, now stands in the ratio of $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, while, in the sugar industry, development of Indian production has been so rapid and extensive that the complete cessation of imports is expected within the next two or three years. Manifestly, therefore, as exemplified by these two outstanding and typical industries, further expansion, except to a negligible extent, can occur only as the outcome of an increase in Indian consumption: and, for the most part, such an increase in consumption can occur only as the outcome of an increase in the free purchasing power of the rural population: that is to say, the margin of income remaining in the hands of the cultivators after they have met all fixed and prior charges, such as rent, taxes, interest, etc.

This aspect of Indian industrial development is of additional importance to the Indian States in view of the easily verifiable calculation that most of the benefit obtainable from tariffs has already been secured by industries located mainly in British India, and that further development can be secured by reliance on the same device. Of the Protectionist coconut there remains, for the Indian States, only the husk. Internal competition, of course, still remains a possibility and will probably lead to a redistribution of some of the mills and factories which the Protectionist programme has helped to create. There will, for example, probably be a modification of the present relatively excessive concentration of cotton manufacture in Bombay; to a far greater extent than at present, each Province and State will manufacture cotton goods on the scale necessary to meet its own requirements, leaving the surplus mills in Western India with the alternatives either of developing a larger export trade or closing down. Such a movement has already begun. A more or less analogous position exists in relation to sugar manufacture. Here, too, a wider distribution of factories is inevitable, correcting the present excessive concentration of manufacture in one or two provinces. In each case, production will be more evenly distributed; but this process will not necessarily bring any increase in Indian industrial production as a whole. In relation to further industrial progress the most formidable hindrance, as I have already hinted, is the low *per capita* consumption of industrial products in India owing to the poverty of the rural population, which has been accentuated by the 50 per cent. drop since 1929 in the cash value of their surplus produce.

In Hyderabad, as indicated in the Census calculations, industries other than agriculture sustain only 5 per cent. of the population,

or 49 per thousand. The production of raw material employs 3,904,206, or 27 per cent. The exploitation of the soil for food, fruit, etc., is the direct means of occupation of 24 per cent. of the population against 26 per cent. ten years previous. Ordinary cultivators comprise 1,055,832 cultivating owners; 501,894 tenant cultivators; 56,477 special food and fruit raisers; or a total of 1,614,203, representing 11 per cent. of the population as compared with 15 per cent. in 1921. In 1931 the area under cultivation was 29 million acres, which works out at 18 acres per cultivator. This average has been approximately confirmed by a recent investigation conducted by a special officer. The Director-General of Commerce and Industries, reviewing the report, remarks: "While there are no definite statistics available it seems probable that the great majority of the cultivators would have sufficient land to maintain themselves and their families at a reasonable standard of comfort if they were tolerably free from debt and their land was unencumbered."

It is not necessary to quote detailed proof of the extent to which the real burden of rural indebtedness in India has been increased by the fall in commodity prices. It is, however, necessary also to realize that it is the Indian moneylender, far more than the foreign manufacturer, who blocks the full development of Indian industries, for it is the heavy exactions of the moneylender which, more than any other single factor, prevent the many millions of cultivators from retaining the margin of income without which it is impossible for them to multiply their purchases and buy factory products. Until action has been taken enabling the rural population to increase its offtake of manufactured materials, further industrial development in India, for the most part, can occur only by one Province or State developing local production at the expense of its neighbour. Hyderabad, for example, which still imports large quantities of piece-goods, can increase its own output—at the expense of Bombay and Madras—or, in so far as it requires jute goods, it could subsidize a jute mill, and cease buying jute manufactures from mills in Bengal. Such examples could be multiplied. In Hyderabad, as the Census report indicates, the textile industry is growing in importance and employs 194,063 persons or a little over 1 per cent. of the population. The State is an important cotton-yielding country, and the trend of development may be inferred from the existence in 1931 of 185 cotton ginning, cleaning, and pressing factories, compared with 99 in 1921, besides 5 power spinning and weaving mills and 30 large spinning and weaving establishments. An expansion in cotton manufacturing is certain if only because it represents the easiest line of development, and in other States and Provinces the same considerations apply. If, however, mainly owing to rural poverty,

the total consumption of piece-goods in India remains stationary, or nearly so, the final result of such a policy will obviously be a redistribution of production, not a net increase. In a stagnant market, if the rest of India manufactures more, Bombay will manufacture less.

In view of the underlying economic antagonism between the moneylender and the manufacturer the growth of the co-operative credit movement is, in India, a factor of vital industrial importance. In Hyderabad, the Census Commissioner reports, the movement among agriculturists has become popular and the number of agricultural societies increased from 1,264 at the beginning of the decade to 1,776, and the membership from 37,393 to 57,016, the working capital of nearly £1,500,000 having risen by 120 per cent. during the same period. For every three "co-operators" in Hyderabad, however, there is still one moneylender, the number of people engaged in this lucrative profession being about 19,000. According to the Census Commissioner: "The preponderance of moneylenders in the rural parts is significant. . . . Co-operative credit would appear to have touched only the fringe of the agricultural and trading population of the State. In the rural parts moneylending and grain-dealing are so inseparably combined in one person, that a co-operative society, however well financed, cannot cope with him. Moneylending, as a business, has always existed in these Dominions. Ancestral debt and constantly recurring small items of debt for food and other necessities, for social and religious ceremonies, for seed, for bullocks, and for the Government assessment, are the principal causes of enhancing rural indebtedness. The need of the agriculturist for loans is, therefore, imperative, and the moneylender is the only person to satisfy it. He serves the village in a variety of ways, other than as a supplier of credit. He is usually a grain-dealer, and as such he doles out grain and helps people to tide over difficulties."

Apparently the number of moneylenders stated is an underestimate, for the Census Commissioner directs attention to a special subsidiary table which shows 22,343 persons, of whom 3,082 are females, as moneylenders. In a comment which indicates in a sentence one of the most familiar, and formidable, aspects of the Indian rural indebtedness problem, the Hyderabad Commissioner remarks: "It is remarkable that 71 per cent. of the moneylenders are concentrated in Marathwara districts. Marathwara is comparatively more prosperous than Telengana, and with prosperity the opportunity to borrow is greater." Since the advent of the world depression, presumably the moneylenders have had to be content (if I may borrow the ingenious euphemism of the British Treasury) with "token payments"—viz., after the proceeds derivable from gold sales and shipments had been exhausted. Conse-

quently India today, as envisaged by the student of rural finance, is a land

Where webs are spread of more than common size
And half-starved spiders prey on half-starved flies.

A noteworthy achievement of the last decade in Hyderabad was the improvement of communications. It is recalled by the Census Commissioner that excluding the G.I.P., M. and S.M., and Barsi Light Railways, which traverse parts of the State, there were at the beginning of the decennium 870·14 miles of railway in which H.E.H.'s Government were financially interested. The Karepalli-Kothagudium broad gauge railway of 24·52 miles was constructed and opened for traffic in 1927. Originally it was meant to provide facilities for opening the Kothagudium coal mines, whereas it actually facilitated the movement of pilgrim traffic to Bhadrachellam, which previously went by cart. The Kazipett-Balharshah broad gauge line completed in 1929 is 145·69 miles long, and has shortened the railway journey between North and South India. By the completion of the last link of the metre gauge line across the frontier to Kurnool, Mysore has been linked with Hyderabad by rail. The Vikarabad-Bidar railway has brought the historic city of Bidar close to the capital and opened up avenues for the trade of the district noted for jawar, groundnut, and jaggery. The Parbhani-Purli metre gauge line has opened up an important cotton tract and affords railway connection to Gangakhed, a noteworthy place of pilgrimage for Hindus. The total mileage of railway at the close of the decade was 1,180·49 miles. This, together with the open mileage of foreign railways, gives for every 66 square miles of territory one mile of railway as compared with 89 square miles in 1921.

In a comment which indicates the progressive outlook of the Hyderabad Administration regarding transport problems, the Census Commissioner observes: "The construction and improvement of roads go a long way to improve the economic and social life of a people. Realizing the importance of the problem of improving internal road connection, which is very defective in the rural areas, Government has created a Road Board to tackle the question. The Public Works Department has, during the decade, carried out a liberal programme of improvement in the grading of existing roads side by side with the construction of new roads and the conversion of country roads into metalled ones, with due regard to the free passage of water and proper drainage of the countryside. The metalling of road surfaces has resulted in the introduction of motor services. Villagers are getting accustomed to the new and improved methods of transportation and to the changing socio-economic conditions. During the decade 1,456½ miles of road were added." The present total road mileage,

3,938, is equivalent to one mile of road for every 21 square miles of area. During the decade over £2,000,000 were expended on original construction of roads in addition to outlay on masonry work, bridges, and culverts.

On April 1, 1930, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government purchased for £8,300,000 the properties of the N.G.S. Railway Company. After deducting the Government's own share of the sinking and reserve funds and as holders of share and debenture capital, the Government paid a net amount of £4,570,000.

MODERN MEDICINE IN CHINA

BY DR. PAO-CHANG HOU

(Head of the Department of Pathology at Cheeloo University, Tsinan.)

AN adequate appreciation of any of the aspects of modern China is only possible against a background of Chinese civilization as it was, unchanged until a hundred years ago.

It is necessary to imagine a population of over 400,000,000 people inhabiting an area of about 15,000,000 square miles. These people lived mainly by agriculture in villages; their government was paternal and autocratic, their primary loyalties familial and tribal. In spite of this, in 700 B.C. they had attained an homogeneous civilization by means of a common language, so difficult that only a few could learn to read and write, and a common philosophy which rationalized and emphasized the importance of the family unit as a protection against misgovernment and official exploitation. This produced a common tradition of behaviour among people living close together in village communities, and far from outside influence, which lasted with little change for between two and three thousand years. These small communities were almost self-supporting; and up to a hundred years ago exchange of goods was only a little more elaborate than simple barter. No wonder that such a situation has produced a people who are perhaps the most conservative in the world. They lived so close together that personal relationships and behaviour became of paramount importance. The effect of new ideas on the inner workings of a community became therefore much more important than their value as judged by abstract Western standards.

With this in mind it is perhaps possible to imagine the effects of a changing Western civilization, the results of Greek thinking, on such a static, well-balanced community. The attack of Western civilization, driven by the economic necessity for expansion, came in two ways. The necessity for the expansion of trade resulted in forced reactions to unfamiliar factors, and there followed in the train of this, such things as railways, which necessitated foreign control to make them work. At the same time came missionaries, who in turn introduced modern medicine and scientific education, which was later to undermine the power and influence of the missionaries themselves.

Within a few years of the establishment of formal trade relations came missions and their hospitals in 1882. Dr. Morrison and

Dr. Livingstone established a hospital in Machao, and a little later Parker was doing medical work in Canton. This work increased with the development of communications until there were hospitals all along the coast and then later along the Yangtse valley. They were in almost every case founded by different missions.

It took a long time to convince our conservative and traditional race of the importance of modern medicine both with regard to individual and public health, so at first the majority ignored it, believing it to be merely a means of evangelization; only within the last thirty years have most people begun to pay any attention to it. Remarkable progress has been made, especially since the birth of the republic. This is largely due to the fact that more native people have been trained, both in China and in foreign countries. People began to realize that modern medicine is not only curative, but also preventive, not only an art, but also a science. With the co-operation of missionary medical schools and hospitals, the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Lester Institute, encouraged by the National Government, modern medicine in the China of our day has blossomed forth and a rich harvest is already being gathered.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

The first modern medical school was founded about fifty years ago in Tientsin by Dr. Mackenzie of the London Missionary Society. At the beginning the number of students was small and was limited to men, because "the profession of medicine is considered an excellent conduit or waste pipe to carry off all the literary bachelors who cannot attain to superior grades or pretend to the Mandarinate." But the old days are passing and there are now twenty-five medical schools in China. (See Table I.) Six of these were founded by missions, fifteen by the National Government, one by the Rockefeller Foundation, one by the British Government in Hong-Kong, and one in Manchuria by the Japanese. Most of the medical schools are co-educational; women have the same opportunities of studying medicine as men in China, and there is one school for women only. The proportion of women students in some of the other medical schools is as high as 30 per cent. Of these fifteen national medical schools, eleven have been established since the advent of the republic in China, and four of them have been established since 1901.

In 1931 the National Government issued an order that one medical school should be established in the capital of every province, and in any municipality where there is a population of over 300,000. Each medical school should have a hospital possessing a minimum of 200 beds, and the regular course should be for four

years, with an additional year as resident doctor in a hospital. Shantung province was the first to carry out this order, and a medical school was founded in 1932. As a matter of fact there are two grades of medical school in China. One gives a seven years' course after a senior middle school education (equivalent to matriculation standard in England). Students have to spend two years in a premedical course, including chemistry, physics, biology, and a foreign language, generally English. They then spend four years in studying medicine, and have one year as resident doctor in their recognized hospital. In the second grade of medical school they have no premedical training, but are admitted to the medical school directly they have completed the middle school course. Physics, chemistry, biology, and foreign languages are taught together with anatomy and physiology in their first year. The medical training is completed within four years, and after that, one year's residence in hospital is required before they become recognized qualified doctors. Before any qualified doctor is allowed to practise he must be registered by the State. Up to the present there are 7,000 registered Chinese practitioners in China. Of course, this number is still very low compared with the size of the population, but as soon as the order issued by the National Government is complied with in all parts of the country this number will very quickly be enormously increased.

LANGUAGE

In eight of the medical schools the Chinese language only is used, but students are required to have a good knowledge of English, so that they can read English textbooks and medical periodicals. Five medical schools use English for teaching, one uses German, one uses French, one uses Japanese, and the rest are mixed.

TEXTBOOKS

Since modern medical education has only been developed within the last forty years, medical textbooks have to be translated from foreign languages. A translation bureau was founded by Dr. P. B. Cousland, who spent many of his valuable years in collaboration with Chinese colleagues in translating medical books from English into Chinese. The books which have been translated are those most commonly used in England and America. On account of the marked difference between the English and Chinese tongues, it was necessary to find a new medical terminology; a committee was therefore appointed in 1910 to deal with this problem. As a result of this, a Chinese medical lexicon is now in use which is based on Gould's medical dictionary and contains all the essential medical terms.

ANATOMICAL MATERIAL

Only lately has public opinion permitted the open dissection of human bodies. It was the general belief that the spirit of a man whose body was cut up suffered as the living man would have suffered, and the worst degradation for a criminal was the dismemberment of his body. Even in the present day bodies used for dissection must be those of executed criminals or of paupers who have no relatives or friends to claim them. As, however, the Government co-operates with the medical schools, there is no difficulty in getting sufficient material. Post mortem examinations are carried out at most of the medical schools and some hospitals. A large section of the community now realizes the value of such examinations and in as many as 30 per cent. of the cases that die in larger hospitals post mortems are allowed by the relatives.

RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

Extensive research in medicine is carried on by the Rockefeller Foundation in Peiping and by the Lester Institute in Shanghai. As these two institutions are well equipped and staffed, and generously financed, some important work has been produced. Research work is also carried on by certain first-class medical schools, although on account of the limited number of their staff and lack of funds they cannot do as much of this as they would like.

MEDICAL ASSOCIATIONS

The National Medical Association was founded, and in 1930 it was amalgamated with the Missionary Medical Association, so that it now forms a very influential body. Nearly every Chinese qualified doctor and most of the foreign doctors are members of this association, which publishes a monthly medical journal in English and also in Chinese. A Physiological Society, a Pathological Society, and an Ophthalmological Society were also formed as branches of the Medical Association. A journal of physiology is published quarterly by the society, and an occasional journal is issued by the Pathological Society.

HOSPITALS

No reference to this subject can be made without paying the highest tribute to the pioneer medical missionaries. Up to the present there are 232 hospitals founded by different missions and about an equal number founded by government and private enterprise. At first these hospitals were largely staffed by foreigners, but as increasing numbers of Chinese medical workers are trained they are gradually taking the place of the foreigners; this develop-

ment is illustrated graphically in the diagrams on p. 133, prepared by Dr. Lennox.

In the matter of finance also, a marked change is to be observed. In 1919, 45 per cent. of the current receipts came from foreign sources, and in 1932 this had decreased to 26 per cent. In 1919, 28 per cent. of the receipts was from patients' fees, and by 1932

TABLE I
(Prepared by Dr. R. T. Shields)
CHINESE GOVERNMENT MEDICAL SCHOOLS

Name.	Date of Founding.	No. of Teachers, 1929-1930.	No. of Students, 1929-1930.	No. of Classes Graduated.
Army Medical College, Tientsin (now moved to Nanking)... ..	1901	26	320	13
Aurora University Medical School, Shanghai (private)	1902	10	69	10
Chekiang Provincial School of Medicine and Pharmacy, Hangchow (closing 1931)	1911	24	83	19
Chungshan University Medical Department, Canton	1927	40	—	—
Hopei University Medical College (provincial)	1921	19	94	3
Kwanghwa Medical College, Canton (private)	1909	33	292	19
Nan Yang Medical College, Shanghai	1914	70 per cent. full time, 30 per cent. part time.	400	10
National Central University Medical College (now moved to Shanghai)	1927	30	53	—
Naval Medical College, Tientsin (originally Dr. Mackenzie's school, 1881, then Peiyang Medical College, 1893)	1915	12	12	15
National Peking University Medical College (reorganized 1912 and 1927)	1903	over 30	240	9
Tung Chi University, Medical Department, Shanghai	1907	17	200	22
Tung Nan Medical School, Shanghai	1926	30	280	120 graduates
Tung Teh Medical School, Shanghai	1918	16	150	10
Yunnan Army Medical College	1920	24	56	1

TABLE II
MISSION MEDICAL SCHOOLS

Name.	No. of Teaching Staff.		No. of Teachers.	No. of Students.	No. of Graduates.
	Chinese.	Foreign.			
Hackett Medical College, Canton ...	20	14	34	67	187
St. John's University School of Medicine, Shanghai ...	14	11	35	37	99
Mukden Medical College ...	17	12	29	95	164
Cheeloo University (Shantung Christian) Tsinan, Shantung ...	16	16	32	88 (Pharmacy 13)	241 (Pharmacy 11)
West China Union University, Medical School and Dental School, Chengtu ...	12	27	39	Medical 33, Dental 14	Medical 37, Dental 4
Women's Christian Medical College, Shanghai ...	16	14	30	30	8

TABLE III
NON-MISSION MEDICAL SCHOOLS

Name.	No. of Staff, 1929-1930.	No. of Students, 1929-1930.	No. of Classes Graduated.
Peking Union Medical College	91	Regular, 93 ; Special and Graduate, 164	Before 1924, 105 ; since 1924, 65
Hong-Kong University School of Medicine (British) ...	23	160	15 classes
Manchuria Medical College	—	638	13 classes

this proportion had increased to 66 per cent. It is to be hoped that in future most of these hospitals will become independent of foreign support. It may be many years before this ideal is attained, but it is obvious that the trend of public opinion is moving in the right direction.

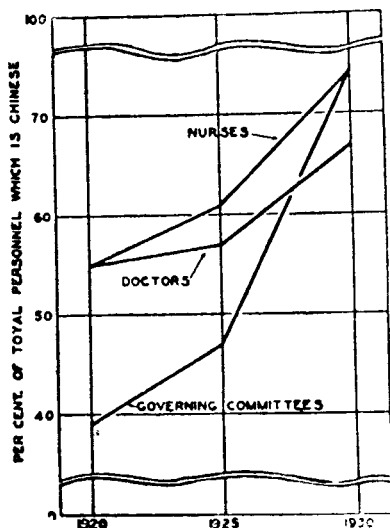
In 1931, 178,667 in-patients and 3,111,120 out-patients were attended in these 232 mission hospitals. By 1934 the numbers have increased to 209,595 in-patients and 3,824,044 out-patients. No statistics are available for patients seen by private practitioners and in Government hospitals, but there is no doubt that the num-

bers are increasing every year. These figures are a striking proof that the public are awake to the value of modern medicine and are less conservative than we expected them to be.

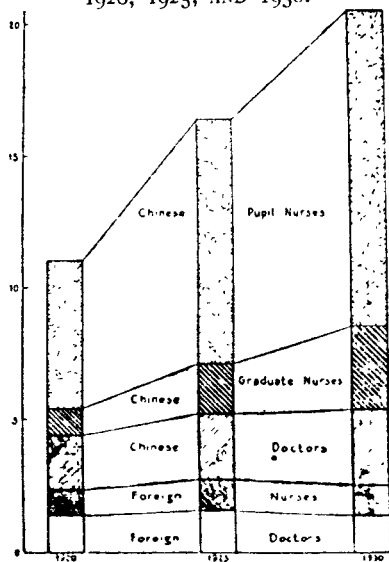
THE TRAINING OF NURSES

In the early days male patients were always attended by male nurses, as it was against the custom and tradition of the Chinese people for women to look after male patients in hospital. It was found, however, that male nurses were unsatisfactory and experience showed that there was no difficulty in getting women to undertake this work; women nurses, therefore, have been intro-

NATIONALIZATION OF MISSION HOSPITAL STAFFS.



AVERAGE NUMBER OF DOCTORS AND NURSES PER MISSION HOSPITAL, 1920, 1925, AND 1930.



duced into nearly all the hospitals. The first training course for nurses was organized in 1887 by Dr. Boone of Shanghai, and the first nurses graduated at Fuchow in 1890. Since then the number has increased every year, and at present there are about 5,000 nurses under training. Girls commence their training after they have completed their junior middle school course (that is, after three years in the middle school). Four years in hospital is required, and at the end of this time an examination is held by the Nurses' Association (established in 1909). When she had passed this examination a nurse is legally recognized.

SCHOOL OF PHARMACY

There are only a very few such schools in China so far, and the best of these is at Cheeloo University, Shantung. Students are

admitted when they have finished middle school. They have two years' work in *materia medica* and pharmacy, together with chemistry and botany. The demand for pharmacists is so great and the supply so small that most of the hospitals find it necessary to train their own, and it is to be hoped that in the future there will be more schools founded like that at Cheeloo.

LABORATORY ASSISTANTS

Usually each hospital trains the laboratory assistants on its own account, but in recent years it has been found necessary to organize special schools. Three such schools now exist, one at Cheeloo Medical School, one at the University Hospital at Nanking, and the third at the School for Technicians at Hankow. The course varies from one to three years, and includes both theoretical and practical teaching.

MIDWIFERY

In China, as in every country, there have always been untrained midwives who have, as is usual, wrought much havoc among their patients. An order has been issued by the Ministry of Health that such midwives must undergo a course of training in modern methods if they wish to practise. Four national midwifery schools have been established since 1930; the first was founded in Peking, the second in Nanking, the third in Canton, and the fourth in Hankow. In 1930 a Chinese philanthropist from Singapore made a donation of 350,000 dollars to the Ministry of Health for the establishment of a second national midwifery training school in Nanking; later another 100,000 dollars was added in order to complete the building. Between one and two hundred midwives have been trained in these schools. Many hospitals train their nurses for this work, and women with such training are welcomed by the public. Until recently it was not permissible for a male doctor to attend a confinement, and even in the case of diseases of the breast some conservative women would prefer to die rather than be attended by a man. This order, however, is rapidly changing, and male doctors now have the opportunity of attending such cases. Many modern women go regularly to doctors for periodic examination during their pregnancy; the majority, however, still prefer women doctors to men. With such a widely scattered population it is a difficult matter to uproot tradition and prejudice, but a great advance has already been made, and there is no doubt that progress will be even more rapid in the near future.

DENTAL TRAINING

Most of our dentists have been trained abroad. There is only one dental school in China; this is connected with the Western

University of Chen-tuh, Szechuan, and gives a seven years' course. Unfortunately, the school is not very large and the staff limited, so that they cannot take many students. The members of the staff are mostly American. Modern methods of treatment are very much welcome, and the prospects are good for well qualified dentists. There is also great scope for this work in connection with child welfare.

PUBLIC HEALTH

On account of its vast territory and wide variation in climate, all kinds of tropical disease are common in China. Sir Patrick Manson, the father of Tropical Medicine, started his career in South China in 1871. His great work on the transmission of filaria was done in Fuchow. Malaria and other parasitic diseases such as schistosomiasis and leishmaniasis are fairly common, and a Malaria Research Commission, which was organized ten years ago to inquire into and combat this serious disease, has done much valuable work. Epidemic diseases, such as typhoid, cholera, and dysentery, break out from time to time, but a good deal of improvement has been effected in this direction. Inoculation against typhoid and vaccination against cholera are much employed among educated people in the towns, and thereby the incidence of these diseases is much reduced. Since the first supply of smallpox vaccine was brought to China in 1830, its use has become widespread and now practically every mother realizes the necessity of vaccination against smallpox for her children. The Government has provided adequate facilities for the training of large numbers of vaccinators to carry out this work, and as a result serious outbreaks of smallpox are now a thing of the past, although vaccination is not compulsory. In 1911 the National Epidemic Prevention Bureau was founded in the Temple of Heaven in Peking. Here is produced all the material, such as vaccines and serums, which is needed in the country for the prevention of disease. This bureau is directed by Chinese experts, and is well equipped and financed by the Government.

Child welfare has occupied a very significant part in the development of public health work during the past few years. A systematic school health programme was first inaugurated in Peiping in 1925; this movement spread to Shanghai in 1929, and later to Nanking. It includes medical examination, correction of defects, treatment of minor ailments, removal of cases of serious illness, control of communicable disease, school sanitation, and general health education. In the smaller cities and in the interior this work has not yet been so well organized, but wherever there is a hospital, especially a missionary hospital, the physicians make every effort

to deal with the problem. A Rural Health Service was organized by the Department of Medical Relief and Social Medicine in 1932, and a few centres have been opened; each of these has its own difficulties and it is early yet to look for results.

The National Government has established a Ministry of Health, which is assisted by advisers sent by the League of Nations. Each province has an official, whose duties correspond to those of an English Medical Officer of Health.

Sanitation is a great problem in China for two main reasons: firstly because night-soil is the chief source of fertilization for the fields, and secondly because the cost of modernization is prohibitive. In certain cases the method of disposal of refuse may be instrumental in the transmission of disease, but for the most part the soil is collected and buried underground for some months before it is used on the fields, and thus the method is innocuous, as all sources of infection are by that time probably destroyed. In the larger cities, however, more modern methods have been recently introduced.

Health propaganda is well organized; posters, lantern slides, and pamphlets in simple language, with graphic illustrations depicting the mode of transmission and methods of prevention of disease are widely circulated. The public take a great interest in any kind of health exhibition, and large numbers of classes flock to such exhibitions and eagerly ask for advice.

In reviewing the brief history of modern medicine in China it is remarkable to see how much progress has been made in such a short time, but a vast amount of work yet remains to be done. More hospitals, more medical schools, are necessary, and more workers are needed to meet the requirements of this great population. The country is so vast and communication so difficult that the advancement of medical science can only go hand in hand with progress in other directions. There is now an adequate supply of doctors in the large cities, but the lack in the country districts is still very great. Eighty per cent. of the population of China is agricultural, and most of these people are unable to read and write, but they are intelligent and sensible, and receptive to modern ideas of medicine. If only more doctors were willing to face a certain amount of discomfort and loneliness they would be eagerly welcomed, and it is encouraging to know that each year a few young men and women are undertaking this work. A famous Chinese scholar has said: "If I cannot be a great prime minister, let me be a good physician, that I may save the lives of the people."

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE ASSEMBLY : FIRST SESSION

BY SIR BARJOR DALAL
(President of the State Assembly)

THE origin of this Assembly was described by His Highness in the opening words of his Proclamation on the inauguration of the Assembly :

“ We recently expressed Our wish and pleasure that means be designed whereby Our people may be more closely associated in Our Councils; and in pursuance of Our Commands thus declared, those persons appointed by us to give practical shape to Our wishes have submitted their recommendations which have been accepted by us.”

Possibly with the English ideas of a representative Government, of the origin of which it may be said there is no memory, it will not be easy to appreciate the difficulties of starting an Assembly representative of the people, particularly in a State like that of Jammu and Kashmir which is far flung, has difficulties of communications, and has a population very unequally divided in plains and in hilly tracts. For any representation, first of all, what is desired is the settlement of the franchise to determine who should vote. When there is a diversity of communities, and in consequence thereof diversity of interests, the first question which arises is as to whether elections are to be made jointly according to localities or separately according to communities. The considerations here are entirely different from those prevailing in British India, where, whether for good or evil, separate representation of communities has been established. In India the population of Hindus being much larger, the Muhammadans through fear that they may be swamped in elections have insisted on separate electorates. There is a distinction in separate electorates also, whether the election is to be made of a member of a particular community by the members of that community only or whether seats may be allotted to particular communities leaving the election to the entire population regardless of communal divisions. In India the Muhammadans have insisted on and have obtained separate electorate in the sense of a Muhammadan being elected by the Muhammadan population and a Hindu by the Hindu population. In Kashmir the Muhammadans

are in overwhelming preponderance, being as many as 70 per cent. of the population, and in Jammu they are about 56 per cent. of the population. Even so, they did not desire joint electorate; this may possibly be due to the neighbouring province of the Punjab, as there would have been an inconsistency if, while desiring separate electorate where the community happened to be in a small majority, the Muhammadans were willing to accept joint electorate where the community was a large majority. There may be other reasons also, such as a fear that Muhammadans being uneducated and poor might feel induced to vote for those Muhammadans who would not be extreme Muhammadans but would favour Muhammadans of neutral views. Hindus are the money-lenders of the State, and possibly it was apprehended that these money-lenders would bring influence to bear on their debtors regarding the person for whom they should vote. However that may be, the Muhammadans were determined in the State as they are in India that there should be entirely separate electorate of Muhammadan representatives being elected by a Muhammadan electorate. Having regard to the larger population of Muhammadans the Hindus also were not insistent on a joint electorate, though they would have preferred a joint electorate with reservation of seats.

In May, 1932, His Highness appointed a Franchise Committee to make recommendations as to what the franchise should be—that is, which of the population should be considered to be entitled to cast votes in order to choose representatives. This is not such an easy matter as may appear at first sight. First of all it was definitely settled without any controversy that adult suffrage, meaning every man and woman of the State above a certain age being entitled to vote, could not possibly be granted in a State where the standard of education was so low and illiteracy prevalent in a very high percentage of the population. The vastness of the area and population was another reason why it was not possible to grant adult suffrage. An election machinery in case of adult suffrage would have to be so vast that it would be beyond the resources of this State. Even if the adult suffrage were confined to males the calculation was that an election on the basis of adult male suffrage would require at least 1,300 officers of standing to act as presiding officers at the elections and more than 3,000 clerks to help. This was administratively impossible.

A start therefore had to be made to select out of the population those who might and those who might not vote. It is regrettable that in spite of long deliberation the Committee had to decide that women in general should not be enfranchised. The purdah system not being so strict among the Hindus, the Hindu witnesses before the Franchise Committee favoured woman suffrage. By

reason of the strict seclusion system among Muhammadans there would have been considerable difficulty in identification of electors and great danger of impersonation if suffrage had been permitted to women. The Committee, however, thought that women who had obtained a certain standard of education certified by examinations might be considered to be entitled to vote. Women who had obtained the Middle School certificate or had passed any higher examination were granted the vote, and it may be of interest to note that this privilege was freely exercised and every woman entitled to vote did vote during the last elections. No woman, however, stood for election, and the State has not thought it right at this stage to nominate a woman representative. The matter was considered at great length and communal differences prevented the Government from nominating a woman to the Assembly, though such a nomination would have been highly desirable in these days when social welfare plays such a prominent part in political institutions.

The next question was that of age, and this was fixed at twenty-one. The most contentious question, however, was that of nationality. In Kashmir many people have settled temporarily and acquired interests in the well-being of the State. There is, however, a very strong feeling, particularly among the Muhammadans and Pandits of Srinagar and the Dogras of Jammu, that all privileges and offices in the State should be preserved for State subjects. A British Indian subject, however long resident in this State, would not like to change his domicile and give up the innumerable benefits of domicile in British India. The feeling was so strong that the interests of British Indians in the State had to go unrepresented. It has been laid down that only a State subject would be qualified to vote or to be elected as a member.

The Committee next considered which groups of men should vote. First they fixed upon persons who by position were already representative of their fellows. These men are the petty village officials called zaildars, sufed-poshes, and lumbardars. Then the Committee thought of the religious representatives like the imams, muftis, and qazis of Muhammadans; the adishthatas, bhais, and granthis of Hindus and Sikhs; and ordained ministers of the Christian Church. Right to vote was given to all of them.

Another group taken into consideration was those who had rendered services to the State or to British India and were retired or pensioned officers or non-commissioned officers of the military forces of the State or of British India. Retired soldiers of both British India and the State were added to the group.

The third group was formed of those whose education or subsequent attainments fitted them to take part in a modern constitu-

tional system. Under this heading all lawyers, doctors and their counterparts hakims and v aids, and schoolmasters, all in actual practice in the State, were enfranchised.

Further, all those who had qualified themselves educationally by passing the Middle School examination or any higher examination were considered entitled to vote.

These are all special groups, and the Committee then came to the mass electors, who can voice the feelings of the ordinary citizens but must be expected to do so with some degree of responsibility. The test that is usual in all civilized countries for grading the mass of men among themselves is the possession of property, and that is the only qualification. As the country is poor the franchise was fixed at a low figure—viz., the payment of land revenue of Rs. 20 a year and the ownership of immovable property of the value of Rs. 600. It was then discovered that a very large percentage of the population lived by grazing live stock, so a qualification was fixed in order to enfranchise them, so that those who paid Rs. 20 a year grazing fee were considered to be fit to exercise the franchise. Finally, there was fixed as everywhere else a residential qualification providing that a person could vote only at the place where he resided.

Every elector cannot stand for election; in this matter some distinction was necessary in age and knowledge. Twenty-one was considered too young an age to be a member of the Assembly, so the age was fixed at 25 for a candidate for election, and only a person who could read and write the Urdu language was permitted to stand. Urdu is the common language of both the provinces; the Kashmiri is spoken in Kashmir and Dogri in Jammu.

After considering those entitled to vote the Committee had to consider those who should be deprived of the power of voting through physical or moral disabilities. Obviously a person of unsound mind cannot be permitted to vote, nor a person who has been found guilty of corrupt practices in an election. As regards a candidate, stricter rules had to be framed to provide against persons of proved moral turpitude entering the Assembly. Undischarged bankrupts and persons convicted by a criminal court of a serious offence were debarred from standing as candidates for election.

The labours of the Franchise Committee were concluded at the end of 1933, and then commenced an enquiry as to constituencies and the method of election. The State was exceedingly fortunate in obtaining at the beginning of 1933 the services of Sir Ivo Elliot, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, of very large experience in franchise and election matters. It is entirely due to his ability, zeal, and extensive travelling through every portion

of the State that elections were carried out with smoothness and efficiency, a result which one would not have expected at the very start of representative government; nay, even in a State with a decade or two of representative government. He not only taught the possible election agencies their duties, but explained to the population what representative government meant and how they were to exercise their duties as electors. First of all he divided the territories of Jammu and Kashmir for the purposes of election into constituencies, and the limit of each constituency was clearly defined. Each constituency was put in charge of a returning officer on whom devolved the main responsibility for the conduct of election in the constituency, and for this duty important Government officials were selected. For the city constituencies the district magistrate, the assistant magistrate, the president of the municipality, and the additional district magistrate were selected as returning officers; while for the rural constituencies the duties of a returning officer were delegated to the deputy commissioners. The number of constituencies which were to elect members for the Assembly was fixed as 33, out of which 10 seats were allotted to the city constituencies of Jammu and Srinagar. The remaining seats were divided in the eight districts of Jammu and Kashmir.

After the delimitation of constituencies Sir Ivo took in hand the preparation of the electoral rolls in accordance with the franchise qualifications which I have already detailed. These rolls were prepared through the revenue agency in the tehsils and through the municipal agency in the cities. The provisional rolls were printed and given the widest publicity by being posted in prominent places. Copies were also offered for sale at a nominal price. Then there followed an interval of about six weeks during which the public could lodge their objections and claims with reference to these electoral rolls, and electoral registrars were appointed to hear them. In the rural constituencies the tehsildars performed the duties of electoral registrars, while in the cities the duty was assigned to additional district magistrates. The revision brought in a large number of new names on the electoral rolls especially in the city constituencies, where various associations and sabhas took a keen interest in getting fresh voters of their respective communities on the revised list. Activity at the same time was not wanting in the rural constituencies, because public opinion had been awakened by the extensive tours of Sir Ivo, who explained the new constitution to the people. The revision of electoral rolls closed in May, 1934, when the revised lists were finally printed. Then the revised electoral rolls were made available for sale to the public and a large number of copies were supplied to the returning officers for

sale and distribution to the polling officers and to identification clerks for use at the time of elections.

Immediately afterwards nomination papers of candidates were received by the returning officer with a security of Rs. 150 for each nomination, to be forfeited to Government if a candidate failed to secure one-eighth of the total votes. A period of 15 days was allotted for scrutiny of these nominations by the returning officers, and the final decisions were arrived at by the returning officers in the first week of June. Three months were then allotted to permit the candidates to acquaint themselves with their constituencies and carry on their election campaign. The date of election was fixed in such a way as to avoid inconvenience to the voters during the season of rains in Jammu.

For the 33 constituencies 76 nominations were accepted. Nine candidates were returned unopposed. The largest number of nominated candidates was reported from one Hindu constituency which had as many as six competing candidates. Eight constituencies had three accepted candidates, while the rest had two each.

The polling arrangement was also made by Sir Ivo Elliot. Each constituency was divided into a suitable number of polling stations. An idea of the extensive nature of the work can be gathered from the fact that in one constituency there had to be as many as 14 polling stations. In the Mirpur-Kotli constituency the area is extensive and the population sparse. It was impossible to divide the constituencies into an equal number of polling stations in a country like Jammu and Kashmir, which is interspersed with high mountains and deep rivers and is thus handicapped in the matter of communications. The distribution of the population, except in the Kashmir valley, is unequal. For the convenience of the voters every care was taken to establish the polling station in a suitable place so that voters may not have to travel inconveniently long distances. In the hilly and mountainous country, therefore, a large number of stations had to be fixed. In all 138 polling stations were fixed for the 23 rural constituencies. For the 10 city constituencies there were 38 polling stations: 32 in Srinagar and six in Jammu. In Srinagar five Muslims and two Hindus were elected. The location of the polling stations was extensively advertised throughout the country.

For the first time in the history of any country where representative institutions are established the polling was conducted on a special scheme which was recommended by the Lothian Committee in British India. This system is known as the "coloured box" or "symbol" system, under which it is not necessary for the voter whether literate or illiterate to make any mark on any ballot paper against the name of any candidate for whom he wishes to vote. The system is very simple and requires

the voter to place his ballot paper in a box marked with a definite colour assigned to a particular candidate. The assignment of a particular colour to a particular candidate was widely notified. This system makes it possible for a voter to cast his vote in secret and helps in the rapidity of recording votes. There is no preliminary required of writing a name or of putting a thumb impression, so the system is easily understood even by an illiterate electorate.

First of all at the polling station the identification of the elector is made by a person called the identification clerk, who in some cases was assisted by other persons. As soon as the voter was identified he went to the next clerk, known as the ballot clerk, who tore off from the ballot book a ballot paper, keeping the counterfoil. This ballot clerk checked off the name and village of the elector. The elector then proceeded to the next room, where the presiding officer was sitting, and in a corner of which room were placed the coloured ballot boxes screened off by a screen from the public view. The voter entered the screened-off place alone and put his ballot paper in the box of the candidate whom he favoured. He was not observed by anyone and he left the room by a different door. The candidates, who remained in the compound of the polling station, did not see the voter immediately after he had cast his vote.

September 3, 1934, the election day, was gazetted as a holiday, and also September 1, the 2nd being a Sunday. This enabled the election officers from all the corners of the State to prepare carefully for the election. There were 176 polling stations, which required the services of 176 officers and 352 clerks. In the country a reserve of presiding officers was constituted for service at the polling stations in case the presiding officer fell sick or was otherwise unable to attend.

The number of voters at each polling station was in the neighbourhood of 700 in the rural areas. It was feared by the officers on duty that they would not be able to pass 700 voters through between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m., the hours fixed for polling. Their fear proved to be unfounded, thanks to the excellent system of polling. It was found that by 2 p.m. the voting was practically over and stray voters arrived subsequently, though of course the voting had to be kept open till 6 p.m. In some polling stations the voting was as quick as 270 per hour—that is, more than 4 per minute. It is interesting to note that the voters knew their business quite well and had been made fully familiar with the colour of the box in which they had to put their vote. In certain cases the voters were given by the candidates slips of paper which had the same colour as the boxes allotted to these candidates, and thus even the least intelligent voter was able to remember the colour.

The candidates also helped considerably in the quickness of voting. They gave to the voter a slip containing his number on the electoral roll. By such means the ballot clerk was at once able to find the name of the voter on the electoral roll and issue the necessary ballot paper to him quickly.

So far I have dealt with the 33 elected candidates. It was, however, found that in certain cases election was impossible, as, for instance, in the case of Buddhists in Ladakh and of Sikhs spread all over both the provinces. In Jammu the situation was such that there was no necessity to nominate a Muhammadan. The electoral divisions were conveniently made. In Kashmir, however, no proper electoral circles could be made for 3 constituencies. Naturally, in Ladakh and Gilgit an election was impossible by reason of the large areas covered. For similar reasons there were four nominations in Jammu and one in Srinagar for Hindus. Altogether there were 14 constituencies to which members were nominated by Government. Care should be taken to distinguish between these nominated members who were assigned to constituencies and 16 State Councillors who were appointed by Government by reason of their status in the country. The 14 nominated members were nominated merely because it was not possible to hold elections in those areas, and every one of them had to have the residential qualification for nomination in a particular area. These 47 members may therefore be considered to be fully representative of the populace. To these were added 16 State Councillors and 12 official members, making up an Assembly of 75 members, including the President, who was an official. The constitution of the representation has been so arranged as to give a majority to the majority population of Muhammadans, whilst at the same time guarding the interests of the minority Hindus. By the method of nomination two seats have been given to the depressed classes, known now as Harijans, to represent their own peculiar interests as distinguished from those of Hindus.

The Assembly is to meet twice a year, once in Srinagar in October-November and one in Jammu in March-April.

This Assembly which took so long in careful preparation and election was inaugurated by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur on the evening of October 17, in a Durbar when the Proclamation was read by Colonel Colvin, the Prime Minister, to whose wise counsel the State owes so much and who may be said to be the protagonist of the Assembly. It was pointed out in the Proclamation that in older times also such institutions were recognized by the monarchy and such duties were loyally shouldered by the Praja—that is, the subjects to help the monarchy. Admonition was given to beware of impassioned utterances which formulated

unbalanced and unpractical ideals divorced from decisive factors and stern realities.

The change in the constitution is laid down in Regulation No. 1 of 1991 Samvat, which is now the foundation of the constitution of the Jammu and Kashmir State. All ultimate powers are reserved in His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur, to whom also are reserved certain subjects like the Army, relations, treaties, conventions or agreements between the State and the Paramount Power, matters concerning Gilgit and Ladakh, rights granted to Illaqadars and Jagirdars, and the State departments. The rest of the power is to be exercised by a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as President. The Assembly has been given powers under the rules of business and procedure. There are four definite powers: those of interpellation, of resolutions, of discussing the Budget, and of legislation. One hour of every day of the Sessions is set apart for the answering of questions, and during 14 days of the sitting more than 400 questions were answered by the Government through the different ministers to whose departments the questions related. Any member is entitled to move a resolution after giving notice. The passing of such a resolution may not compel the Government to take any particular action, but it would serve to indicate public opinion, and no Government can afford to disregard it. During the discussion of the Budget the resolutions passed by the Assembly have a particular significance, because the Budget cannot be passed by Government until Government declares through the President what action the Council has taken on the resolutions passed by the Assembly. This is a very great power, as was indicated during the last Sessions. Two resolutions were passed, one for the increase of grant for medicine and the other for the increase of grant for industries, and also a third for the opening of a telegraph office at a particular spot in the State. The Council promptly took action on all these resolutions, increasing the grant for medicine and industries and promising to build a telegraph office at the place suggested. In the matter of legislation it may be said that the power of the Assembly is absolute, as no legislation can be passed in future without its consent. The Government must pass all legislation through the Assembly, and any member has also the privilege of proposing a bill and getting it passed through the Assembly. In matters of urgency, power is reserved to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur to pass ordinances, but even then the ordinance has to be submitted to the Assembly for discussion and the ordinance cannot continue for a longer period than six months. A special provision is made for money bills imposing a new tax or duty or increasing the rate of any existing tax or duty. A copy of such a Regulation is to be supplied to every member of the

Assembly and a day or days allotted for discussion, when members may asked questions or move resolutions. If a resolution is passed the bill will not be passed by the Council until it has taken the resolution into consideration.

So far, as President of the Assembly, I may say without false modesty that in the first sessions the Assembly has used its power wisely and well. There have been debates without rancour, a high level of eloquence has been maintained, and there has been general good humour. The ministers for their part were able to show their merit; the profundity of knowledge and clarity of expression of the Revenue Minister in industrial matters were particularly noted, as also the suavity and persuasiveness of the Home Minister. To me personally the great advantage of such an Assembly appears to be the bringing together of ministers responsible for the Government of the State and the critics, who instead of attacking measures and men in an irresponsible manner in the open are brought together and made to appreciate each others' difficulties. From day to day the critics are able to find out what is being done by Government, and this knowledge by itself is a great cure for irresponsible talk. By being members of the Assembly they acquire a certain social status, and there were several meetings, two at my place and one at the Palace, when the governors and the governed were brought together in social intercourse. I may be permitted to quote from what I said in reply to a vote of thanks to the Chair on the termination of the first sessions of the Assembly :

“I am sure that with wider knowledge of the world and by contact with each other and with us, you gentlemen will get a larger perspective of life and more charitable thoughts of those who appear to you to have no greater merit than that of drawing what to you appear to be large salaries.”

Then I pointed out the large amount of sympathy shown to the members by the Prime Minister and other ministers and added :

“It is my great hope that contact with such great sympathy will make you appreciate those in authority better, and this I consider to be the great use of the Assembly.”

In another way also the Assembly is useful in calling the bluff of the extremists. It is easy enough for a few agitators to shout in the open that they represent the entire public opinion of any one sect or community, but when the representatives enter the Assembly and votes are taken in some cases the hollowness of such a claim is exposed. The extreme Muhammadan party, which, I desire to acknowledge, exhibited great reasonableness, restraint, and knowledge in the Assembly, started with 16 members

in their group, but that number dwindled to 14 during 2½ weeks of the continuation of the Assembly because the views of that party were not acceptable to two of the Muhammadans who joined that party at first and went over to what is known in the Assembly as the Liberal Party. As in all Assemblies, groups were formed; the principal groups being those of the Liberal Party of 26 with Mr. Dube as leader, the Muhammadan Conference Party of 14 with Mr. Ahmad Yar as leader, the Pandit Party of 3, and the Sikh Party of 3, besides the State Councillors and official members who formed separate groups. One resolution was carried against the Government, which showed the independence with which the members of the Assembly acted.

So far the experiment of representative government never before tried in this State has, in my opinion, proved a success in lessening acerbity of thought and in moderating action. Though it may be thought presumptuous on my part to make the claim, some desirable conventions very necessary in the infancy of an institution have been established in the day-to-day rulings, and there is every hope that the restraint and moderation shown at the beginning will continue. There has been perfect discipline and no rudeness. This is an excellent beginning for an institution which in the nature of things must gain in power as the years roll on. This State placed in the midst of British India could not remain unaffected by democratic institutions established there, and the great wisdom of His Highness is disclosed by the readiness with which he has consented to deprive himself of a very large portion of his absolute power. This may seem a small thing to some, but it requires great strength of character, foresight, intelligence, and knowledge of the world for a ruler with absolute power to restrain that power within specific limits. It is not everyone who has the courage and ability to do what is wise. Until the establishment of the Assembly the word of His Highness was law, and when I arrived in this State, after serving in British India for 37 years, I was amazed at there being no partition between law and rules and at the orders of the Ruler being proclaimed both law and rules. It is no longer so, and one cannot help giving credit to the authority who has consented to the differentiation being made.

THE FOREST WEALTH OF INDIA

By M. C. B. SAYER

LIKE the Simon Commission, the Joint Select Committee were impressed by the extent and potential value of India's vast forest resources. "It is a matter of great moment both for the revenues and for the contentment of India," the Simon Commission stated, "that this asset should be prudently developed and skilfully exploited."

Under provincial autonomy, the State forests, covering an area of upwards of 250,000 square miles, or about one-quarter of British India alone, and more than double that of the British Isles, will be administered by responsible Indian ministers. There is no reason why the system, which has worked well in Bombay and Burma since 1924, should not be equally successful elsewhere so long as the necessity for co-ordinated research in all forestry matters, upon which the Joint Select Committee rightly lays such stress, is recognized. Nor is it only in research that co-ordination of effort between the different provinces is, and must continue to be, important.

One of the first tasks for the new Board of Forestry which it is proposed to set up will, or should, be to decide what is the criterion of successful forest administration. India is justly proud of being the first part of the Empire to recognize the potentialities of its forests and to take steps to preserve an asset of such great and increasing value. Although in the United States, with approximately the same acreage of forest lands, Canada, and New Zealand the State forests are hardly even today paying propositions, the provincial governments of India derive a not inconsiderable proportion of their revenues from that source. But is the net revenue obtained on the sale of timber, after deducting costs of management, the best criterion? Or is it the elimination of indifferent species and the conservation of those which are commercially most valuable? A long view of the case will probably lead to a compromise. The essential problem consists in maintaining a balance between preservation and exploitation. The latter, carried to excess, may mean the squandering of national resources; the former must involve the locking up of badly needed capital and market opportunities missed. It is claimed, not without justification, that owing to the work which has already been accomplished in the past India now leads in forestry in the Empire by half a century. It is to be hoped that the Indian ministers of

the future in charge of the Forest and Finance portfolios will also take the long view and see that the best use is made of this magnificent heritage, looking not to an immediate profit but to the immense possibilities of the future.

In other countries public demand, if not always the most reliable guide, has been of material assistance to the State authorities in formulating a policy which must be determined largely in the light of the conditions in each area. So little was known until recently of the distribution, supplies, physical and mechanical properties, and uses of the "Commercial Timbers of India," that private enterprise, even in this country, has preferred to wait until the Government, by practical example, has demonstrated the possibility of a profitable trade. And before the publication, two years ago, of Mr. R. S. Pearson and Professor Brown's monumental work* it is doubtful whether there was sufficient authentic information available in a readily accessible form to justify the considerable expenditure involved.

The various trade and technical journals have testified in no uncertain terms to the immense value to forest officers and timber users of this manual, which represents not merely the collation of previous knowledge, but also the fruits of many years of original study by two recognized experts in forest products research. Teak, rosewood, and silverwood have been known in the United Kingdom for more than 200 years. Since the war, which gave fresh impetus to research and the endeavour to find export markets for other Indian timbers of unquestionable beauty and merit, there has been a marked improvement in the demand. Gurjun—a good constructional timber; padauk, from the Andamans and Burma; pyinkado, also from Burma; and fine decorative woods, such as Indian laurel wood, Indian silver-grey wood, and kokko—all of which, with the exception of pyinkado, have been used to excellent effect in the decoration and fittings at India House—are now being exported in varying quantities. But they are only a few out of the 320 commercially important species analyzed by these painstaking authorities out of some 2,500 species of trees and about an equal number of woody shrubs in the forests of India. In addition to the exhaustive analysis of the 300 odd timbers, the various woods are classified according to their suitability for various uses under no less than 33 trade captions. The utility of the two volumes, which are fully illustrated by photomicrographic reproductions of grain sections to facilitate identification, is enhanced for the layman by the copious appendixes, including a complete glossary of scientific terms and phrases used in the book.

* *Commercial Timbers of India*, by R. S. Pearson, C.I.E., and H. P. Brown, PH.D., 2 vols. (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch.) £5 net.

MALAYA AS A HOLIDAY LAND

BY HUBERT S. BANNER, B.A., F.R.G.S.

Author of *Wanted on Voyage*, *Hell's Harvest*, etc., etc.

OLD conceptions are slow to die. Even in these days of enlightenment there must be many thousands of English people, well educated in other respects, whose pictures of Malaya rest upon the reports brought back by those captains who roamed the Eastern seas in the days of Queen Elizabeth. They visualize, that is to say, a country covered with impenetrable, poisonous jungle and fetid swamps; a country where wild beasts and snakes are sure to account, sooner or later, for any white man or woman fortunate enough to survive the deadly fevers. As for the human inhabitants, they are content with the description furnished by the early voyager who called the Malays "folke ryghte felonouse and foule and of cursed kynde."

Nothing could be farther from the truth than such a picture. There is jungle, of course, and it is equally a fact that there are wild beasts and snakes. It would be interesting to know, however, just how many places behind the decimal point would come the proportion of Europeans in Malaya who have ever seen a tiger or panther not in captivity, and the reader may accept my assurance that few residents experience any encounter with the serpent tribe more thrilling than a distant view of some stray snake—harmless, as often as not—sunning itself on the golf course. Nor are the Malays either "foule" or "felonouse"; just the contrary, in fact. They are a people who take the greatest possible pride in personal cleanliness, a people whose excuse for dispensing with forks and spoons is, "We *know* our hands are clean, because we have washed them, but who can answer for those implements?" Peaceful and law-abiding they are, too, for they recognize that British influence has unquestionably worked for the welfare of their land, and are happy to co-operate.

What are the facts, then? Simply that Malaya, far from being a land of the "impenetrable" variety, possesses between four and five thousand miles of metalled roads which were described at the International Transport Congress as being the very finest of their class in the world; that its railway system provides reliable travel facilities, in the acme of comfort, throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula and on into Siam if so desired; that thriving cities have sprung up where, little more than half a century ago, the jungle did hold sway; that British justice, supported

by a highly efficient police force, has superseded the bad old system of oppression, bribery, and the precarious arguments of the *kris*; that unprofitable tracts of virgin forest have given place to vast plantations which have elevated Malaya to the position of the most productive country on earth in relation to its area; that the tin deposits have been worked on up-to-date lines; that—— But considerations of space call for a halt; one could continue in this strain for page after page.

Just a word, though, concerning the question of Malaya's healthiness. There is a tendency among people to lump all tropical countries together, and to take it for granted that any district not far removed from the Equator must of necessity be a "white man's grave." The climate of Malaya is actually, as tropical countries go, extremely good. Seldom does the day temperature rise higher than 90° F. in the coastal regions or 93° to 94° F. at inland stations, and at any time of year the average night temperatures are not much over 70° F. The "fly in the ointment" lies in the circumstance of Malaya's very high humidity, causing the heat to be somewhat "muggy." However, pleasant breezes make even the day temperature bearable for the most part, and now that the new hill station at Cameron's Highland has become *fait accompli* it is possible to escape at short notice to a climate where night temperatures average about 55° F. and sometimes sink as low as 42° F. Again, it must not be overlooked that medical science has made immense strides during recent years in the combating of malaria and other diseases in tropical countries, and nowhere has its success been greater than in Malaya. The white man or woman who is prepared to observe a few elementary, commonsense rules of health can to-day go to Malaya without the slightest need for nervousness.

Then why not go there? Granted, eight thousand miles seems at first thought a fairish journey. The wonders of our age, though, have annihilated time and distance; people are making "trips" nowadays which within living memory have seemed outside the bounds of sanity. Moreover, the invitation to visit Malaya need not by any means rest upon the assumption that a journey is to be taken with that sole end in view. Day after day people are departing from England's shores bound for Australia or China, for Japan or Burma or Siam or the Dutch East Indies. Why not break the passage for just long enough to see one of the loveliest and most interesting countries on the face of the earth? After all, the facilities are there, and very convenient they are. Several steamship companies maintain a regular fortnightly service to and from the Far East, and this self-evidently enables eastward-bound travellers to step off at Penang, enjoy twelve days in the Malay Peninsula, and then join the next ship at Singapore.

Similarly, travellers from Japan, China, or Australia, whether bound for home or for India, can leave their steamer at Singapore and have nearly a fortnight in Malaya before catching the next vessel at Penang.

It will be gathered from what I have written earlier that Malaya can be seen either by road or by rail in more or less equal comfort. Since, however, the first-mentioned means offers certain obvious advantages, it will be as well here to indicate, for the information of any visitors who contemplate "doing" the country by motor-car, a suitable itinerary. It is possible to motor the whole way from Penang to Singapore, passing through scenery of the most widely divergent nature. Crossing from Penang by the railway ferry to Prai, on the mainland, the motorist will drive through Province Wellesley to Gunong Semanggol, and thence, via Taiping, Kuala Kangsar, Ipoh, and Gopeng, in the state of Perak, to Kuala Lumpur, in Selangor, the capital of the Federated Malay States. From Kuala Lumpur he will proceed by way of the Setul Pass to Seremban, and after that through Malacca and the state of Johore to Johore Bahru, whence the Causeway carries the road across to Singapore Island. The distance travelled on this journey totals 506 miles.

Another exceedingly interesting route leads from west to east of the peninsula, starting from Port Swettenham. Travelling by the trunk road, the motorist passes through Klang to Kuala Lumpur, making next for Raub, in the state of Pahang, which can be reached by alternative routes: namely, by the Semangko Pass or by Gitang Simpah and Bentong. Either way affords an exhilarating crossing of the mountains at an elevation of 2,000 feet. From Raub the road runs on to Benta, and then, passing through 150 miles of practically virgin jungle and over the Pahang River by ferry, to Kuantan on the China Sea. The total distance by this route is 282 miles.

The visitor will naturally suit his own purse, convenience, and inclination when deciding whether to take his own car to Malaya or hire one locally, though the former course may perhaps recommend itself to such travellers as have sufficient time available to make a limited tour in Siam as well. For the benefit of these I may add that wherever they go in the Malay Peninsula they will experience no difficulty in housing the car, that petrol and lubricant are universally obtainable, and that any simple repairs can be executed with reasonable expedition. A very few words of the Malay language will serve all ordinary purposes, but it is advisable, none the less, to engage a native driver or cleaner, if only to assist in the ceremony of tyre-changing. As to the type of car best suited to Malaya, there is little to be said except that the more efficient the cooling system the better. For really comfortable

travelling, a car of about 20 h.p. is perhaps to be recommended, but for two people not over-burdened with impedimenta a small car will really do equally well.

In case, however, our visitor prefers to hire a car, it will be of service to him to know in advance that touring cars may be hired at an approximate rate of £3 per day or part of a day for a maximum of fifty miles, and of 6d. per mile extra over and above that distance. These rates, it should be added, would include the cost of the driver's food and lodging and also ferry charges, if any. The approximate cost of a trip from Penang to Singapore, stopping the night at Kuala Lumpur, would therefore work out at about £16, but with the addition of £2 5s. to cover the return fare of the driver—assuming the firm in Penang from whom the car is hired to possess an establishment in Singapore also.

A word about Malayan hotels. The establishments at Singapore and Penang have, of course, been made world-famous by returned travellers, and at Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh also there are magnificent, thoroughly up-to-date hotels maintained by the F.M.S. Railways. The visitor can expect to be made very comfortable indeed for an inclusive charge of from £1 to 25s. per day. Further, in every town of any importance there is to be found a resthouse kept up by the Government, fully furnished and in a position to supply meals. These resthouses are usually clean, comfortable, brick-built establishments run on hotel lines, very different in style from the old dâk-bungalows of India. The charge for lodging in them is 4s. 8d. per day, and that for board 7s. per day.

Having briefly dealt with practical considerations, I will pass on now to describe a very few of the attractions which Malaya holds forth to its visitors. First and foremost there are its scenic glories. Malaya's densely-wooded mountain ranges, intersected by mighty, slow-moving rivers, present a picture such as time can never efface from the memories of those who once have looked upon it. Let it not be supposed, though, that in Malayan scenery there is any monotony. It would be no exaggeration, I suppose, to say that nowhere on earth can a traveller pass through a greater variety of country within the limits of a comparatively short journey. At one moment he will be traversing a populous area dotted with Malay dwellings perched on stilts among the shady coconut groves. The next, seemingly, far as the eye can reach will stretch a vista of rice fields, glittering in the sunshine like a vast chess-board made of mirrors. Next, perhaps, the orderly parade of some rubber plantation, its trees, clad in their sombre, dark green uniform, all ranged in ranks of mathematical exactitude. After that may come a tract of virgin forest, hushed and inscrutable as in the days before ever the white man first ventured into its

mysterious depths. And then, like a transformation scene in a theatre, a radical change in the entire aspect of the countryside. Hills scarred by towering white precipices of limestone; the earth's surface yellowy-gray, pocked and pitted like a landscape in the moon; and, straddling over that landscape, vast, spidery frameworks of bamboo. In brief, a mining region: a stretch of the rich mineral lands that supply the world with one-third of its tin.

If the scenery of Malaya is varied, equally so are its inhabitants; indeed, it would probably be difficult to find any area of its dimensions with so cosmopolitan a population. There are, in the first place, the aborigines of the country—the Sakais, who have been identified with the original people of Siam, driven out by the present Siamese, and the Semangs, who present close affinities with the folk of Nicobar and the Andaman Islands. Then the Malays themselves, a people of debatable origin manifesting signs of both Mongolian and Aryan stock, but who are known to have spread to the Malay Peninsula from the ancient kingdom of Menangkabau, in Sumatra. Thirdly must be mentioned the Chinese immigrants, originating from all parts of China and speaking as many dialects. Next comes the large variety of immigrants from India—the Sikhs and Pathans occupying posts in the police or as watchmen, the half-million or so of Tamils imported from Madras to furnish the labour force for Malaya's rubber industry, and the heterogeneous mass of representatives of other Indian races who come to the country to engage in work of one sort or another. And finally, we have Arabs, Japanese, Armenians, Dutch, Danes and other nationalities too numerous to mention. It would be a laborious task to catalogue all the peoples to be found between Singapore and the border of Siam; the salient fact is that all these races are able to exist side by side in harmonious relationships, undisturbed by those unhappy inter-racial and inter-religious feuds which make the work of government so difficult in certain other countries. Malaya presents, in fact, an object-lesson in miniature of what the British Empire is capable of accomplishing under favourable conditions.

The aborigines of Malaya are shy, nomad tribes living for the most part in the forests and boasting little, if any, knowledge of agriculture. They live mainly on jungle fruits and whatever they are able to kill with the blowpipe or snare, varied with lizards and other creeping things. Their religion is of the animistic category: they revere, that is to say, the spirits of the mountains and the rivers, of the sun and the wind—all the great forces of Nature which surround them and enter into their daily life. Needless to add, they recognize also numerous spirits of a malevolent sort: notably the terrible bogey who goes clanking through the forest on legs of iron and whose head is fashioned like a cooking-pot.

The Malays, descendants of pirates though they be, are an extraordinarily good-natured people. Moreover, possessing an etiquette so stringent that bad manners constitute the one unforgivable sin, they have been justly described as "Nature's gentlemen." How complex that etiquette is may be judged when I state that it is a mortal offence, for example, to lean one's elbows on the house ladder of a Malay dwelling while waiting to be admitted. The argument behind this stricture—and it admirably illustrates, I think, the fundamental difference between the workings of the Eastern and Western minds—runs thus: "Supposing someone in this house had died and the undertaker were within, preparing the body for burial, his assistant would brace his elbows on the ladder in exactly that attitude in order to take the weight of the corpse as it slid down the ladder. *Ergo*, by adopting that position you express a tacit wish that somebody in the house should die. . . ."

Again, nobody can hope to arrive at a just appreciation of the Malay mind who does not study, and continually take into account, the mass of ancient superstitions which hedge in these people. The influence of superstition upon their lives begins to assert its force literally at birth, for the most important functionary at that event is always the local magician, who attends to weave spells that shall hold at bay the malevolent birth-spirits. And fearful indeed are those bogeys, ranging from Bâjang, who lurks on the roof in the guise of a polecat, to Penanggalan, most dreaded in all the vampire category. Penanggalan has a woman's head, but no body. From the severed neck hangs a festoon of "innards." Truly an unpleasant person to have creeping about the place at the critical time when a new little life is being ushered into this vale of woe!

Queer legendary beliefs are attached to many of the beasts and birds of Malaya. The most common central figure of all is the tiny mouse-deer, whose nickname is "Sir Peace of the Forest," bestowed upon him because of his supposed skill in adjudicating the disputes of the other animals, but who also frequently figures somewhat in the rôle of a Brer Rabbit. We see him at his best as arbitrator in, for example, the tale of the dog who had foolishly lent a dollar to the monkey, the latter promising to repay in two months. The Malay word meaning "in two months," however, can also bear the construction "when there are two moons," and the monkey, of course, claimed that this had been his meaning. Called in to settle the matter, Sir Peace of the Forest bade the delinquent look into the heavens and say what he saw there. He obeyed and reported the presence of one moon only. "Now gaze into the waters of the river and say what you *there* behold," commanded the mouse-deer. "I still see but one moon," was the

answer. "Then you must pay," he was told, "for it is amply clear that one and one make two."

Many, also, are the legends centred round the tiger, and most deep-rooted of all in this group is the practically universal belief in the existence of were-tigers. The Malays hold that the were-tiger originates from a district of Sumatra called Korinchi. How real is their credence was once demonstrated in a very terrible fashion in the case of a Korinchi pedlar who was overtaken by dusk in the jungle while on his way to Bentong, in the state of Pahang. Hearing the snarl of a tiger close at hand, he imprisoned himself in a box-trap which opportunely presented itself, and there he remained all night while the tiger made ineffectual attempts to scoop him out between the bamboo bars. At dawn it vanished, and presently, to the prisoner's immeasurable relief, a party of Malays came to inspect the trap. But his joy was short-lived. Jumping to the conclusion that the Korinchian was in reality a tiger—forced back into human guise, perhaps, by the shock of finding himself trapped—they speared the unfortunate man to death. I have concluded with this rather sombre episode because it so well illustrates the darker side of Malaya—the side against which the missionaries and educationists and civil servants have had to contend. I suggest that it throws into yet higher relief the success of their labours, in that they have produced a country that is the cynosure of all colonizing nations.

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES GOVERNMENT MEASURES TO ALLEVIATE THE DEPRESSION

BY DR. H. COHEN DE BOER

THE Netherlands Indies, being chiefly agrarian country, are to an even more serious extent affected by the crisis and depression than the industrial States. It is dependent on the export of its products and, on the other hand, stands in need of a great number of industrial products, both on behalf of its production and of the personal wants of the producers. Now it is a fact that in times of depression the prices of raw materials—which is the status almost always occupied by agrarian produce—drop in an even more considerable degree than those of the products of industry. The result is that the Netherlands Indies are not only suffering from a strongly reduced market for its products and diminished prices for the same—since 1928 the total value of exports has dropped by no less than 70 per cent.—but also from the fact that it can by no means supply its needs by imports at proportionately lower prices, although it must be said that in this respect Japan has brought a certain measure of relief, more especially as regards the native population.

It is therefore no matter for surprise that the financial and economic position of the Indian Archipelago causes the Government a great deal of concern. Although by a number of drastic measures more than 25 per cent. has been retrenched on expenditure in a space of three years, the Budget in the last few years has still shown a deficit, which was inevitable in view of the still more rapid rate of the drop in State revenues. These, in fact, decreased in the last five years by 55.5 per cent. The Netherlands Indies National Debt, indeed, has, since 1929, increased by almost fl. 500 million.

Apart from the reduction of expenditure by simplification of the Government services wherever this could be done without affecting vital interests, the Netherlands Indies Government has found it necessary to make an attempt to increase its revenues, *inter alia*, by increasing both direct and indirect taxes to the utmost capacity of the population.

The most important retrenchment has undoubtedly been the radical reduction of the *salaries* and *pensions* of State officials. The reduction of salaries has been effected on an entirely new scale, according to which the salaries have dropped to about 30 per cent. below the figures prior to 1931, in the sense that the

actually applied reduction is 25 per cent., whilst the remaining 5 per cent. is obtained by the omission of periodical increases. On pensions an average reduction of 17 per cent. has been effected.

As mentioned above, the financial measures taken to relieve the Exchequer, in the form of new direct and indirect *taxes* and an increase of those already existing, have laid a heavy burden both on the population and on industrial life. A rough survey of this part of the Netherlands Indies legislation will show this.

The income tax has, first by an increase of the supertax and subsequently by an additional crisis levy on income on the same basis, been increased to such a figure that at present one must pay on an average—the tariffs are progressive—12 per cent. more than before the introduction of the increase.

The company tax, a levy on the profits of Limited Liability Companies, was increased by two-thirds. Further, a property tax of 2 to 2½ per cent. and a coupon tax on home securities of 2 per cent. were introduced.

Of the indirect taxes, import duties occupy the first place. After the tariff of those duties had in the course of the years 1930-1933 been gradually increased to 150 per cent. of the original amount, towards the end of the last-named year, an entirely new tariff was introduced which bore the character of a luxury tax and which was tantamount to another increase in the import duties, in the sense that a duty of 30 per cent. is now levied on articles of luxury—which practically include all goods imported on behalf of the European population.

Various excises are levied on East Indies produce. The excise on gasoline has been increased to one-third its value, whilst that on native distilled liquor has been increased by one-third. A tobacco excise of 20 per cent.; a beer excise, which is now fl. 7.50 per hectolitre, and a sugar excise of fl. 2 per 100 kilos have been introduced.

Finally, we may mention, as a crisis measure on behalf of the Netherlands Indies Exchequer, the conversion of two loans which was rendered possible by the support of the mother country in the form of a guarantee for interest and redemption, whereby the type of interest of these loans could be reduced by ½ and 1 per cent. respectively.

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The other measures which the Netherlands Indies Government has taken, more especially in view of the present *economic* position, may be distinguished as measures of commercial policy in the narrower sense of the word and as measures on behalf of plantations and industries.

Like the Netherlands the Netherlands Indies have as long as

possible adhered to the old free trade policy and attempted to hold aloof from that protection and economic nationalism which are becoming more and more acute all over the world. When, however, the tariff walls, which had been raised everywhere, had reached such a height that free trade had become a complete illusion the Netherlands Indies Government was also compelled to provide for the protection and encouragement of the industries which were already developing within its territory. Measures in this direction, however, were not taken until 1933 or later.

Thus, the above-mentioned revision of the Tariff Act, in addition to its fiscal aspect, also aimed at promoting the founding of new industries. For this purpose that Act provides, if this is considered necessary in the economic interests of the country, for exemptions from or restitution of import duties on machinery and implements for the equipment of industries founded for the manufacture of *new* finished products. Before this, a developing industry—viz., the weaving industry—was already supported by means of the tariffs in that the import duties on *weaving yarns* were either reduced or removed.

The acute competitive struggle for the Netherlands Indies market, which has been raging for a few years past between the European and East Asiatic textile industrialists and which threatened to push the nascent native weaving industry completely to the wall, has doubtless been one of the principal grounds for the taking of general measures for the safeguarding of the industrial life of the Netherlands Indies. As a matter of fact, also with regard to various other kinds of goods, the rising flood of foreign products had gradually become so strong that the Government was compelled to erect a dam to stem the tide. In so doing it did not in principle abandon the commercial policy of the open door, which has been followed for years, or infringe any commercial treaties. The measures taken only aimed at incidentally protecting those products of native agriculture or industry, the sale of which on the home market was endangered by imports from abroad.

As a result of this, first of all, in March, 1933, the import of *rice*, which, owing to the abundant crops in Burma, Siam, and Indo-China, threatened to dislocate the home market, was subjected to restrictive measures, the object of which was the regulation of both the price-level and the distribution of this article of food. For this purpose a provisional prohibition of import was issued, which was afterwards replaced by a system of limited import licences on the basis of what applicants had imported in previous years. Besides, a fee was charged for the issue of import licences, the proceeds of which served to defray the cost of transport premiums for the transport of rice from those parts of the Nether-

lands Indies with rice surpluses to other parts where there was a shortage. It thus proved possible gradually to send 7,000 to 8,000 tons of Java rice per month to the Outer Possessions. Finally, by special ordinance, a rice transport prohibition was issued whereby inter-insular shipments were prevented from districts left open for rice imports to others where such is not the case. On the same lines a similar arrangement was made in 1934 for *soya beans* and their by-products, *soya* and *taotjo*, also articles of food in general use with the population.

A few months after the rice import regulations it proved necessary to protect the *cement* works at Padang, on the west coast of Sumatra, against the excessive imports of foreign cement, which proved a menace to their existence. By ordinance, these imports were to a certain extent subjected to quotas, provisionally for a space of three months and afterwards fixed from quarter to quarter.

Soon, however, the need was felt of according the Government powers of wider scope, so that it would not be obliged to consult the "Volkeraad" with regard to every quota measure, which in view of the generally urgent nature of such regulations took too much time. In September, 1933, therefore, the *crisis-import-ordinance* was created, providing for power to determine simply by Government decree which class of goods imported into the Netherlands Indies could be temporarily restricted or forbidden. Such decrees are valid for a maximum period of 10 months, after which time they have to be renewed. Correspondingly, the *crisis-export-ordinance* gives the Government power in urgent circumstances temporarily to forbid by decree the export of certain goods, or the transport of such goods to other parts of the customs area, whenever the supply of the first requirements of the population should demand it or if it should be necessary to prevent undesirable exports of planting material grown in the Netherlands Indies.

For the carrying out of the first-named ordinance, decrees have been created to subject to quotas the import of *beer*—there are two beer breweries in the Netherlands Indies—of *iron casseroles*, and of various *textiles* (sarongs, cotton clothing materials, bleached cotton materials).

The necessity of these quota measures was naturally due in the first place to the influence of the excessive imports from Japan. We shall not dwell here on the question of the invasion of Japanese products of all kinds on the Netherlands Indies market and the often very radical changes which have been the result. An exposition which would even approach completeness would require an extensive treatise. It must therefore suffice to refer to the remarkable change which has taken place in the last five

years in the proportion of the imports from the Netherlands and from Japan into the Netherlands Indies. In 1928, those from the Netherlands (18.1 per cent. of the total imports) represented a value almost double that of the Japanese imports (9.9 per cent.). In 1933 Japan exported to the Netherlands Indies to a value of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the Netherlands imports (31 per cent. and 12.4 per cent. respectively; as regards weight, imports from Japan in 1933 were as much as 4 times those from the Netherlands). As for draperies, whilst in 1928 imports of this class of goods from the Netherlands exceeded those from Japan by fl. 7 million, in 1933 Japan's share of these imports represented 10 times the value of that of the Netherlands.

It goes without saying that the low price of the goods imported from Japan, more especially draperies, has stood the population of the Indies in good stead in these difficult times, but, on the other hand, both the native weaving industry and the Netherlands textile industry were seriously affected. Besides, not only has the Netherlands textile industry seen its sale in Netherlands Indies decrease materially, but the British textile manufacturers have shared the same fate. The Government cannot afford to neglect this fact. More than ever does the economic law make itself felt that a country can in the main only pay for its imports by exports. For a country like the Netherlands Indies, which is more especially dependent on its agrarian and mineral exports, this means under given circumstances that it must try to promote its exports by importing as much as possible from its customers.

As a customer for Netherlands Indies products, however, Japan plays a very small rôle. Whilst in 1933 imports from Japan amounted to almost *one-third* of the total import value, exports to that country did not reach *one-twentieth* of the total. It is no matter for surprise, therefore, that the Netherlands Indies Government has devised ways and means of restricting the excessive imports from Japan to a certain extent.

When, however, in June of this year negotiations with Japan on a new commercial treaty were opened at Batavia in order to bring about some improvement in the commercial balance between the two countries the Netherlands Indies Government promised, in order that a friendly spirit should prevail at the Conference, to suspend the measures already referred to and which had already reached a fairly advanced stage of preparation whilst awaiting the result of those negotiations. The Government, however, reserved the right to resume its freedom of action should on October 1, 1934, no positive results have been reached.

So far—the end of November, 1934—the negotiations, carried on with great difficulty, have not yet led to any material point of

agreement, and since in the meantime the flooding of the Netherlands Indies market with Japanese goods has continued, if not considerably increased, the Government has found itself obliged to put in force in the course of October the measures already proposed in the spring.

The most important of the provisions thus made is that concerning the so-called *industries regulation*. The constantly increasing creation of new enterprises, without in most cases any economic necessity, naturally renders the struggle, which already existing enterprises have to maintain under the given circumstances, more acute. In this sphere also it was new Japanese firms which caused the difficulties. The Government, indeed, was compelled to realize that the intensely impoverished country could no longer afford the luxury of complete economic freedom, leading to waste and bitter competition.

The industries regulation decree, which materialized in October, 1934, introduces quotas for the number of enterprises in certain branches of industry to be specified later. These quotas are arrived at by a system of licences—eventually coupled with conditions—for the establishment, reopening, extension, or fundamental reconstruction of any business. Existing enterprises, either of the Netherlands or foreign nationality, are not threatened by this regulation. Although these also have to apply for a licence, the issue of the same cannot be refused; it has only an administrative—registrative—value.

Further, in other ways watchfulness on the part of the Government proved imperative. As a matter of fact, not only did the imported goods and the ubiquitous Japanese establishments constitute by their excessive number in many respects a danger, but in the matter of the *distribution* of the imports the Japanese exporters showed an unmistakable tendency to push to the wall and eliminate altogether the old European import firms, by establishing everywhere Japanese importers who applied themselves both to the import and to the retail trade.

In the long run this would have led inevitably to a total dislocation of the existing distribution apparatus. In order to prevent this, a system has now been introduced by which incidentally, if necessary, it may be ruled that imports which are subject to quotas may only enter the country via importers recognized as such by the Director for Economic Affairs in so far as they shall have received a permit for the import of such goods. The allotment of the share of each in the quota allowed is made in reasonable proportion to the interest which the importer in question has thus far had in the import of any article. The first quota to which this system was applied was the aforesaid restriction of imports of iron casseroles. It is, however, to be foreseen that if

the commercial negotiations with Japan should lead to no result, this so-called *licensing of importers* will be laid down in a general ordinance covering a great number of articles.

Needless to say, such measures must be considered of great importance, if only because they give the authorities the right to interfere in an unprecedented manner in the free economic development of business life, a power which is only justifiable in especially critical times like the present. At any rate, it is hoped that in this manner it will be possible to prevent an all too great shifting in the distribution process, to safeguard the rights obtained, and to maintain the *status quo*.

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An extensive series of decrees has further proved necessary in order to give *support to the plantations*. Of late years, in practically all countries, attention has increasingly been given to agrarian production, and wherever this takes the form of intervention by the authorities in production we can discern an inclination towards international co-operation where it is a question of supporting certain products, or individual efforts on the part of separate States in protecting their own agriculture in general and certain special products in particular.

Naturally, the Netherlands Indies could not in the long run lag behind in this respect. Although the scientific information service and perfected organization of the agricultural industries lead to a cost of production which renders possible successful competition on the open market with products from countries with a strongly depreciated currency, this is of no avail as regards the Netherlands Indies now that every country closes its doors almost hermetically and, in accordance with the principle of economic nationalism, attempts to produce such goods within the country itself, even if in a less economic manner. It is, however, impossible to deal in detail with the numerous arrangements which have had to be made to support agriculture and mining in an article which aims at giving a bird's-eye view of the general crisis legislation as a whole. It must therefore suffice to give a fairly general enumeration, which may convey some idea of what has thus far been done in this respect in the Netherlands Indies.

From a chronological point of view, we may first of all mention the restriction on the *tin production*, which according to international agreement came into force on March 1, 1931. The restriction percentage was gradually increased, and to such an extent that since July, 1932, production has amounted to only one-third of the basis output of 1929. As a result, the visible stocks have considerably decreased—on December 31, 1933, they were less than half those of December 31, 1931—whilst prices may again be called very satisfactory.

As regards the decidedly most important plantation product, *sugar*, its position is still very unsatisfactory. It is a well known fact that the Netherlands Indies became a party to the so-called Chadbourne Plan, which in the main aims at improvement in the position by restriction of production and by subjecting the export of the old stocks to quotas. Incidentally, a decree has been issued prohibiting the export of sugar without a written permit, which is only accorded for a maximum quantity to be fixed annually. Collaterally, towards the end of 1932, there was formed the "Nederlandsch-Indische Vereeniging tot Afzet van Suiker" (N.I.V.A.S.), a general selling combine, if not a compulsory combine for first-hand sugar, which, by an ordinance the drawing up of which required prolonged conferences between the Government and interested parties, was accorded a legal monopoly for the sale of sugar, for the issue of export permits, and for the fixing from year to year of the area to be planted with sugar.

Neither of these two measures has thus far answered expectations. One gets some idea of the position if one realizes that the export value per ton has since 1928 dropped by no less than about two-thirds and sales by more than 60 per cent. The area under cane, which in 1931 was still 200,000 hectares, is expected to cover in 1935 no more than 28,000 hectares. In these years, production has dropped from 2.8 million to 460,000 tons.

Despite its world-famed technical and scientific equipment, Java's principal industry has found itself compelled to reduce its sphere of action for the moment to the afore-mentioned minimum. Naturally, the consequences weigh heavily on the native population of the sugar districts. In 1935, that population will receive in wages alone fl. 90 million less and in ground rent fl. 15 million less than five years ago. In this industry alone, 800,000 natives have had to be discharged. Owing to the good rice crops, the drop in the cost of the most necessary food supplies, and above all owing to the admirable adaptability of native society, it has been able to withstand this catastrophe without too great repercussions.

The very low price at which the N.I.V.A.S., in competition with other countries, has had to place the sugar on the foreign markets has necessitated a further legal provision—viz., the sugar *import* ordinance. For example, dealers in British India availed themselves of the opportunity to buy the cheap Java sugar, to place it in bonded-warehouse, and then re-export it to Netherlands Indies at a lower price than that charged by the N.I.V.A.S. on the home market. The import prohibition put an end to this movement.

With respect to two more plantation products restrictive measures were taken incidental to international arrangements—viz., with regard to tea—as a result of an agreement arrived at

between producers in the Netherlands Indies and British India—and with respect to rubber, incidental to an international agreement in the matter of rubber restriction entered into in London on May 7, 1934.

Tea exports are forbidden without a Government permit. The restriction, however, is comparatively insignificant. For this year, the maximum export has been fixed at $87\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the Indian standard production. This total is distributed in proportion to the standard production of the various enterprises, allowance also being made for a proportionate percentage of the former production of native tea. Further, the export of tea seed and planting material and the extension of tea plantations without Government permit has been forbidden.

In the case of *rubber*, different provisions have been made for the plantation product and native rubber. For the first-named, a similar arrangement has been made as for tea—viz., export prohibition, unless a permit and also a certificate of origin are produced. On the other hand, the export of the native product—with respect to which accurate data concerning area and output are wanting—is not restricted by a system of permits, but by a special export duty, the figure of which may be varied according to necessity. For rubber also, supplementary legal provisions have been created for the prohibition of export of planting material and seed, of import and of further planting.

Besides these restrictive measures, which have, in fact, had a stimulating influence on the price of the articles in question, the export of *cinchona*, of which Netherlands Indies produces 92 per cent. of the total, has also been forbidden beyond a quantity to be annually fixed by the Government. The export of cinchona seed and planting material is entirely forbidden. The relevant ordinance, moreover, provides for efficient measures to prevent the factories from raising the price of quinine for the home market without the consent of the Government. As regards production, although there already existed a voluntary agreement for restriction of the production between producers supplying about 95 per cent. of the total Netherlands Indies cinchona bark supply, the potential production increased considerably because outsiders were able to increase their output to an unlimited extent. Hereby, the effect of the voluntary agreement was endangered. This necessitated, therefore, an ordinance providing for compulsory restriction of production by a prohibition of sowing and planting.

The remarkable side of those ordinances is that the planters who formerly made such a determined stand, and justly so, for freedom in industrial life, for being master in their own house, are now by the stress of the times compelled to consent to this far-

reaching Government interference in their affairs, and in many cases have had to invoke it themselves. A striking illustration of this is the support which the Government has had to accord on behalf of the afore-mentioned scientific information service for the cultures. The various experimental stations which provide the information and which are constantly engaged in making extensive researches for the improvement of the cultures and their products are, with only one exception, private institutions, financed by contributions from the interested enterprises. Naturally, the cost is not low, and it is easily understood that the rigorous retrenchment which has been forced on the planters by the depression has led many to withdraw from the experimental station societies. In order to prevent the closing of one or more experimental stations and the destruction of what has been built up in the course of many years, the Government has taken a hand by the promulgation of a number of so-called *crisis ordinances for the cultures*—viz., for rubber, tea, cinchona, coffee, and cocoa. For all these products, central stations have been created, without whose consent the product is not allowed to leave the enterprise. These permits are subject to a duty, the proceeds of which are used to finance both the private experimental stations for the products in question and the work done to promote the consumption of these articles. In this manner, everyone contributes towards the upkeep of the experimental stations in proportion to their interest in them.

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In the above story, I have, perhaps somewhat rapidly, passed in review the principal crisis measures resorted to in the Netherlands Indies. Naturally, this survey is not entirely complete. In view of the space at my disposal, restriction in this matter also was imperative. Thus, I passed over in silence the temporary social measures: those aiming at the solution of the unemployment question, at relief for the numerous people who have been discharged from private employment (regulations concerning a legal extension of the period of notice and concerning the duty of paying the return voyage of employees engaged in Europe). I might also more especially have mentioned the *statistics ordinance*, which creates a general obligation to supply the Government with the statistical data necessary for judging the urgency of the afore-mentioned measures, an ordinance which, although not of a temporary nature, nevertheless owed its origin to the critical circumstances.

For the purpose of this exposition, which aims at giving a general insight into the system of entirely new arrangements which had also to be created in the Netherlands Indies in support

of the economic life of the country, the foregoing summary is sufficient. It refers exclusively to measures for unusual times, measures all of which contain in their ephemeral nature the germ of their own transitoriness.

May this germ, by a further recovery of the world, ere long attain sufficient development!

THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES AND JAPAN

BY DR. D. J. HULSHOFF POL

(The Hague, Holland)

STATISTICAL SUMMARY

It is a well-known fact that during the last few decades Japan has in an increasing degree acquired a position of predominance in the markets in the Far East. The result is that the trade balance of those countries of the Far East shows a very considerable shifting in the commercial relations to the advantage of Japan. For the Netherlands Indies, this appears in the following figures from the trade balance of that country (in millions of Netherlands guilders): *

	1913.	1920.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.	1932.	1933.
Total:											
Import ...	437	1,116	818	856	858	948	1,088	863	565	369	318
Export ...	614	2,225	1,785	1,566	1,622	1,577	1,443	1,157	744	541	472
Netherlands:											
Import ...	145	263	150	152	150	172	214	163	99	58	39
Export ...	173	354	276	261	284	263	231	177	130	104	89
England:											
Import ...	77	206	124	107	106	119	117	88	44	35	31
Export ...	24	144	122	159	156	128	128	96	69	48	26
Japan (incl. Formosa):											
Import ...	7	134	90	82	90	94	115	100	93	78	98
Export ...	36	140	95	84	94	57	48	46	33	24	23

If these data for the Netherlands, England, and Japan are expressed in percentages of the totals of import and export *ad valorem*, the following percentages are arrived at: *

	1913.	1920.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.	1932.	1933.
Netherlands:											
Import ...	33.2	23.6	18.3	17.8	17.5	18.1	19.7	18.9	17.5	15.7	12.3
Export ...	28.1	15.9	15.5	16.7	17.5	16.7	16.0	15.3	17.4	19.2	18.9
England:											
Import ...	17.6	18.5	15.2	12.5	12.3	12.6	10.8	10.2	7.8	9.5	9.7
Export ...	3.9	6.5	6.8	10.1	9.6	8.1	8.9	8.3	9.2	8.9	5.5
Japan (incl. Formosa):											
Import ...	1.6	12.0	11.0	9.6	10.5	9.9	10.6	11.6	16.5	21.1	30.8
Export ...	5.9	6.3	5.3	5.4	5.8	5.6	3.3	4.0	4.4	4.4	4.9

* These data do not include the figures for gold and silver, postal parcels and passenger goods, and, before 1929, of Government goods. Since 1929, however, Government goods have been included.

DEVELOPMENT BEFORE THE CRISIS

Before the world war imports into the Netherlands Indies from Japan formed only a very small part of the total. On the other hand, imports from the Netherlands were very considerable, whilst those from England might also be called important. Japanese imports, therefore, were of secondary importance.

After the world war the position already showed a great change. As is well recognized, Japan during the war had ample opportunity of considerably increasing her exports to the Netherlands Indies, because communications with Europe were cut off and also because various European countries, including England, were so engrossed in the war that for that reason alone they could export much less than before. Various optimists in Europe, who were still entirely unconscious of the real significance of the Japanese penetration in the years 1914-1918, were convinced that when the position returned to the normal Japan would immediately be pushed back into its old place. They were very much mistaken! It appeared very soon that the penetration of Japan was only to a negligible extent a war symptom, and that in the main it was based on the fact that Japan had gradually succeeded in developing into a Power with a modern industrial organization which was increasingly able to compete with European industries. At first, one could without much fear of contradiction say of Japanese goods that they were "cheap but bad," but gradually it appeared, to the alarm of interested parties in Europe, that although the Japanese goods remained cheap they steadily improved in quality.

In the year 1920, the first normal year after the war, Japanese imports into the Netherlands Indies, therefore, remained at a considerably higher figure than they had ever been before the outbreak of hostilities. The following years brought no improvement from the point of view of Europe. Up to the end of 1925—the year in which England, the Netherlands, and a number of other countries definitely returned to the gold standard—the percentage of imports from the Netherlands and England dropped steadily. The percentage of Japan at that time also dropped somewhat, but comparatively little, so that Japan could maintain her position at about the same level. For the sake of completeness, the fact should here be mentioned that the total imports from all countries, thus, also from Japan, expressed in guilders, dropped seriously in the years 1920-1925, because in those years the war inflation gave way to a strong deflation process, which in 1925 rendered it possible to restore the gold standard almost all over the world.

After 1925, till the great crisis, the Netherlands' share as a

general rule remained at the same level, with a slight downward tendency. Imports from the United Kingdom, however, dropped still further to a considerable extent, whilst those from Japan decreased slightly. In the main, therefore, there was little change, except as regards the United Kingdom.

FURTHER JAPANESE PENETRATION DURING THE CRISIS

After 1929, however, very considerable changes again occurred. For the purpose of obtaining a proper survey, we will divide the years of crisis into two parts: the first period until the end of 1931, in which year the three countries, at least in the main, still adhered to the gold standard; and the second period, the years that followed, when both Great Britain and Japan had depreciated their currency.

In the first-named crisis period the percentage of both Netherlands and British imports dropped considerably. On the other hand, even then Japan's percentage in the imports rose rapidly, despite the fact that the yen was not yet depreciated. During the second period, the share of the Netherlands, the gold country, dropped at a still greater rate, whilst that of the United Kingdom rose again—without, however, reaching the figure of 1929—and Japanese imports increased by leaps and bounds.

From the development during the crisis the following conclusion may be drawn. According to the statistical data, the depreciation of the currency of certain countries has doubtless influenced the imports into the Netherlands Indies. The figures of the United Kingdom after 1931 proved this conclusively. Japan also must have profited by the very considerable depreciation of the yen to about 40 per cent. of its former gold value. Nevertheless, it would be utterly beside the mark to believe that Japan's progress was chiefly due to this depreciation. The contrary is nearer the truth. In fact, up to the end of 1931, the increase in the percentage of Japan's imports was already very important. It is worth noting that this continued rise afterwards manifested itself more especially in the second year of the depreciation of the yen, thus, in 1933, and not in 1932. If the rise had been strongly influenced by the depreciation it would, indeed, have been strongest in 1932. As a matter of fact experience has proved that, more especially in 1933, the Netherlands Indies market was actually deluged with Japanese goods, which not only effectually kept imports from Europe out of the country, but even began to constitute a menace to the industries already in existence in the Netherlands Indies. For this reason it was not until then that protection was demanded from all sides against this Japanese deluge and that only in that year quotas were introduced for the import

of various articles. Incidentally, the coming into office of the new Cabinet, with Dr. Colijn as Premier, in May, 1933, also exercised its influence.

Finally, it appears from the figures quoted that the trade balance between the Netherlands Indies and Japan has in the course of years undergone a radical change. Whilst in 1913 exports to Japan were still more than five times the imports from that country, in 1920 the two practically balanced. In the next few years this position remained as it was, but in 1928 such a change set in that the Netherlands Indies trade balance showed a considerably passive figure with respect to Japan. Since then this tendency has continued at an increasing rate. Whilst in 1928 imports from Japan were not quite twice as great as the exports to that country, in 1933 they were four times as great. This was not only due to the strong increase of Japanese imports throughout the previous years, but also to the fact that Japan followed a most drastic protectionist policy, as a result of which the Netherlands Indies were unable, despite their steady economic progress and increasing total export—for example in the years 1925-1929—to export to Japan in proportion to their imports from that country. These two factors—viz., the Netherlands Indies free trade policy, which up to recently was followed in the most liberal manner, and the excessive Japanese protection, by which, for example, exports of Java sugar to Japan were steadily reduced—form a glaring contrast. Assuredly this was a most unfavourable position for the Netherlands Indies!

The afore-mentioned disadvantage of the overwhelming influx of Japanese goods should, however, not lead us to close our eyes to the fact that this increase also has its advantages. The Japanese goods are cheap, far cheaper than the European and American articles. From this the native population in the Netherlands Indies, whose purchasing power is but slight, derives great benefit.

DETAILS REGARDING JAPANESE IMPORTS DURING THE CRISIS

If one considers in greater detail the development of the various imports, more especially during the crisis, one arrives at the following facts.

As formerly, imports of yarn and textiles, mostly of cotton, predominate. These cotton articles form more than 50 per cent. of the imports.

It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that the import of other Japanese products was negligible. On the contrary, that import is of importance both on account of its value and quantity and of the fact that such a great variety of industrial products as are included in the statistics prove the increasing importance of

Japan as an export country of such products. This is proved by the following list of articles which are now imported in varying quantities: tinned sardines; *agar-agar*; *beer*; *cement*; matches; chemicals (alum, lead arsenate, sulphuric acid); medicines and chemically prepared foods; fertilizers (hydrosulphide of ammonia and superphosphates); dyes, paints, and varnishes; earthenware (plates, cups and saucers, etc.); glass and glassware (including incandescent lamps); packing cases; plaited articles; *shoemakers' products*; various kinds of paper; ironware in *plates*, tubes, *roofing material*, wire netting; *tacks and nails*; enamelled household articles; *parts of bicycles*;* various kinds of machinery; petroleum lamps; motor-car tyres; bicycle tyres, and *toys*. Of these articles those printed in italics are even imported to a value of half a million guilders annually.

The development of the import of these articles shows that in the first years of the crisis, up to the end of 1931, the import of cotton yarns and textiles, as far as quantity is concerned, was well maintained. In some cases a slight drop occurred, whilst in others a sometimes not inconsiderable rise was noticeable. The quantity of other industrial imports, however, dropped fairly considerably, apart from certain articles such as tinned sardines, shoemakers' products, iron plates, and bicycles. After 1931, however, a considerable rise took place all along the line, which from 1933 onward was in many cases still further accentuated. This proves that although the devaluation of the yen in December, 1931, was doubtless not without importance, it was nevertheless not decisive. It may be assumed as being unquestionable that cheap labour and other production factors in Japan exercised very considerable influence.

It goes without saying that in view of the development of affairs referred to above the Government could scarcely remain inactive.

MEASURES ON BEHALF OF IMPORTS

On behalf of imports the Government was able to intervene by means of a system of import duties and of the quota system, which has come into such general use in these times of crisis. We shall here deal with both of them.

IMPORT DUTIES

The system of the Netherlands Indies import duties, which is regulated by legislation in the mother country, is in principle of a fiscal nature and does not allow of discrimination. If it should be found desirable to revise those two principles, this would naturally be impossible without consulting the States-General in

* Japanese bicycles are not imported completely mounted, but in parts.

the mother country, and beyond doubt very extensive deliberations would then have to precede any change of front with respect to the tariff policy.

The present crisis conditions are not very favourable to this because the Netherlands Indies, like the mother country, has for decades flourished under a free trade system, and many people are not yet accustomed to the idea of a definite and radical break with it. Many hope that with the passing of the general crisis the present difficulties will also vanish, and that then the system of import duties need not be tampered with.

But although in all probability in the near future the principles of the tariff system will not be revised, it can nevertheless not be denied that the influence of the crisis on the height of the tariffs is apparent. It is true that no discriminatory tariffs have been introduced, whilst any intentionally protectionist system is out of the question. It is, at the same time, a fact that during the present heavy depression the import duties have been considerably increased, and even to such an extent that, although intended to be of a fiscal nature, they have involuntarily led, at least partially, to protectionist consequences.

The Netherlands Indies were overtaken by the crisis with a system of import duties whereby the import of various raw materials was free, whilst on imports of means of production in general 6 per cent. was levied, on generally used articles of consumption 10 per cent., and on luxury articles of consumption 12 per cent. In order to meet the needs of the Exchequer a supertax was levied to an increasing extent in the course of the crisis, until at last the 50 per cent. mark was reached. This brought the import duties automatically up to 9, 15, and 18 per cent. respectively. As the authorities were of opinion that the increase in the import duties should after this crisis remain in part permanent, new tariffs were introduced on January 1, 1934, which in general amounted for means of production, generally used articles of consumption, and luxury articles of consumption to 6, 12, and 20 per cent. respectively. To these tariffs a crisis supertax of 50 per cent. was added, so that at present the duties are practically 9, 18, and 30 per cent. respectively.

Without the Government intending it, this has led to the protectionist effect of the fiscal tariffs, which to a certain extent already existed before the crisis—for some articles more and for others less—increasing fairly considerably, although naturally there could be no question of a rigorous and pronounced protective system.

The result of this stronger protectionist effect must naturally be that in the Netherlands Indies the chances for a home industry have somewhat increased, because imports have to a certain extent

been barred. It may also be assumed that the importation of Japanese goods has been somewhat handicapped by the increased import duties. However, this last-named influence can hardly be very great. In fact, as a result both of the strong depreciation of the yen and the low cost of production in Japan, the prices of Japanese goods are so low that the duties referred to on the import of these goods can only form a barrier of secondary importance.

As a matter of fact, the best way of preventing undesirable imports from Japan lies in a different system.

THE QUOTA SYSTEM

This other system is that of quotas, which the Netherlands Indies Government first adopted about the middle of 1933. The reason for this retarded adoption lies in the circumstances that before that date quotas were not quite so necessary. The worst invasion of Japanese goods, indeed, did not occur until 1933.

The quota policy first came to expression on June 28, 1933, in a rigorous restriction of cement imports. Since then, each time for a period of three months, imports of this article up to a certain weight have been allowed. This restriction was introduced on behalf of the cement industry, which has existed in the Netherlands Indies for years and which was in a fair way to becoming ruined by the Japanese cement industry. Before the date in question salvation had first been sought in an agreement with Japanese interested parties, according to which for each ton of cement exported by Japan to the Netherlands Indies a certain premium was paid by those interested parties to the Netherlands Indies cement industry. Although this system led to the last-named industry being to a certain extent compensated for the damage suffered as a result of Japanese competition, it also was the cause of that industry coming practically to a standstill and in the meantime subsisting exclusively on the Japanese premiums. As this position became untenable, quotas were at last resorted to.

Subsequently, on December 13, 1933, quotas for beer were introduced. The Netherlands Indies have for a comparatively short time past been in possession of a small number of breweries, which at first did well but after a time were seriously affected by a sudden strongly increasing import of Japanese beer. Here also, therefore, intervention was imperative, that is to say, exclusively for the Netherlands Indies.

On February 14, 1933, quotas were created for certain kinds of coloured textiles—viz., sarongs and kains pandjang—of cotton, art silk or natural silk, or half-cotton, half-art silk, and a few other types of coloured materials. This protective measure was

chiefly introduced because the home industry for these goods could no longer compete with the Japanese articles, but partly also in order to support the cotton industry of the mother country. In so far as this was the case about 30 to 45 per cent. of the permitted import was reserved for goods from the Netherlands.

On March 1, 1934, there followed quotas for the import of bleached cotton fabrics (cambrics, shirtings, longcloth drillings, jeans, twills, sateens, flannels, etc.). This measure was chiefly the result of the circumstances that the Netherlands bleached goods were rapidly being ousted from the Netherlands Indies market by the increasing Japanese imports. The end in view, therefore, was to support the industry of the mother country. This end is gained by a provision in the regulations that part of the permitted quota, which for some types was up to about 60 per cent. of the import, must come from the Netherlands.

Finally, on October 1, 1934, a quota for iron casseroles was introduced. The object of this measure was to safeguard the home industry in this article against excessive imports from Japan.

It is to be expected that quotas on more articles will be introduced in the time to come. The Government is preparing the fixing of several other quotas.

PROTECTION OF ALREADY ESTABLISHED IMPORTERS

Not only in the matter of the importation of goods, but also in other respects, there has been a serious penetration on the part of Japan, more especially in recent times. Simultaneously with the penetration of the market in goods, it became apparent that the already established importers, mostly Europeans, were in a fairly rapid manner being ousted by Japanese. This led in an increasing measure to a Japanese control of the import trade. The Netherlands Indies authorities wished at all costs to prevent a further development in this direction. Incidentally, the carrying out of the quotas was in most cases coupled with the protection of the already established importers.

When, from December 13, 1933, onwards, the import of beer was restricted, even then such import was only allowed in the case of those who had regularly imported beer during 1931. As a result, beer importers who started business at a later date—chiefly Japanese—were eliminated.

A similar provision was also made with respect to quotas for several kinds of coloured textiles, which came into force on February 14, 1934, to the effect that the permitted quotas must either entirely or for a considerable percentage be imported by firms who had regularly imported such goods during 1930.

As regards the quotas for various bleached cotton goods, intro-

duced on March 1, 1934, a varying percentage of the permitted import was allotted to importers who on January 1, 1934, were *inter alia* members of one or more *European* Trading Societies or corresponding institutions established in the Netherlands Indies.

In the case of the restriction of imports of iron casseroles, which came into force on October 1, 1934, a high percentage was only allotted to importers who on January 1, 1934, were already members of four *European* Trading Societies or corresponding institutions established in the Netherlands Indies.

The protection of already established importers is a problem that has the full attention of the Government, which is preparing further measures in this direction.

QUOTAS FOR ENTERPRISES

In the matter of the establishment of enterprises the need of Government intervention was also strongly felt, because as a result of the seriously diminished purchasing power in the country a restriction of production proved necessary; in any case, for many branches of business an increase in the number of enterprises had to be prevented. Hence, an ordinance was recently issued whereby the Netherlands Indies authorities were given the power of regulation in the matter of certain categories of enterprises, on the one hand, by requiring licences for the already existing enterprises which, however, would always be issued, eventually, against compliance with certain conditions which could doubtless easily be complied with; on the other, by demanding for enterprises to be newly created, or the extension of those already existing, licences which might if necessary be refused by the authorities. We shall have to wait and see what effect this decree will have in practice.

COMMERCIAL TREATY ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY

The circumstance that the trade balance between the Netherlands Indies and Japan has changed in the course of years to the disadvantage of the first-named, and the difficulty of the Netherlands Indies selling its products at a reasonable price, renders desirable a commercial agreement with Japan whereby the trade balance between the two countries might again turn more to the advantage of the Netherlands Indies. A similar standpoint was also adopted by the British Indian Government, which in January, 1934, after prolonged negotiations, concluded with Japan a commercial treaty providing for reciprocity with respect to mutual imports, whilst the balance in the trade between the two countries is improved.

Correspondingly, in the beginning of June, 1934, negotiations

on a commercial agreement between the Netherlands and Japan were opened at Batavia. These negotiations have been languishing during a six months' period, now and then interspersed by somewhat dramatic events, and were at last suspended in December, 1934, as the Japanese Government were not prepared to accept the proposals of the Netherlands authorities. It may be expected that the negotiations will be taken up again after some time—a half year or so—as it will be in the common interest of both countries to arrive at some mutual arrangement.

A position in which a reciprocity treaty is lacking is for Japan by far the more unfavourable, because it leaves the Netherlands Indies authorities a free hand to restrict at will the import of Japanese goods and the establishment of Japanese importers and Japanese enterprises in so far as the interests of the Netherlands Indies and the mother country should be served thereby.

On its part the Netherlands Government is greatly in favour of a commercial agreement with Japan, because the fact remains that that country is one of the most important neighbours of the Netherlands Indies, and it must therefore be considered economically rational that the two countries should entertain good commercial relations with each other. It is therefore to be hoped that the two parties will after some time arrive at an understanding.

PROBLEMS OF THE SIAMESE REVOLUTION

BY "SIAMENSIS"

So smooth was the change made by the *coup-d'état* of June, 1932, in Siam that it appeared at first to have no other effect than that of substituting a new set of ministers for the old and the words "king and parliament" for the word "king" in the acts of government. The revolutionary fulminations lasted only two days, the government offices were not closed even for a day, the members of the bureaucracy retained their positions, and in a week the life of the nation seemed to be continuing along the pre-revolutionary path. But subsequent events were to show that one cannot remove the foundations of a structure without bringing a certain amount of it down about one's ears, and that is what has happened in Siam. For absolute monarchy was not only a political system: it was a social system as well, a system by which one family was regarded as divinely supreme; and while this unquestioned authority was at the top, then discipline and order reigned below. The king issued orders, and with the royal effulgence still about them they were transmitted to ministers, to heads of departments, and down to executive officials to be obeyed unquestionably. But after the revolution in the degree that the revolutionary leaders impressed on those below them that orders were now issued in the name of the people, by so much the less were those orders respected and obeyed. The older officials, it is true, obeyed even where they did not find anything to respect, for the habit of obedience had been with them too long to do otherwise; but the younger officials, having had no such training, did not substitute for the conception of a sovereign monarchy the conception of a sovereign people, to which should be given the same obedience and respect as was before given to monarchy. Instead they showed the tendency common in revolutions to mistake the will of the individual or at best the will of a voluble group for the will of the people, and so began that slackening of discipline which has characterized Siamese political life during the last two years.

During this period there have been two occasions when there was an opportunity of arresting this drift and of again establishing firm government. The first occasion was under the régime of Phya* Mano, the first Prime Minister of the revolution, an able

* *Phya* is a Siamese title formerly held by the highest class of permanent official. *Luang*, mentioned below, is two degrees below *Phya*. Names throughout are given in their short colloquial form.

man who had held high office under the old régime, but had had no great liking for the council of princes, who had control over the king. He very soon saw that the forces which had established him as head of the government comprised two distinct groups: a group of moderates like himself, who believed that a measure of representative government would help the development of Siam, but whose quarrel with the old régime had been more a matter of personal relations than of principle. The others were an extreme party, smaller but more courageous and much better organized. They were anxious not only for political but also for economic change, trending in those two spheres towards republicanism and advanced socialism. Of this party Luang Pradit, a French-trained barrister, was the leader. In the turbulent first session of the nominated Assembly, when the chief business was the drafting of an Act for the elections of representatives of the people, Phya Mano came to the decision that if this small party of Radicals were not to play a part out of all proportion to its collective ability, its numbers, and the degree to which it represented public opinion, then it must be taken firmly in hand and the scheme of democratic government envisaged at first must be modified. Accordingly he carried out another coup; expelled Luang Pradit and his followers from their places in the Assembly and State Council, sent Pradit abroad, and closed down the few newspapers which ventured to criticize his action. Apparently the success was complete, and in the following months Siam was slowly working back to what might be called a national administration. The king and those members of the Royal Family whose integrity had been impugned in the early days of the revolution began to co-operate with the government. This development gave great satisfaction to the people, for they, in spite of political change, had continued to give to the Royal Family the traditional almost divine reverence. The administration began to recover from the shocks it had received in the storm of insubordination which followed the first coup, and the departments, guided by men who had had good training and long experience under the old régime, resumed progress along lines not very different from those followed by their predecessors. Arrangements were being made to influence the elections so that men of conservative opinions should be returned, and thereby make it easier for the government to deal with the considerable number of Socialists who still retained their places as nominated members of the Assembly.

Phya Mano, however, able as he was as an administrator and sound as were his aims, lacked that political insight which would have enabled him to succeed. He busied himself so much in establishing contact with the party of the Right that he drifted out of contact with the Assembly on which his power depended.

Two-thirds of the members of the Assembly and one-third of the members of the State Council were officers of the army or navy. Phya Mano was probably quite right when he judged that many of these had no definite political or economic opinions, but he was quite wrong when he supposed that because they had no strong political opinions they would give up the power that was in their hands. He underrated also the hold that the exiled Pradit had on this group—a hold that depended more on the latter's charm than on any comprehension of his political projects. When Mano ventured to remove the army leaders from their posts in the government and send them into retirement, the army turned on him, seized control of the government, and forced him and his chief supporters to resign.

The army had rid the country of Phya Mano, but had no one to put in his place. Of the opponents of Mano there were two men fit to take his office, and of these one, Prince Varnvaidya, a former Minister at the Court of St. James, was debarred from office by his princely rank; the other, Luang Pradit, was debarred because of the political views that Phya Mano associated with his name. In this dilemma Phya Pahol, one of the promoters of the first *coup-d'état*, now Commander-in-Chief of the army, a man honest, sincere, and popular, but confessedly without any political experience, was forced into the vacant position. He was not able to conceive or direct a comprehensive policy for the nation, and the few able men still left in the government, who might have done so, were politically handicapped as having been parties to Phya Mano's reactionary plans. So the only group which was listened to was that Radical party which Mano had tried to suppress. Foremost among their demands was that Luang Pradit should be recalled from France, and the government, after declaring that it had no intention of recalling him, at last gave an uneasy consent, anxious to have the assistance of his undoubted political talent, but still fearful of the outcome. Pradit returned; and once more there was talk of government industrial schemes, of a central bank, and of heavy taxes on invested capital.

The sequel was the rebellion of Prince Bovradet, a well-planned, skilful, and courageous but ill-fated attempt to break up the party which was at the helm. The government won a complete victory in the field, and with victory came the opportunity of making a wise peace and the second opportunity of achieving a stable government. A wise leader would have taken note of the following facts: First, the widespread complicity of provincial officials in the revolt, from governors of provinces down to village headmen. Second, that even in the inner councils of the government in Bangkok were sitting men who had hoped that the rebels would win. Third, that even in the defence forces stationed in Bangkok

sympathy for the government was so weak that the navy and two regiments refused to fight for it. From these facts a statesman would have drawn the conclusion that the government's policy or lack of policy had alarmed and antagonized the educated classes, and that the factors which had been most responsible were the recall of Luang Pradit and the lack of respect shown for the king. Therefore the only policy which could again unite the nation would be to show clemency to those who had taken part in the revolt and at the same time loose from the small group who had swung government into such a dangerous course.

But for Phya Pahol the lesson went unapprehended. Although the prime instigators of the rebellion had escaped, six leaders of secondary importance were sentenced to death, and all the officers concerned have been sentenced for periods varying from twelve years to imprisonment for life. In addition there have been wholesale dismissals of officials, including half the governors of provinces and perhaps one-third of the district magistrates. Pensions have been cut and economy pleaded as the excuse, but the amount of the cut, 50 per cent. in the cases of former ministers, and the extent to which the cuts as a whole affected those who had served under the old régime, suggest that this was in part another act of political vindictiveness. The scholarships abroad to which the sons of many of these officials had been nominated have been withdrawn and the reason given that the system of nominations was unsound. No exception was made for students, however brilliant their achievements. One can easily imagine the enthusiasm for their present rulers of those whose relations are to spend their lives in prison, who have lost place with no chance of ever finding employment again, whose pensions have been cut, and whose sons have been called home in the midst of their studies.

In economic policy there is little sign of there being any member of the government having a proper conception of the economic life of their nation and of what might and can be done for improvement. There are several fields in which there is need for innovation and energetic measures, but they are fields in which work had already been begun by the older régime, and therefore the entrance of the new government would not win it applause. Though the country is fairly compact, there are hundreds of thousands of farmers so far from a road or railway that the produce of their fields is unmarketable. A province of 800,000 people has one doctor. Cattle die of rinderpest in thousands, but there is no veterinary surgeon to check the disease. These are the real tasks which await the patriotic Siamese, but the present government seems to be occupied chiefly in pondering schemes for a central bank and for the dissemination of an economic philosophy. In its expenditure (apart, it must be admitted, from

primary education) increases of budgetary allowances can be found only for the army and navy.

The erratic course of the Siamese government is naturally of interest to Siam's neighbour, and the Siamese are unreasonably resentful of the criticism that has been made unofficially of their actions. Naturally the European powers have not the influence they had before the revolution. The princes through their long European education easily adjusted themselves to the European point of view and adopted a reasonable, though not always submissive, attitude when the European nations had a grievance. The new government, on the other hand, tends out of hostility to the old régime to seek the anti-European point of view, and they do so with more confidence, as they have seen in Japan's recent commercial and political successes that a counterpoise to European power has established itself in the East. There is little truth in the rumours recently current of a Japan-Siam alliance, but it is probable that Japan would like to play a larger part in the development of Siam, and that there are some Siamese who, from hostility to Europeans more than from love of the Japanese, are quite ready to facilitate the increase of Japanese influence. But in this, as in truth in their economic plans also, although there may be much time given to the consideration of schemes that are in essence unworkable, the Siamese will be very careful before they do anything that would endanger the independence of their country. They are likely to keep clear of any project that would commit them to any side in a Far Eastern war. Though they may keep Europeans, and especially English, at a little greater distance than they did before and allow Japanese a little nearer, such a change is only a natural reflection of the change in the balance of power in the East. For the same reason it is probable that there will be no direct interference with European business interests in Siam.

THE GEORGIAN CODE OF KING WAKHTANG VI.

BY W. E. D. ALLEN

Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici: Première Section: Droit Nat. Géorgien Codifié. Tome I. (1): *Code Géorgien du Roi Vakhtang VI.*, publié pour la première fois en version française et annoté par Joseph Karst, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. (Strasbourg: Heitz et Cie.)

IN the space available it is not possible to do more than notice this first volume of the fundamental work announced by Professor Karst. Indeed it would require a knowledge of the comparative history of mediæval law—of which the present reviewer is not possessed—and a close familiarity with Georgian philology to do justice to a volume which should prove of the greatest interest and importance both to students of language and of historical jurisprudence.

The significance of all aspects of Georgian and Armenian history in relation to the study of the development of civilization in the Near and Middle East is gradually receiving recognition among specialists in many different fields. It is only necessary here to instance the theories with regard to the influence of Armenian architecture on Western forms propounded by Professor Strzygowski, and the important relation of the Caucasian languages to certain dead languages of Western Asia, indicated by Professor Sayce, and more recently by Professor Marr and others. The potential importance of the study of ancient Georgian law in relation to the history of surrounding peoples was suggested twenty years ago by Mr. (now Sir Oliver) Wardrop, the *doyen* of Georgian studies in England, when he wrote that "all this mass of legislation is only known in Europe by hearsay. It is of extraordinary interest to students of comparative jurisprudence; and the large section which bears the name of Vakhtang, though edited by that prince in the eighteenth century, is based upon the most ancient customs of the Georgian race and might profitably engage the attention of Assyriologists."*

Professor Karst, who has already edited the juridical literature of the Armenians,† proposes to devote four volumes (including one in two parts) to the publication of the original material relating to Georgian jurisprudence, and of the customary law (*adat*),

* O. Wardrop, *Laws of King George V. of Georgia, surnamed "The Brilliant,"* in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1914, pp. 607-26.

† J. Karst, *Armenisches Rechtsbuch*, Strasbourg-Venise, 1905. Tome I.: *Code de Sempad du 13e siècle*. Tome II.: *Commentaire et Datastanagirkh de Mékhitar Gosh 12e siècle*. Karst also published a précis of the history of Armenian law in German in 1906.

largely unwritten, of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. So far no similar effort has been made to publish the whole of the material available in any European language, although the veteran Professor Javakhishvili of Tiflis University, in his voluminous publications in the Georgian language, has made available a vast amount of critical research which is not easily accessible to European scholars.*

The present volume under review, which constitutes Tome I. (1) of the proposed Corpus, contains the French translation of the MS. of the Code of King Vakhtang VI., preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and described as No. 24 *Fonds Ibéro-Georgien*. Professor Karst states that he has compared this source with the variants published by D. Tchoubinof (Davit Chubinashvili) in *Khartouli Khristomatia (Georgian Chrestomaty)*, Vol. I., pp. 394-455 (St. Petersburg, 1846), and by Frenkel and Dmitri Bakradze in *Sbornik Zakonov Gruzinskago Tsarya Vakhtanga VI.* (Tiflis, 1887). The supplement to Vol. I. (1), advertised on the title page, the Georgian text of the MS., is not bound with the volume, nor has it so far been supplied to us by the publisher.

Volume I. (2), which Professor Karst promises—and which from his present footnotes appears, happily, to be near completion—will constitute a *Commentaire historique-comparatif du Code de Vakhtang*, considered in relation to the mediæval legislation of King Giorgi V. (already published in English by Wardrop), of the *atabegs* Béka and Aghbougha (the feudal rulers of Samtskhé, region of Akhaltzikhé, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), and of the Georgian Catholicoses, together with other documents bearing on the customary law of Georgia and the Mountaineers.

Volume II. will be devoted to *Législations médiévales et ecclésiastiques*—namely, to the laws of Giorgi V. (promulgated between 1325 and 1338), the codes of Béka (1361-1391), and of Aghbougha (1444-1451), and to the *Nomocanon* of the Catholicoses, published under the auspices of King Giorgi III. of Imereti by the Catholicos Maléakhi of Kartli and the Catholicos Evdémon of Abkhasia.

Volume III. will contain the foreign and subsidiary elements in-

* It may be useful here to give recent Georgian critical sources, beyond the work of Professor Melikset-Bekov, referred to by Karst, p. 10, note 2. In addition to his *Kartveli Eris Istoria (History of the Georgian People*, 3 vols.), and his *Sakartvelis Ekonomiuri Istoria (Economic History of Georgia*, 1 vol. to 1930), Professor Javakhishvili has published 3 volumes of *Kartuli Samartlis Istoria (History of Georgian Justice)*, Tiflis University, 1928-1929. The documents published in *Sakartvelos Sidzveleni* (3 vols., 1899, 1909, 1910) and *Dzveli Sakartvelo* (2 vols., 1909, 1913), both of which periodicals were edited by Professor Taqaishvili, under the auspices of the Georgian Historical and Ethnographic Society, are also invaluable for the study of Georgian social and juridical institutions.

incorporated in the Code of Wakhtang—namely, the fifty-two articles of the Mosaic Law, the Greco-Byzantine legislation of Leo the Wise and other Emperors, and the Armenian Laws, including the Armenian version of certain Syro-Roman laws and the Book of Judgments or *Datastanagirikh* of Mekhitar of Gosh.

The last Volume IV. will be devoted to the customary law of the Mountaineers of the Caucasus (the Lesghians, so-called, of Daghestan, the Chechens, Circassians, and Abkhasians).

The whole of the above materials are included in the actual Code of King Wakhtang VI., but Professor Karst has decided, wisely, to publish first those sections constituting the *national* or customary law as distinct from the *exotic* or foreign elements which Wakhtang had collated with them.

Wakhtang VI. was certainly the most distinguished figure in Caucasian politics during the opening decades of the eighteenth century. At a time when the formerly united kingdom of Georgia was divided into no less than three kingdoms (Imereti, Kartli, and Kakheti) and four principalities (Samtskhé, Guria, Mingrelia, and Abkhasia), which were passing alternately under the influence or control of Turkey, Persia, and Russia, Wakhtang attempted, not without success, to restore the shattered culture of his country. Politically, he was never fortunate. He ruled in Tiflis, first as administrator of Kartli under Persian suzerainty from 1703 to 1711, and as "King" from 1711 to 1714. Deposed by the Persian Shah, he was restored to authority in Kartli in 1718 during the last years of Safavid power in Persia. In 1744 his alliance with Peter the Great, by which he hoped to restore the complete independence of Georgia, resulted in his final deposition and flight to Russia.* He died at Astrakhan in 1737 while awaiting a further attempt to return to Georgia. But Wakhtang's very real contribution to the revival of Georgian nationality does not rest on his maladroit political manœuvres, but on his splendid efforts to revive the traditions and to rebuild the cultural life of the country. Wakhtang was responsible for the introduction of the first printing press into Georgia, and his historical work in the collation of the Georgian Annals laid the foundation of all future studies of the history of the country. He was responsible for the publication of the epic of Rustaveli and other Georgian classics, and his compilation *Dastulamal*, the book of administration of the Kartlian court, is a valuable document for the history of the period. It is, however, by his codification of the laws of the Georgians that the name of Wakhtang lives.

* But he was hardly deposed by the Persian Shah (Hussain), as Professor Karst seems to suggest. The Shah was at the time a prisoner of the Afghans; Wakhtang lost his throne as the result of an attack on Tiflis by the Kakhian princes, Constantine and Taymuraz, which was followed by a Turkish occupation.

The earliest known Georgian laws were written on steles or columns, whence Professor Karst derives the terms *dzégliš-t'zera* or *dzégliš-deba*, meaning "legislation on column" or "pillar," which corresponds exactly to the Armenian *ardzana-gir*, a legal document or "monument" written on a stele. The first of these of which record survives is a *Nomocanon* of the beginning of the twelfth century, in which David II. the Restorer regulates the position of the clergy in relation to the Crown and the laity. Comparatively late manuscripts also exist of the laws of Giorgi V., specially issued to regulate conditions in the mountain valleys to the south and east of the Daryal Pass, and of the *Dzégliš-Eristavta* or "Monument" of the *Eristavni* of the Ksani, which contains both juridical and historical records. The interesting laws of the *atabegs* of Akhaltzikhé, as has been mentioned, belong to the period fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, and the *Nomocanons* of the Catholicoses to the first decade of the seventeenth century. Professor Karst follows MM. Frenkel and Felix Holldack in pointing out that there are very definite indications that codifications, other than the above, which are either fragmentary or provincial, were in existence before the time of Giorgi V., and the high state of Georgian culture in the twelfth century certainly justifies the assumption that older codes existed and have been lost. The Syro-Roman laws, included by Wakhtang and derived from the twelfth-century Armenian version of Nerses of Lampron, and the contemporary compilation of Mekhitar of Gosh, also included, both indicate that during the period of the greatest prosperity of the Georgian kingdom serious research into and borrowings from foreign sources were made. The influence of Armenian jurisprudence is, as Professor Karst observes, particularly patent in the legislation governing the conditions of the merchant class and town artisans. Armenian influences are, in fact, fundamental in the history of Georgia, and in an interesting footnote (page 73, note 2) Professor Karst analyzes a number of basic Georgian words (peasant, noble, town, father-of-the-house, etc.) which have either Armenian derivations or equivalents, and which indicate the very early and probably pre-Christian influences of the Armenians on the Georgian-speaking regions.

The retention within the *corpus* of Georgian law of substantial elements from Mosaic and Byzantine legislation is not only evidence of the strong influence of the early Jewish communities (on the trade-route along the Middle Kura and in Kakheti) and of Eastern Christianity on Georgian cultural life, but it is an indication also of the high quality of Ibero-Caucasian civilization during the first centuries of the Christian era down to the Middle Ages. The interplay of foreign influences in Georgia during the post-Christian era is obvious from a superficial survey of the material,

but it remains for the specialist both in the codes of the earlier civilized peoples of Western Asia and in comparative linguistics to examine the precious material on Georgian customary law, which Professor Karst publishes in this present volume together with his numerous philological notes, in order to discern what older influences may be found. The late O. G. von Wesendonck has already made suggestive comparisons between the heathen customs and beliefs of pre-Christian Georgia and those not only of Iran, but also of Khaldi and Urartu, and recent archæological research has tended to confirm his deductions. Sir Oliver Wardrop has pointed out the possible interest which the study of Georgian customary law may have for Assyriologists, and it may be suggested here that students of Hittite institutions, also, may profitably turn their attention to the subject.

Georgian feudal justice was based very largely on a complicated system of blood compensation, in which values were estimated always in relation to the social rank of the injured party. There were careful regulations for trial by ordeal, by combat (among the various ranks of the nobility), by oath, and by witnesses. An affirmation by oath was considered more convincing than documentary evidence (as was so in old Islamic law), and Chardin, in his *Travels*, has left an interesting account of the dread with which Georgian peasants prepared to swear by the sacred icons, even when they were actually guiltless. The high position enjoyed by women is a very interesting feature both of Georgian political history and jurisprudence, particularly when their low estate among the neighbouring Muhammadan peoples is remembered. It will doubtless be possible to trace some connection between the special position enjoyed by women in mediæval Georgia and the "matriarchal" institutions and religious beliefs which were widespread in the Caucasus in early historic times, and which among certain of the mountain tribes of the eastern littoral of the Black Sea persisted until the nineteenth century.

More than one commentator has remarked on the essential "liberalism" of the Code of Wakhtang. It is remarkable in that it constituted an attempt to reconcile elements of one of the oldest customary codes in Asia with the relatively modern needs of the eighteenth century. Its vitality is best demonstrated in the fact that, after the Russian occupation, a committee was set up with the object of incorporating certain portions of the Code into the Russian legal system, while as late as the end of the nineteenth century the Code was used as a model for the reorganization of the legal system of the Emirate of Bukhara.

Professor Karst, in an interesting footnote (page 18, note 2), in which he attempts to explain the failure to publish the full text of the Code until the Frenkel-Bakradze edition of 1887, suggests

that the "liberalism" of Wakhtang—which, incidentally, anticipated the "liberal" phase of European monarchy by nearly half a century—aroused the opposition of the privileged noble classes, and that the Code rather fell into abeyance during the reigns of his successors. The wars of the thirties and forties of the eighteenth century reduced the Georgian kingdoms to a state of temporary desolation, and it was only during the last half of the century under the two kings of the Kakhian Bagratid line, Taymuraz II. and Irakli II., that the united kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti regained some degree of relative prosperity. Irakli II., as the Chronicle of Papuna Orbeliani and the memoirs of Joseph Emin show, was a masterful man who sought to break the power of the nobles by methods of autocratic suppression rather than by liberal reforms. His father, Taymuraz II., had shown some interest in the Code in 1750 (Karst, p. 19), but the reforming spirit of Wakhtang was not revived, and ultimately, after the death of Irakli, it was the unruly spirit of the royal princes and of the nobility which made the union with Russia perhaps inevitable.

In welcoming Professor Karst's French rendering of the Code, it is perhaps worth while to record the earlier efforts to edit the work of King Wakhtang other than in Georgian or Russian.

The great Georgian scholar, Marie-Félicité Brosset, according to Sir Oliver Wardrop, had made a complete French translation of the Code and sent it to the printer, but it was never subsequently published. In his *Introduction à l'Histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1858) he makes, however, extensive observations on Georgian law. Freiheer von Haxthausen, in his *Transkaukasien* (2 vols., 1856), a greatly overrated book, publishes extensive extracts which Professor Karst finds to be frequently inaccurate. Rudolphe Dareste published in his *Études d'Histoire du Droit* a chapter devoted to the Code, on which he lavishes high praise (*Journal des Savants*, 1887). Lastly, again according to Sir O. Wardrop, from a manuscript German version of the Frenkel-Bakradze Russian edition, Dr. Felix Holldack prepared his *Zwei Grundsteine zu einer Grusinischen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1907).

INDIAN CULTURE ORIGINS

BY STANLEY RICE

SOME years ago, in the pages of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, I ventured to propound a theory, in my own blundering amateur way, that the origin of caste was to be sought for not in the Aryan, but in the Dravidian country. The arguments were briefly these. The "occupational" theory fails to satisfy the conditions, not only because occupations do, in fact, cut right across the caste system, so that men of different castes may both be tillers of the soil or artisans, but also because it is too material, too "European" a point of view to be applied to primitive races. Castes in the shape of guilds existed in European and other extra-Indian countries, but they did not involve prohibitions of interdining or of intermarriage. Even if it be maintained that these quasi-religious sanctions arose from a desire to keep the caste occupation within the caste, that would not explain why a man refuses to eat food cooked by a low-caste man or to take from him a casual glass of water. Whatever may have been the development of caste in later centuries—and the multiplicity of subcastes does suggest that the institution tended to split up on the lines of occupation, given the fundamental bases of the system—the objections to the theory are so numerous and so formidable that as an explanation of origins it must be discarded altogether.

The "racial" theory is also open to grave objections. The idea that caste was an invention of the Aryan invaders to preserve the purity of the stock rests to some extent at least on the word "varna" (colour), and therefore, since the institution is found in no other branches of the Aryan stock, must have been invented after the Aryans came to India. The *Rig-Veda* has nothing to say about caste, except in the "supplementary" Book X. Moreover, caste is actually stronger in the Dravidian south and west than in the north, and though it is not impossible it is at least unlikely that the Dravidians became even more enthusiastic for the system than the inventors.

But if this system was invented by the Aryans for their special purpose, and if it was a system unknown either to themselves before they invaded India, or to any other branch of the Aryan stock, the germ of it must have been found in India itself. That is also M. Senart's view. He, however, clings to the Aryan theory,

and in doing so he makes the usual assumption, which I for one am unable to accept, that the Aryans were of a superior culture and civilization. "Les âryens s'avancent," he says, "dans leur nouveau domaine. Ils se heurtent à une race de couleur foncée, inférieure en culture qu'ils refoulent." Not only does he make the assumption—which appears again and again in his classic work—but he seems to relegate all the rest of India—the non-Aryan races—to the category of "autochthones" or "aborigènes," and while admitting that the customs of the aborigines may have had some influence, he rejects almost scornfully the notion that that influence could have been great, much less fundamental. "Si l'on songe uniquement ou même principalement à l'organisation des tribus aborigènes de l'Inde, si l'on admet qu'elle ait réagi avec une force si décisive sur la constitution générale du monde hindou, qu'une classe ambitieuse de prêtres s'en soit emparée, en ait fait une arme de combat, on retourne le courant probable de l'histoire, on prête à des mobiles trop minces une puissance disproportionnée. Tout indique que dans la marche de la civilisation indienne, l'action déterminante appartient aux éléments âryens; les éléments aborigènes n'ont exercé qu'une action modificatrice, partielle et secondaire." Now if we confine ourselves to the aboriginal elements, we may no doubt obtain a clue to the existence of no-castes, and we accept the assumption that the Aryan civilization was definitely superior to the primitive social condition of the aborigines, most of whom have not progressed very far even to this day. But what right have we to ignore altogether the Dravidian or, to use the larger term, the non-Aryan culture, which the Aryans found established, and to which the hymns of the Rig-Veda bear testimony? If it can be shown that the Aryan culture was not, in fact, superior, but rather that it was inferior to the non-Aryan, M. Senart's contention that to reject the "Aryan" theory is to turn back the course of history falls to the ground.

The second assumption which "Aryan" supporters make—at any rate by implication—is that caste was the invention of some brilliant brain, which caught the imagination of the brethren, and, like some other inventions, not always of the material kind—for example, the monotheism of Islam—came into being in an early but basic stage within the course of a few years. M. Senart, it would seem rightly, opposes this idea. He considers that the germ of the caste system is to be found in the constitution of the Aryan family, that it grew up insensibly during many generations, and was influenced, though only partially and in a secondary sense, by the magical and other existing customs. It is true that if we reject the occupational, the racial, the economic, and the ethnological theories as inadequate, and if we still cling to the notion that the system was an Aryan invention, it is necessary to look for origins

to the Aryan institutions. But the Aryans were not a race; as we have been told recently, the word really connotes something much wider and goes back to the stock from which many races are descended. If the Asiatic branches of the original stock had a family stock out of which caste was developed, how comes it that this particular institution was developed only in India, where the "partial and secondary" influence of the aborigines can hardly have sufficed to produce anything so distinctive? It cannot be that in the displacement of other peoples by various Aryan invasions, it was the Indians alone from whom they wished to keep themselves so separate. The natural inclination of the conquerors is to keep themselves apart from the despised conquered, whether in India or anywhere else. Colour alone would not have sufficed to make the distinction. Admittedly caste was unknown to the Aryans when they entered India and for a long time afterwards. During that period there must have been much intermixture with the native blood, and when caste emerges as a definite institution there is very little to show that it was designed on colour lines, except the word "varna" and the references to the Dasyus as dark-skinned. If really the idea was to preserve the purity of the race, there ought to have been two main castes, the Aryans and the non-Aryans, and each main division might then have been subdivided on the lines of profession and occupation. There is nothing to show that this was ever done, and no one has ever suggested that it was. There are, too, the inconvenient non-Aryan castes including Brahmans, which on this hypothesis can only be supposed to have copied their betters—for no better reason than that it was fashionable.

The theory of the Dravidian or non-Aryan origin of caste has, I think, been maintained independently by others, though by a different course of reasoning. It has lately received striking support from Professor Ghose, in a book which suffers from untranslated Sanskrit printed in Nagari.* No doubt the learned author was writing for an eclectic circle of Indian and European scholars to whom the original Sanskrit presents no difficulty. There are, however, others who are interested in the subject, but to whom Sanskrit is a sealed book; and though the arguments can be appreciated without a knowledge of Sanskrit, the thesis would be more convincing if the no doubt apposite quotations could have been understood. Professor Ghose, who, it seems, started with a prejudice in favour of the Brahmanical and therefore Aryan theory of Indian culture, the caste system being, as it were, the focus of that culture, has been persuaded by an intensive study of Indo-Aryan literature that the origins are to be found in non-Aryan

* *Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture (Origins)*. By N. N. Ghose. The Book Company, Calcutta.

lands and non-Aryan civilization. His main thesis may be stated thus. When the Aryans first arrived in India they began to form settlements in and about the Indus Valley. These settlements were exceedingly primitive and quite small, and the Aryans themselves made very slow, if any, attempts to advance further towards the Jumna and the Ganges. They occupied themselves meanwhile in incessant quarrels and dissensions of no importance to the outside world. Meanwhile there was in the eastern country which the author calls Vratya, or non-Aryan land, an important kingdom with a civilization dominated no doubt by magic and superstition, but otherwise greatly superior to the Aryan.

The smaller kingdoms of the east had been amalgamated and brought under the empire of the Great Vratya, who tolerated with a kind of amused contempt, but also to some extent himself partook of, the popular religion made up of magic and superstition, of demons and ghosts and other denizens of a fantastic spirit-world. Side by side with all this, however, there was a higher form of religious speculation confined to the more cultivated, just as there is now not only in India, but in every country which professes a religion. And into this State there came Brahmans from Aryan land, driven out by the eternal squabbles between Brahmans and Kshatriyas, who do not represent castes properly so-called, but rather the kingly and priestly orders of the European type, such as we meet with in the great struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. They came then to Vratya-land full of their zeal for religion, which was a far greater force among the Aryans, and, finding the king to be indifferent, they set to work to persuade him to accept what may be called the Aryan communion. The result was a mass conversion, which is embodied in the Vratya-stoma. If we may use a European analogy, the whole process was not unlike the conversion of Constantine and the recognition of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire.

The small band of Brahman refugees from the Aryan settlements thus became missionaries for the Aryan faith, which, however, had to be adapted to the needs and customs of the people. The faith had to be grafted upon the superstitions, the beliefs, and the rites which already existed in the country, just as, to use the Constantinian analogy again (though without any desire to push it too far), pagan customs were grafted on to Christian observance and remain in their new form to this day. But since the religious instructors had to be coached in the new ceremonies which they were to perform, a sort of manual was drawn up for their guidance, not perhaps all at once, as we might now draw up rules and regulations for this or that purpose, but as a free compilation which could be expanded as occasion offered. The result was the

Atharva Veda. Now this Veda is utterly unlike the Rig and its accompaniments, the Yajur and the Saman, which everyone is agreed are of Aryan origin. It is largely composed of spells and incantations, which make up the "hocus-pocus" (the author's word) of superstition, and although the Aryans were not above such practices, there is little, if any, trace of it in the Rig, while all that we know of the non-Aryan peoples suggests, to use no more dogmatic word, that magic and witchcraft and similar beliefs played a very much larger part in popular religion. Scholars no doubt have been puzzled by, and have given great attention to, the Atharva Veda, but obsessed by the "Aryan" theory of caste, and the general idea that the Aryans imposed their civilization upon a primitive aboriginal people, they have had to resort to explanations to fit the theory. By the ordinary amateur in the subject the importance of the Atharva Veda is not sufficiently recognized. It is by this Veda rather than by the Rig, which is largely devoted to the praise of a bygone hierarchy, or by the Yajur and Saman, which regulate the arcana of hieratical worship, that the common occurrences of everyday life are influenced. Thus, to take only one example, at the important rite of the Upanayanam the boy should be bathed and clothed in a garment spun and woven in a single day, and the following is recited:

"The goddesses who spun, who wove, who spread out and who drew the skirts on both sides, may those goddesses clothe thee with long life. Blessed with life put on this garment. Dress him, through this garment prolong his life to a hundred years; Brihaspati has given this garment to King Soma to wear.

"Mayst thou live to old age; put on this garment. Be a protector of humanity. Live a hundred years, full of vigour; clothe thyself in the increase of wealth."

The words of the Atharva Veda are:

"Envelop, put ye him for us with splendour. . . . Brihaspati furnished the garment unto King Soma. Thou hast put about thee this garment in order to well-being; thou hast become a protector of the people against imprecations; do thou live a hundred autumns, and do thou gather about thee abundance of wealth. Come, stand on the stone; let thy body become a stone; let all the gods make thy lifetime a hundred autumns."

This formula seems to have been used originally for birth ceremonies, at which time a stone is used; it was perhaps later transferred to the ceremony at which the allusion to garments would be more appropriate.

But the Atharva Veda, besides containing these magical recipes, these incantations and imprecations, does also contain hymns of the Rig-Vedic type and other traces of Aryan influence. That is why the author is driven to the conclusion that the compilation was the work of Aryan Brahmins suited to the need of a non-Aryan audience. It is impossible here to do justice to the author's arguments, which, being based upon an intensive study of Indo-Aryan literature, are beyond the capacity of any but highly skilled scholars to appreciate. We must, however, be careful not to put the cart before the horse. It would be very unfair to Professor Ghose to suggest that, having made up his mind, on superficial data, that the early civilization of India, of which caste—in his own language the varnashramadharma—is the core, was essentially non-Aryan, and that he then proceeds to torture the materials into shapes which fit his preconceptions. On the contrary, his case is that the various incongruities to be found in the literature can only be explained, and the various riddles which the "Aryan" theory propounds can only be solved by this hypothesis.

What, then, is to be said about the famous Purusha-Sukta in the tenth book of the Rig-Veda? The four castes are there depicted as issuing from the various parts of the divine body, and this has usually been taken as an image adopted by the Brahmins to glorify themselves and to typify the order of the castes as they would have it. Professor Ghose makes the interesting suggestion that this is a complete misinterpretation. It is not an authority for the "separation of castes, for the caste system in fact," but an attempt to show unity in diversity. The metaphor is familiar to all readers of the Christian Scriptures. "There are," says St. Paul to the Corinthians, "diversities of gifts, but the same spirit. . . . For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body. . . ." The author of the Purusha-Sukta uses the same metaphor for the same purpose. He (or they) did not invent castes or the order of them; he accepted what he found to be existing, the four orders roughly divided into castes, and the relative estimation in which they were held. Acting then upon observed facts, he applied the Upanishad doctrine of emanation from the original principle to show that each caste had its place in the corporate whole. If this were not so, why do we find also mentioned such miscellaneous objects as "the seasons, curd, clarified butter, and sacrificial animals"? The argument receives some support, too, from the general nature of the tenth book. "The multiplicity of gods is questioned and the unity of the universe is asserted, while attempts are made to represent the process of creation as the evolution of being from not-being" (Keith in *Cambridge History of India*, i., 107). It is Professor Ghose's contention that the whole conception is Upanishadic

in character, but he goes further by declaring that the Upanishad philosophy itself is non-Aryan in origin.

Now no one supposes that the Purusha-Sukta records dogmatically the invention of caste. The mention of the four castes presupposes their previous existence. Nor does it necessarily lay down as a doctrine that they must be regarded in that order. For, as Professor Ghose acutely remarks, if the Brahmans, or even the Aryans, had invented caste, the most characteristic as well as the most persistent feature of the Indian social system, it is strange that, in all the wealth of literature so largely written or inspired by Brahmans, who were not conspicuous for modesty in anything that concerned their own order and its achievements, there is no mention of any such invention. Professor Ghose, for this and for other reasons, concludes that there is no such mention of the observed origins of caste because there was nothing to observe. They found the institution ready-made, and, finding it strange, set to work to account for it as best they could.

The word "varna" has proved a tower of strength to the "Aryan" theorists, especially because of the reference to the black or dark Dasyus. "These former occupants of the country," says Mr. O'Malley in a recent book, "were mainly the people known as Dravidians, a dark-skinned race not without civilization, who were held in contempt by their fair-skinned conquerors. . . . Anxious to maintain their racial purity, their culture, and their standards of living, the Aryans relegated to a lower status the children of mixed marriages and those who were engaged in base pursuits, and the latter adopted similar lines of demarcation among themselves." This passage assumes, as the "Aryan" theory always does, a good many things. It assumes that the Aryan "conquerors" as a whole held the Dravidians or non-Aryans in contempt, that they had a culture and a standard of living so much in advance of the rest that it was worth preserving, and that they deliberately degraded the "conquered" to a subordinate position. But the word "varna," on which so much of it is based, does not necessarily imply a division between the "fair-skinned" Aryan conquerors and the dark-skinned Dravidians or non-Aryans. So far as I am aware, there is nothing to show that it was not equally a distinction between these non-Aryans and the preceding aboriginals, or possibly between the higher- and the base-born non-Aryans themselves.* It is, of course, possible that the Aryan invaders found it a convenient distinction when they applied the caste system to their own civilization, for everyone is agreed that they did not bring it with them. Nor were the Aryans necessarily conquerors. They occupied a small bit of India in the north-west,

* There are many gradations of colour, even in the Dravidian South, from the very fair to the almost black.

and there they were really conquerors, but later on they may as easily have (in Professor Ghose's view did certainly) spread over the country by various means of peaceful penetration, having first introduced Aryan ideas into the east, and being themselves absorbed into a mighty Neo-Aryan flood that flowed westward.

If I have concentrated overmuch on this question of caste, it is because that, to use Professor Ghose's own words, is the core and essence of the civilization. The whole point of his essay, the foundation upon which the whole theory is based, is that the Aryan civilization, such as it was, was not only not superior, but was in many respects markedly inferior to that which they found existing. This is in accordance with what we know of many immigrant peoples in the course of history, and especially of ancient history. The contrary theory seems to have been inspired by such analogies as the British in Australia or the French in Canada, to have been fortified partly by the existence of such advanced literature as the Rig-Veda, and by the fact that, whereas the Indo-Aryan writings are prolific, there is nothing left to us of the prehistoric non-Aryan literature, and to have been coloured by the clever adaptations or redactions of later Brahmans who have so introduced Brahmanic ideas as to make it, if not impossible, at least extremely difficult to separate the glosses from the original material. Professor Ghose's critical study of the Mahabharata saga is suggestive, though doubtless open to criticism from what I may call the more orthodox point of view.

Professor Ghose does not trace caste any further, nor does he allude to the south. Neither subject enters into the scheme of his book. We may, however, reconstruct a little on the basis of the arguments advanced in my previous articles, whatever they may be worth, joined on to those far more learned ones drawn from the ancient literature. When the pre-Aryans entered India they found a country largely covered with dense forest and sparsely inhabited by a people in a very primitive stage of civilization. These people practised totemism, and their religious beliefs were steeped in the value of incantations, magic, sorcery, and witchcraft. Mr. O'Malley, writing of the Gond tribes of today, says: "The social divisions are of an unusually complex character, for they are based upon religion as well as totemism. There are four main groups, each of which worships a different number of gods and has a different totem." The non-Aryan invaders had very similar beliefs, and the practice of totemism made it easy for them to keep apart from the aborigines, whose practice of prohibitions of intermarriage was fortified by the idea of ceremonial pollution, which, whether it was an original part of their social code or was added later, soon came to influence the question of food and drink. But whereas their own customs regulated these matters within

limitations, the aborigines required different treatment. Urged by the spur of this treatment, some fled to the hills and jungles, where they remain; some were admitted into the lower ranks of the invaders, probably by means of initiation ceremonies coupled with gifts; some consented to remain in the low country, but, not being accepted as initiates, were kept outside the social structure and became, in modern terminology, outcastes. Time went on; a thousand years or more passed, and the invaders increased and multiplied in the more fertile parts—that is to say, in the riverine tracts. They built cities and towns, for in the light of recent archæological discoveries I see no reason for assuming with Dr. Giles that the towns meant “no more than an earthwork strengthened by a palisade or possibly occasionally by stone.” The tribes developed into States; civilization advanced upon the well-known lines. The early totemistic clans, with their prohibitions and their ceremonial pollutions and purifications, hardened into castes, which tended to split up and multiply, perhaps on occupational lines, but always upon the established pattern.

Then came the Aryans, settled down in the Panjab and round the Indus Valley, and established themselves with their own customs and their own form of civilization, such as it was. By degrees they, too, multiplied and overflowed eastward, whether, as Professor Ghose suggests, because they were driven out by internecine quarrels, or whether they were obliged to seek other homes owing to the pressure of population on a soil that was not naturally fertile and was not scientifically exploited, or whether again portions of them were still inspired by their nomadic habits. It does not much matter how, and Professor Ghose’s “historical romance” is not to be taken too seriously in all its details. Among these wanderers were Brahmans, who persuaded the King, and through the King the people, to accept the Aryan scheme of things. For their part they adopted much that was non-Aryan, including the cardinal points of the varashramadharma and the Upanishadic speculations. All this filtered down into the south, which had much the same civilization as the east, but was never interpenetrated to the same extent by Aryan blood. So we arrive at what I believe to be a rational conception of early Indian life, and incidentally at a rational conception of the origin of caste.

It has been necessary to leave out much that was relevant to the argument. No theory is complete unless it is watertight, and it may seem that assertions have been made without proof. That proof could be offered, did the limits of what is necessarily a summary allow. In dealing with a prehistoric stage of society, of which we have but scanty record, there must be some element of assumption, but that assumption must be based on reasonable probability deduced from known facts or from relevant analogies.

The theory here advanced seems to involve fewer assumptions, less guess-work, and, above all, less a posteriori argument than any other founded upon the superiority of Aryan civilization, upon the preservation of racial purity, or upon the division of occupation. Mistakes of detail may be attributed to the zeal of an enthusiast; the principles, I claim, are more difficult to refute.

TWO NOTABLE BOOKS ON INDIA

THE CAMBRIDGE SHORTER HISTORY OF INDIA. By J. Allan, M.A., Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum; Sir T. Wolseley Haig, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the School of Oriental Studies, University of London; and H. H. Dodwell, M.A., Professor of the History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia, University of London. Edited by H. H. Dodwell. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

INDIA, MINTO, AND MORLEY, 1905-10. By Mary Countess Minto. (*Macmillan.*) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR H. VERNEY LOVETT.)

The first of these two books "seeks to provide the general reader with a complete account of Indian political history from its beginning down to the year in which the reforms of 1919 were initiated." It follows on the four volumes of the larger Cambridge History which have already been published. But the authors, while taking "full advantage" of those volumes, reserve to themselves "complete liberty of judgment." Mr. Allan, the author of Part I. (Ancient India), has been unable to avail himself of the assistance of Volume II. of the larger History, which has not yet been published; and Sir Wolseley Haig, who deals with Muslim India in Part II., has, for a similar reason, been unable to consult Volume IV. But Professor Dodwell has based Part III. on Volumes V. and VI., which have for some time been before the public.

Parts I. and II. will appeal rather to advanced students than to the ordinary reader. There is no account of the caste system, that remarkable legacy from remote ages which has so powerfully influenced India's history and is so vital today.* Sir Wolseley Haig, like Mr. Allan, suffers from unavoidable limitations of space, and his story of wars, political catastrophes, and the reigns of the four principal Moghal emperors finds no room for a picture of the social and economic conditions of those times which Mr. W. H. Moreland has studied with such illuminating results. Conditions among the masses had become stereotyped under the caste system; and now there was a barren struggle to divide, instead of a concerted effort to increase, the produce of the country. "The peasant tried, sometimes successfully, to hide his gains; his masters tried to discover and appropriate them."† Heavy burdens, grievous to be borne, were laid on the shoulders of the producer. When the

* Pp. 1 and 14 of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report.

† Mr. Moreland's paper read before the Royal Society of Arts on March 4, 1929, also his "India at the Death of Akbar," "Jehangir's India," and "From Akbar to Aurangzeb."

Moghal empire dissolved in confusion it fell to the British to deal with the residual effects of these circumstances.

Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, the first of the empire's provinces to fall under the direct rule of the East India Company, had two centuries before been conquered by Akbar from previous Muslim domination, but only partially subdued. The Bengalis are largely divided by race and characteristics from the peoples of other provinces. Large areas, long since cultivated, were then jungle infested by wild beasts; the physical features of the eastern districts of Bengal, which have of late years attained unenviable notoriety, were partly intractable. The Moghal emperors had entrusted the province to Nawab Nazims, who took advantage of the growing infirmity of their masters to become practically independent. As their strength turned to weakness, Orissa was appropriated by the Marathas, who remained a standing menace to Bengal and Bihar. On page 95 of his *Heart of Arya Varta*, Lord Zetland shows that in Eastern Bengal the land was "racked and riven by anarchy," and the people were "harried and panic-stricken under chaotic administration." After Plassey chaos continued; and after 1765 administration by officials of the old régime under a Deputy Nawab Nazim, virtually appointed at Calcutta, proved a failure. In 1772, under orders from home, Warren Hastings took charge of Bengal and Bihar, and began to administer through the agency of the Company's merchants and clerks. Professor Dodwell's lucid and careful narrative shows that Hastings was able only to make experiments, to start enquiries, to lay foundations. In 1774, under the provisions of the slovenly Regulating Act, he became Governor-General of all three Presidencies, but was associated with hostile colleagues who combined to thwart his policy and overrule his proposals. An independent "Supreme Court" of justice was set up in Calcutta and advanced pretensions plainly incompatible with smooth administration, but withdrawn after legislation in England. In 1786 Cornwallis arrived, armed with the effective powers which had been denied to his predecessor, but weighted by instructions to lose no time in carrying out a permanent settlement of Bengal land revenue with the Zamindars, who stood between the Government and the cultivators. These intermediaries were of various kinds (p. 630), and while collecting rents from the cultivators had, until Hastings' time, exercised such police and magisterial authority as they could muster. They had been a law unto themselves; but the peasants could, as a last resort, abandon villages and break fresh ground elsewhere. Thus they had managed to retain certain vague rights of occupancy. The investigations, ordered by Hastings, into the amount of rents collected, the values of the produce, the rights of the cultivators, were still proceeding, but came abruptly to an end when Cornwallis insisted on the earliest possible conclusion of a permanent settlement with the Zamindars, from which Bengal has never ceased to suffer. Professor Dodwell explains how this arrangement vitiated administration in various directions and how the mischief was aggravated by Cornwallis' inability to understand the large part which the chief executive official of a district had always played in the traditional system of Indian government. Other provinces were rescued from the consequences of these blunders by experience gained in Madras and by the discernment of the Court of

Directors. It was in Madras that the compromise definitely developed between the old Indian plan of entrusting general and magisterial authority to the chief executive officer of a district and the English habit of subordinating all to law and law courts. It was there that the district officer of modern times first took shape.

Professor Dodwell's criticisms of the development of the Company's legal system in Bengal appear to me to allow insufficiently for the difficulties involved. There were Hindu and Muhammadan laws of inheritance and succession, and there was an ill-defined body of customary law. There was a Muslim law of evidence which declined to entertain the testimony of an unbeliever against one of the faithful; and there was a Muslim penal code which included such punishments as mutilation and impalement. There were no laws of criminal or civil procedure; and altogether there was urgent need of a definite *lex loci* which would be certain and uniform. The notion of what was just and equitable could not be allowed to vary with every judge. As there were advocates who practised in the Supreme Court at Calcutta, the growth of a district Bar was inevitable. Blunders were certainly perpetrated by the Government, but strong efforts were made to administer justice. Sir Henry Maine, surely a competent authority, has observed that "annexations of new provinces were followed by an extraordinary influx of litigation" because "courts of justice have a singular attraction for men's tastes when they are first presented as a means of settling disputes which were either violently adjusted or slumbered because they could only be undertaken at prodigious risk."* Later on the law had to keep step with a rapid growth of education, commerce, and business, and in doing so necessarily became codified and increasingly Anglicized.

Developments of policy and administration are clearly traced. The chapter relating to the Mutiny is fair and instructive. Sir George Campbell's *Memoirs*† contain an account of a memorandum presented by a Sepoy colonel to the reinstated King of Delhi, which states that "with all their faults" the English introduced a system of government which was the best India had ever seen, and future administration should be based on this model.

Then we come to constitutional and political history under Crown government, to a great expansion of education and of contact with English thought and history among the literary and professional class, particularly in Bengal, where this class was interwoven with the petty landholders to an extent unknown elsewhere. Commerce rapidly increased; communications immensely improved; the confidence felt by the Government in Western methods and ideals intensified. Professor Dodwell, however, rightly observes (p. 727) that before the Mutiny "it was evident that the foreign government was no longer content, as it once had been, to leave affairs to follow their traditional course, that it was being driven forward by ideals and purposes unquestionable by the modern world, but strange, dubious, and alarming in the eyes of people belonging to a world of the past. Two things should be evident to us who can look back with the knowledge of what was

* Maine: *Early Law and Custom*, pp. 384 *et seq.*

† Vol. II., pp. 356-7.

to come. One is that the British Government was by its nature, its ideas, its Western outlook bound to give a series of shocks to the world of Hinduism; the other that the Hindu world was bound to react sharply and violently to these external shocks." This reaction gradually combined with the ideas generated by the new learning to produce political movements among the Hindu literary and professional classes, arising from a mixture of hopes and aims and culminating in the annual meetings of the "National Congress," an essentially Hindu body.

Professor Dodwell's outline narrative of after-developments—educational, constitutional, and political—is particularly valuable as it is written from a well-informed, independent point of view in a luminous, attractive style. Opinions will differ here and there, but he often gets to the heart of a position in a very penetrating fashion. He points out that a principal source of perplexity has been the growth of a nationalist spirit among castes "which, with a few notable exceptions, had always held a subordinate position in Indian government" and among races "which had been notably unwarlike. Could these new claimants impose themselves on grounds of intellectual superiority alone upon classes which in the past had relied upon the sword and the shrewd manipulation of purely material factors?" (p. 852). His observations regarding the services rendered to agriculture by Lord Curzon are just. But he does not sufficiently bring out the magnitude of the work which had prepared the way for Curzon's efforts, the comprehensive registration of rights and holdings, the temporary settlements of the land revenue, the adjustments of relations between landlords and tenants. The content of the rural masses, the outturn of produce, the Government's financial resources, are bound up in the efficiency of land revenue administration. No one perceived this more clearly than Lord Curzon. His attention was mainly concentrated on the welfare of the masses. He did not incline toward political concessions. But early in his sixth year of office he was deeply impressed by the growth and increasing power of "public opinion" in India. A "great change" was passing over the country which he believed that history would recognize that he himself had "done much, whether wisely or unwisely, to accelerate."* Yet these reflections did not interpose to prevent his carrying through the partition of Bengal in the teeth of loud Hindu opposition. Simultaneously the victories of Japan over Russia were resounding through the East. In August, 1905, Curzon's differences with Kitchener and the home Government led to his resignation; and in November, bitterly mortified, he sailed from Bombay for the last time. At this point Lady Minto takes up her tale, which begins with the sentence: "Many who are following the complex Indian questions which loom so large today may like to pause and trace the course of one who steered the ship of state some years ago among the Indian rocks and shoals of political agitation." Those who do so will not only gather instruction, but will thoroughly enjoy a remarkable book. Illuminating correspondence between Lord Minto and the Secretary of State who had succeeded to office with the advent to power of a large Liberal majority in England is interspersed with

* Ronaldshay's *Curzon*, II., pp. 326-7.

entries from Lady Minto's diaries and with stories of varied experiences and humorous incidents.

Chapter VII. on the visit of the Amir of Afghanistan is particularly vivid. Minto was deeply impressed by the importance of gaining the Amir's friendship. *That* was what mattered, not the conclusion of any treaty. He was perfectly right. On page 92 Lady Minto relates a conversation with a member of King Amanalla's staff at Windsor in 1928, who "emphasized the value of Habibulla's visit to India and the friendships he made, with their effect on his attitude towards England during the Great War." This was a true saying. In view of the Amir's subsequent steadfastness under strong pressure and of his eventual assassination, there is peculiar pathos in the account of his behaviour when bidding good-bye to the British officers who accompanied him to the frontier. On receiving the Viceroy's farewell telegram, "he drew Sir Henry McMahon aside, put on his motoring goggles to hide the tears that were coursing down his face, but was too overcome to say one word. He finally jumped on his horse, spurred him into a gallop, and disappeared through the mountain passes into his barbaric kingdom."

The circumstances of Sir Bamfylde Fuller's resignation are briefly referred to (pp. 52-54), but in fact are pregnant with warnings.* Lady Minto has not been in a position to see the whole picture. In October, 1905, when Chief Commissioner of Assam, Fuller was promoted to be Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the new province which was to spring from the partition, although he had predicted to Curzon the intensity of Hindu-Muslim antagonism that would result from the measure. Lady Minto aptly observes on page 108 that "antipathy to the partition was originally founded in Hindu-Muslim and not in Indian-British antagonism, but this issue was obscured by the (Hindu) agitators." Fuller was enthusiastically welcomed by the Muslims, but met with considerable Hindu opposition encouraged and organized from Calcutta by Surendranath Banerjee and others. Hindu schoolboys and students were employed, for political purposes "absolutely subversive of discipline," as pickets and touts for boycott of British goods. The Calcutta wire-pullers enjoyed the support of a strong Hindu press and of sympathizers in London. Behind the agitation and disturbance a band of revolutionaries were burrowing into places of education; but this circumstance came to light two years later (p. 254).† Fuller tried to arrest the beginnings of grave disorder by measures which were really very mild, but were often distorted or exaggerated in the Calcutta press and formed ground for questions in the House of Commons. Morley did not possess the trenchant insight that would have penetrated to realities, and frequently teased Minto and Fuller by wires for details of petty incidents. Soon he began to "clamour every week" for Fuller's removal (p. 53). Thus a dead set was made at Fuller from London and Calcutta. Minto, who in January, 1906, had seen him and listened sympathetically to his side of the case, held out against this bom-

* See Parliamentary papers of November, 1906; Morley's *Recollections*; Fuller's *Some Personal Experiences* (1930); Buchan's *Minto*.

† See also Chapter II., Report of the Sedition (Rowlatt) Committee.

bardment, while occasionally doubting Fuller's discretion. In February Fuller's chief secretary had asked the Syndicate of the Calcutta University to withdraw recognition from two schools where masters and boys were particularly recalcitrant. Negotiations followed which failed owing to interference from the Calcutta wire-pullers. On July 5 the Simla Home Department asked Fuller to withdraw his recommendation to the Syndicate on the ground that it would be inexpedient to pursue the subject at present.* At the same time they fully recognized "the grave dangers arising from the rebellious spirit which has manifested itself of late in the schools of Bengal." Fuller appealed direct to the Viceroy on July 15. His letter shows how considerably he had treated the school committees. But to withdraw from his position now would be to weaken his authority so greatly that he would no longer be able to maintain that respect for the Government which was essential for the maintenance of public order. He therefore begged that he might be forgiven for asking that the Home Department's order might be reconsidered, or that if he was to give effect to it his resignation might be accepted. He would withdraw his recommendation to Calcutta if he received telegraphic instructions to that effect.

After an interval of eighteen days, in the course of which he made some casual but rash remarks in a private conversation which were immediately telegraphed to the Calcutta press and made good copy,† he received a telegram from Simla dated August 3 telling him that, as the order could not be reconsidered, the Viceroy had decided to accept his resignation. On August 5 Minto wrote to him in terms which suggest that a previous interview would have removed all differences. "No one is more aware of the exceptionally difficult position in which you have been placed. You have had new machinery to work with and have had opposed to you an organization whose object has been to render impossible the administration of the new province." That Fuller was in fact grappling with the incubation of a revolutionary movement is proved by a passage in Sir Surendranath Banerjee's *Nation in the Making*, pp. 233-4, where we learn that the author was approached by two young men with a proposal to shoot the Lieutenant-Governor because of a newspaper story which, it is evident from Fuller's narrative, was a fabrication. Banerjee deterred the men by telling them that Fuller had resigned, although apparently the resignation had not then been announced. But from that time Banerjee began to change his front—a gradual process. There is a clear note of personal reminiscence in the last words which he addressed to his countrymen: "Talk not of revolutions, or of tactics, such as obstruction, which are allied to revolutionary methods. . . . Pray do not play with fire. *When a movement has been set on foot, forces gather round it of which perhaps you had not the faintest conception, and impart to it a volume and momentum beyond the ideas of the originators, who are now powerless to control it.*"‡ (The italics are mine.)

* See Parliamentary Papers.

† Surendranath Banerjee, in *A Nation in the Making*, p. 218, calls these remarks a "declaration," and in effect places them early in Fuller's régime.

‡ *A Nation in the Making*, p. 402.

In May, 1907, Fuller's successor was "much concerned as to the state of his province." Political mischief-makers would not "leave the people alone, and Hindu-Muslim tension was being accentuated" (p. 123). The anti-partition agitation gradually subsided; but secret conspiracies went on, and before long bore fruit in a long chain of intermittent outrages. Minto's letter to Morley from Calcutta on November 3, 1908, exposes the inwardness of the situation. When I visited Eastern Bengal as a member of a small committee in 1913 the opinion of the Muhammadans* and of civil officers was that Fuller's resignation was a calamity. It was not until outrages began that substantial efforts were made to improve the "new machinery," to equip the administration properly for its arduous task. The Secretary of State "held the Government of India in strict financial subordination."†

From 1907 onwards outrages were perpetrated in Bengal and elsewhere. Then the exchange of views between Minto and Morley regarding the measures to be taken shows a clash of ideas. The position was clear to Minto. "I don't see," he wrote, "that the exercise of the strong hand need in any way affect our reforms; quite the reverse. They will, I hope, help to rally round us many loyal subjects of the Indian Empire to whom the Raj means peace and prosperity. I feel sure that you will fight our battles for us. It is a battle that must be fought unless we are prepared, out of too much respect for the doctrines of the Western world, quite unsuited to the East, to risk the safety of the populations committed to our charge" (pp. 249-50). Morley fought their battles, but often with teasing qualms and hesitations. He held that a general Press Act should come last (p. 149), and it came last. The occasion was well chosen, but much mischief had been generated meantime. If Morley assented to deportations, he was nervously eager to release the deportees before it was safe to do so. Minto fought a long, perilous, wearing battle; his life was attempted; but his courage and patience never failed.

The Minto-Morley Reforms are summarized in an epitome and explained in Professor Dodwell's History. He points out the special contributions made from each side. The long-deferred Press Act was passed by the new Imperial Legislative Council without a division—a great triumph for the Government. The Viceroy's last months of office were tranquil. "He had," writes Professor Dodwell, "succeeded by mingled tact and firmness in turning a nasty corner. It may be said that the unanimity with which the leading politicians supported the Government on the outbreak of the war in 1914 was due in no small degree to the conciliating effects of his reforms, coupled as they were with the firm repression of political crime and of those who instigated it."

On November 16, 1910, Minto said at a banquet given by the Calcutta Turf Club: "I do not regret my racing days; far from it. I learned a good deal from them which has been useful to me in later life. I mixed with all classes of men; I believe I got much insight into human character." The evidence in this book supports his belief.

* Buchan's *Minto*, p. 243.

† See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. VI., p. 241.

He naturally took time to grasp the realities of an unprecedented and obscure situation, and was, I venture to think, misled on one notable occasion. But he was a Viceroy of shrewd insight and tenacious courage, with exceptional power of winning men's hearts. This power he owed to the fact that he was a gallant, chivalrous gentleman of the stamp which Indians and his own countrymen alike admire.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE RISE AND FULFILMENT OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA. By Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt. (*Macmillan and Co.*)

(Reviewed by SIR ELLIOT COLVIN, K.C.S.I.)

This is a remarkable book. It has an arresting, and at times an almost dramatic, quality. It approaches the problems of British-Indian history from a new and original standpoint, and forces the reader to reconsider them. It judges these problems from a moral rather than from a diplomatic angle, and while the new point of view appears occasionally to involve a "blind spot," it far more often wins consent.

The authors, being Englishmen, tell us that their hardest task has been to avoid a racial or a national bias. They hold that recent histories of India have been coloured by a certain prejudice, arising out of the growth of Indian nationalism; that political exigencies and the consciousness of a wide "eavesdropping" public have cramped the style of modern British writers; that, in consequence, truth has sometimes been sacrificed to administrative expediency. For themselves, they propose, without any tenderness for British susceptibilities, to tell the whole truth, depicting things in their true colours, without gloss or toning down. This seeking after impartiality, this sympathy with the Indian point of view, are the beacons which everyone should follow in these critical days for India, and the authors may be congratulated in having so frankly set their course by them. They have carried out their plan, not only in regard to the whole category of British and Indian actions and reactions in the past, but also in regard to the great constitutional problem that now faces this country in India. For they bring their story right up to the publication of the India White Paper of 1932. To the more remote period they apply plenty of light and colour; and it is only when they reach a point quite near the present that they find themselves, for reasons of prudence, obliged to drop the paint-brush and take to simple pen and ink. Their fear of a pro-British bias may be thought to have driven them at times a trifle beyond the *milieu juste*; for instance, it is perhaps a "blind spot" that the British genesis of the Indian nationalism which they write of scarcely receives mention, much less credit. But this should deter no one from reading the book to the last word. It is worth it, and the ultimate impression will be one of an honest effort to hold the scales evenly from the rise to the fulfilment.

Those, by the way, who anticipate, from the use of this last word in the title, some prophecy or crystal-gazing into the future will be disappointed. Some critics of the White Paper will dislike the explanation of this term given by the authors, for it is simply that the fulfilment has already come; the ark of self-government, they say, is already afloat. As a reasonable anticipation of impending events, this is probably correct enough; though it might have been added that the main point is that the ark should

remain afloat and that its sea-worthiness depends very largely on the captain it owns and the flag under which it sails.

However he is affected by this view, the reader will enjoy all the early part of the book. There is plenty of colour, with constant flashes of humour: humour that is kindly towards the early adventurers of John Company's régime, caustic towards the officials and administrators of a later day. A few examples may be taken from Book I. to show the lightness of touch and aptness of quotation. Shakespeare's reference, for instance, to the *Tyger*, the ship which bore Queen Elizabeth's letter to Akbar (Lord Zelabdin Echebar); Captain Pitt, the grandfather of Lord Chatham, the sea-captain described by his contemporaries as "no better than a Pyrott, to the last making a great bouncing and carrying himself very haughtily"; Job Charnock, the Company's Agent in Calcutta, who seems to have had no hesitation in interfering in a case of *suttee* and removing the lady from the funeral pyre to his own zenana. Such little cameos illuminate the entire story of this period.

When we come to the period of Governors-General, judgments become more severe. Warren Hastings is praised as the greatest of these, but his hero-worshippers are castigated; and the author of the Oxford History is blamed for disingenuousness over the Nanda Kumar incident. But he may perhaps take comfort from the reflection that four writers, Beveridge, Sir James Stephen, the Oxford History itself, and the book now under review, are all agreed upon one particular in this case—viz., that the judges in that trial wavered as to the guilt of Nanda Kumar to such an extent that it is almost certain that, but for the perjury of his own witnesses, he would have been acquitted, a fact which goes far to explode the theory of Hastings' hidden hand and the pliability of Sir Elijah Impey. In this connection many will regret that the authors of the *Rise and Fulfilment* have quoted Beveridge's remark that "the offence which had not barred an Englishman's path to the peerage was now to doom a Hindu to the gallows." Forgery is an odious crime, under whatever circumstances. But motive counts for something. And the motive of Clive was to trap a blackmailer in the public interest, while the motive of Nanda Kumar was to line his own pockets at the expense of the widow and children of a friend. Beveridge's comment has the quality of a half-truth, a thing to be avoided by those who aim at impartiality. Let us, however, hasten to add that our authors put Warren Hastings on a very high niche; they admit that they have judged him by modern standards, because he was so much in advance of his own time; and they close their review of his period with a warm and finely-phrased tribute to his greatness.

As the story proceeds through the period of Warren Hastings' successors up to the early days of the present century, the text is adorned with a whole gallery of portraits. All the leading characters appear in vivid outline, and some in new colours. Lord Cornwallis receives a special meed of praise, which is surprising, seeing that he believed in imposing British methods on India, even the British landlord system, than which nothing could be less suitable, even if it had been well carried out. It is true that he sought peace, but so did Sir John Shore a few years later and jeopardized the

whole British position in India in consequence. The moral point of view seems to find a "blind spot" here. There is no allusion to the absolute incompatibility of non-intervention in Indian quarrels and self-preservation for the British residents in India. Section 34 of Pitt's India Act and its consequences are not dwelt on at all. Lord Cornwallis's courage, independence, and honesty, undoubtedly exceptional, are duly held up to admiration; his want of imagination is passed over in silence. The lineaments of succeeding "Rulers of India" are cleverly and faithfully portrayed; the different shades of masterfulness of Lord Wellesley, Lord Dalhousie, and Lord Curzon; the calm and the quiet simplicity of each of the Lords Minto; the pessimism, devotion to duty, and keen foresight of Lord Hastings; all these are painted with a sure touch. The list could be indefinitely prolonged. And the great administrators of the nineteenth century are treated in the same way: Munro, with his keen eye on India's ultimate evolution; Malcolm, Sleeman, and Sir Henry Lawrence, with their sympathy for the people of the country, their pleading for the greater association of Indians in the administration, and their dislike of the policy of annexation; Elphinstone's imperturbability at Poona and his opinion of the proceedings of Sir Charles Napier in Sind; Sir Charles Napier himself; Metcalfe's brilliant start under Lord Minto, and his tragic end under Lord Auckland—of all these men the writers, with their clever gift for word-painting, succeed in giving clear-cut and lifelike impressions, thereby greatly enhancing the charm of their story.

Interspersed throughout the narrative are useful chapters on the changing economic and political situation, while through the whole book there runs a thread, tracing the rise and fall of racial feeling between Briton and Indian. Our authors hold that since the Napoleonic period there have been four clearly marked occasions of high temperature and ferment in this respect—viz., the reaction caused by Christian contempt for Hindu religions and social customs about 1834, the Mutiny, the agitation against the Ilbert Bill, and the Jhallianwala Bagh incident. For the exacerbation of these periods, the fault lies mainly, it is said, in the sense of superiority or in the violence of our own race. The writers go far to prove their position, yet in some of these cases again there seems to be a "blind spot." Insufficient allowance seems to be made for some very natural instincts, such as self-preservation or eagerness to stamp out an incipient fire. Undoubtedly the Mutiny occasioned a serious setback between the races, but no period has been more fruitful for the material welfare of India than the forty years which followed it. The Civil Service is accused of favouring stagnation throughout this period and of blocking innovations tending to the greater association of Indians in the administration, whatever Viceroys might wish, and of finally drifting quite out of touch with Indians. But still it should be remembered that the slogan of Lord Curzon, the first Viceroy of the twentieth century, was efficiency, efficiency, efficiency, not Indianization. At that time the Congress, after all, was not fifteen years old, and, as our authors themselves say, had only turned its attention to obtaining some share in the direction of Government policy in the last few years of the century. It is true that there was a lack of definite aim; but

this was because neither Viceroys nor Secretaries of State had made up their minds as to the best means of extension of the movement of 1884. The result of Lord Ripon's experiment in municipal administration by Indians had not aroused much enthusiasm even among the most ardent reformers. There existed a genuine doubt in the minds of many honest Englishmen, in India and also in England, as to the depth and reality of Indian nationalism. Even the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 only gave the semblance of power, though they no doubt opened up the road to subsequent progress. The real precipitating causes of the later acceleration were the victories of Japan over Russia and the Great War, especially the latter. The difficult social conditions which Metcalfe deplored in 1832 only began to liquefy in the last twenty years of the century which followed; political ambitions have grown by leaps and bounds since the great declaration of 1917. Our authors themselves recognize the great and rapid evolution induced by the war; they write at the beginning of their chapter on the post-war period: "Few Indians at that time (1914) believed that it would be possible to establish an independent national government." The change after 1907, in fact, amounted to a revolution of ideas, and the quite recent change to procedure by conference rather than by parliamentary commission has amounted to a revolution in the mutual relations of the two countries.

Coming to post-war politics, our authors, as they warned us, now tell a plain, unvarnished tale; and withal a sad one. What colour there is is of a sombre hue, and it is provided by the facts themselves. England, since the Great War, has meant so well and fared so badly: England, war-scarred and weary; India, eager, impatient, very much awake. No longer is it true that she hears the legions thunder past and turns to sleep again. Every step that England has taken has been closely, nay, suspiciously, watched. And moreover has been taken, so it seems, at the worst psychological moment. Dyarchy, our authors truly say, was born under an unlucky star. Even while it was in process of conception, there came the Rowlatt Acts, the mendacious agitation against them, the Dyer affair, the Afghan aggression, and a widespread threat of internal trouble. After its birth there followed in quick succession the misguided exodus of Punjab Muslims into Afghanistan, the Chauri Chaura outrage, the Moplah horror, and the "no-tax" agitation in Bardoli. Later, the Simon Commission, hoping to bring an olive branch, was received with a cold shoulder, because its personnel included no Indians. And so the tale goes on until the day of conferences, ending with the communal riot in Cawnpore and the agitation over the execution of the murderer and bomb thrower, Bhagat-Sing, immediately after the signing of the Pact between Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi. For these and other melancholy coincidences, our authors, while pointing out the imprudences and political blunders on the Indian side, do not acquit the British Government of slowness to grasp the Indian point of view and of clumsiness in their methods and choice of moments. They side with the Indians in regard to the Report of the Simon Commission, thinking it too conservative and its recommendations quite behind the times. They lay little stress on the most disturbing and malevolent feature of the last eight years—viz., the steady growth of communal feeling

and the complete failure of the Indian people themselves to bridge this ever-widening gulf.

The best remark in the book occurs perhaps in the Epilogue, where the writers say that no controversy has been more miraculously preserved from irreconcilability than this one between England and India. They do not indulge in prophecy. They point out merely that the great State activities now built up in India are managed by a bureaucracy, today almost entirely Indian, and they express a "guarded belief" that the outcome of the controversy may be a sane and civilized relationship between the two countries. Everyone will concur in this comparatively modest aspiration. Possibly, even, the miracle will work still better, when time and a wider experience of freedom have softened the ragged edges of the controversy. There is still much individual goodwill between Indians and Englishmen. Is it too much to hope that, when India has passed through its first few years of trial and infant growth in self-government, there may emerge out of the long connection of the two countries a mutual spirit of respect and friendliness and goodwill between them? The difficulties in the path of India's progress under the new constitution are formidable enough. The component parts which go to make up the unity of India—autocratic states and democratic provinces, Hindus and Mahommedans and Depressed Classes, frontier and internal interests, Congress and its opponents—all these are bound to cause a centrifugal tendency. In order to keep these diverse elements together, there may yet be need of a touch of the old cement, if the Indian nationalist is sincere.

The criticisms we have felt bound to make in one or two matters have left insufficient room for our real appreciation. But we would repeat that this book should be read by all. The reader is bound to enjoy numerous passages; he will find himself at times in disagreement with the views expressed; he may suffer some shocks and disillusionings; he may wish, from reasons of pride or taste, that some things could have been omitted. But he will very seldom be able to question its facts or its spirit of impartiality. This challenging interpretation of our whole connection with India will provide him with ample food for thought and, what is of such importance at the present time, a wider sympathy with Indian aspirations.

KISSED BY THE SUN. By George Huddleston. (*Stockwell*.) 6s. net.

There is nothing particularly new in the theme of this unpretentious story. Molly—a girl of mixed blood—is sent to England to be educated. In the course of years she meets a man who is going out to India for the first time, and, partly at least swayed by her longing to get back to the East, she marries him. But he hates India as much as she loves it, and he is irritated by the way he is treated by Delhi society, not, it is suggested, so much for his wife's Indian blood as for her predilection for all things Indian. Suspecting her infidelity with a young Mussulman, the playmate of her childhood, he rushes to the bazaar, eats of a tainted dish in a house of low repute, and dies of cholera. She then leaves Delhi on foot with the young

Mussulman, and together they reach Hosseinpore, her and his original home.

It is the old tragedy of the mixed marriage, but told with a difference. In his anxiety to do justice to the Indian servants and the one or two others who are introduced into the book, Mr. Huddleston perhaps does less than justice to the Europeans. The unsympathetic relatives in England, the unreasonable and rather brutal husband, are but little relieved by the slight and rather frivolous character of Ina, the English cousin. The last chapter is the best, though to some, no doubt, the touch of mysticism will not appeal.

S. R.

INDIA'S SOCIAL HERITAGE. By L. S. S. O'Malley. (*Oxford University Press.*)

Mr. O'Malley has packed a great deal of information into a very small space, and without attempting any literary flights has produced a useful compendium of Indian social customs. The book is a warning against too easy generalization, and at the same time an example of the broad features which, with many varying details, bind India together and make it possible to predicate certain things of her, while avoiding any assumption of uniformity. The result is perhaps rather bewildering; at times one cannot see the wood for the trees, but this is inevitable if one is not to give a distorted picture of a country so diversified, and is to carry out the evident plan of the book.

Mr. O'Malley makes little or no attempt to trace the origin of customs or to explain the motives of them; probably we have no right to expect this in so modest a work. The book is a record of facts—and facts of today—collected with evident care and diligence. It does not deal with theories or developments, and he who looks for these will be disappointed. Within its own limits it can be relied upon, and it serves incidentally as a corrective to some false ideas of common currency, notably when it discusses the Depressed Classes.

CURZON: THE LAST PHASE. By Harold Nicolson. (*Constable.*) 18s. net.

The impression one gets from Mr. Nicolson's study is that Lord Curzon's life was a series of high ambitions, brilliant achievements, and tragic failures. With all his gifts of intellect, of untiring industry, and masterful personality, there were defects, apparently of secondary importance, and yet enough to leaven the whole lump. In so far as his book is a biography of his hero, Mr. Nicolson's text seems to be this one of fatal defects. Lord Curzon's fame rests mainly upon his Viceroyalty, and that is a posthumous fame. He probably did more for India than any Viceroy since Dalhousie; he loved the country as he loved all that was Asiatic, but always with the sense of Britain's beneficent control and her divine mission to civilize, always with a sense that he, better than anyone, knew what was for her good, and that he

was invariably right. And so he left India, defeated in his last struggle and unwept by any community, European or Indian. At the Foreign Office his plans for dealing with Turkey after the war were overruled, partly by less well-informed men, partly by the force of circumstances. His schemes for Persia, one of his earliest and greatest loves, were brought to nothing through no fault of his own. Up to this point Mr. Nicolson writes with discrimination; he makes no demi-god of his hero, and is at no pains to conceal his weaknesses. When, however, we come to Lausanne the scene changes. Now Curzon dominates the stage; he towers over his colleagues as Gulliver towered over the Lilliputians. And then we come to the final stage of the Greek tragedy, when the Nemesis of temperament dashes from his lips the much-desired reward that his talents so fully deserved. One is inclined to say that Lord Curzon was denied his supreme ambition by the accident of not being in London at the critical moment.

If one were to sum up in a word a brilliant career and its failure, that word would be lack of sympathy. With perhaps the finest brain in England, with an unsurpassed fund of knowledge acquired by the most assiduous study, with the most unflagging industry in his work, with, in short, every quality that makes for the highest success, he was lacking in "that most excellent gift of charity" which not only suffers fools gladly, but can see another man's point of view. Curzon was impatient of less gifted men; he distrusted the work of others, and was driven to doing what was not properly his to do and made him lose all sense of proportion. Perhaps it was as well that he never became Prime Minister, for it is at least doubtful whether he would have been able to keep his followers together for long. His last and greatest triumph was when he lay dead in Westminster Abbey and the congregation rose to hear his funeral oration pronounced from the organ loft.

The book is more than a biography of Lord Curzon's later years. It is also a study in diplomacy. There is much acute probing into the psychology of the various situations that arose, much ingenious presentation of the decline of European prestige and the rise of Asiatic nationalism. Curzon, in fact, stands out only as the central figure of the large canvas of European and Asiatic affairs. To some—perhaps to most—the main interest of the book is in this analysis of diplomacy, of which Mr. Harold Nicolson is well qualified to speak.

STANLEY RICE.

THE PRINCES OF INDIA. By Sir William Barton. (*Nisbet and Co.*) 15s. net.

(Reviewed by LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR STEWART PATTERSON.)

"From the huge mass of the Pamirs and the Karakoram in the north, where political India impinges on Central Asia, to Cape Comorin in the south, a distance of nearly two thousand miles, one might travel almost entirely through territory of Indian Princes without touching British India." Sir William Barton might have added that one might do likewise from the borders of Persia to the Bay of Bengal. This vast mass of country

contains the territories of Indian Princes and Chiefs enjoying various degrees of sovereignty, exercising varying standards of government, and differing one from the other in language, prestige, race, religion, and historical associations.

At one end of the scale will be found States like Hyderabad and Kashmir, the one with a Muslim ruling over a mainly Hindu population, and the other with a Hindu ruling over a mainly Muslim one, with areas equal to that of England, maintaining armies of horse, foot, and artillery, with modern equipment, which proved their value in the war; at the other petty Chiefships in Kathiawar whose areas are reckoned in acres and whose armed forces descend to nakedness and a sword. While the larger States are equipped with administrative machinery suitable for modern requirements, though perhaps more adapted to Oriental surroundings and culture than that of British India, the smaller ones have more primitive and personal forms of administration, and the smallest of all in Kathiawar, though enjoying the blessings of sovereignty, exercise no jurisdiction whatever.

Sir William Barton describes the history of the States from the group of Rajput, perhaps the backbone of Indian India, Travancore, and Cochin, dating back some twelve centuries to the more modern ones created by viceroys declaring their independence and Maharajas carrying on their predatory incursions during the creeping paralysis which finally extinguished the Mogul Empire. He describes the evolution of British power in connection with these States during the chaos attending this paralysis when the East India Company was the only solid phalanx moving in the midst of an inchoate mass of feudal barons and military leaders fighting amongst themselves with kingdoms as a prize; the various policies pursued with the States of alliance, subordinate alliance, and isolation until, on the final extinguishment of the last relics of Mogul rule, Lord Canning declared in 1858 that on the debris of a dilapidated Empire the Crown of England stood forth as supreme ruler and paramount power over the whole of India. For some years after this the States, despite their invaluable aid during the recent crisis, remained in isolation and were apt to be regarded by British administrators merely as interesting anachronisms capable of producing tigers and picturesque scenery till Lord Curzon in a burst of eloquence claimed them as colleagues in his imperial task. At the same time, however, he defined in carefully measured language the position of the suzerain power: "The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged: it has itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogatives."

Twenty-three years later Lord Reading reaffirmed this theory in equally unambiguous language when dealing with the case of the Berars: "The sovereignty of the British Crown," he wrote, "is supreme in India . . . its supremacy is not based only on treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them."

Owing to the fundamental changes involved in the Government of India Act of 1919, and the developments inherent in the progress of responsible self-government in British India, the Princes naturally felt anxious as to their future position and wished for some definition, more especially in regard to the actual meaning of "paramountcy." A Committee, presided over by

Sir Harcourt Butler, sat in London in 1928 to discuss the matter, and laid down the fundamental principle that paramountcy rests in the Crown and not in the Government of India, and that the Princes could not be compelled to transfer their allegiance. A most important point gained. As to paramountcy itself, they declared that it must continue to be paramount. Could volumes say more?

What of the future? Nearly fifty years ago that keen observer Mr. Rudyard Kipling reflected as to whether the States were backwaters or really the main stream of life. Will the Princes return to isolation or will they take a prominent part in a Federation, impose on it the culture and traditions of an Aryan age, and help to create an India not divided into two parts, but an integral portion of the Empire in allegiance to the British Crown?

Sir William Barton's book is full of interest at any time, but especially so now, when the problem of the Princes is so prominently before the public.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE INDIAN REPORT: A MINORITY VIEW

BY SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., M.P.

WHEN your most active Secretary, Mr. Brown, was good enough to suggest to me that I should read a paper in this place explaining the views expressed by the Conservative minority on the Joint Select Committee, I welcomed the suggestion. I am not afraid of those views; but owing to the procedure which governs these cases it is not permissible to write a minority report as such without writing a complete alternative report, in which would have had to be embodied a great number of discussions or conclusions with respect to which the minority were in agreement with the Report of the majority. We were obliged, therefore, to move certain amendments on the main features of our dissent. If our amendments had been carried, then the whole Report would have had to be recast and the arguments restated. But it would have been sheer waste of time to move all the vast consequential changes in the text of the Report, paragraph by paragraph, after the amendments themselves had been lost.

By this saving of public time and expense we were to this extent handicapped, since the principal amendments stand by themselves in a Report which argued out the pros and cons in a manner which was necessarily explanatory of the majority conclusions, so that we of the minority were thereby liable to attack as having no complete constructive scheme or as being willing to give only petty and minor concessions over the Constitution created by the Government of India Act of 1919 and still in operation. These criticisms, as one of the minority, I must firmly challenge.

Of the members of the Committee who constitute the Conservative minority, Lord Salisbury and Lord Rankeillour have had a vast experience gained in British political life, while the Chairman today, Sir Joseph Nall, adds to similar experience familiarity with British commerce. These three of my colleagues on the

Indian side of the question have had to depend upon the discussions with the delegates and the evidence, written and oral, placed before the Committee, from which they have drawn their own deductions. Of the remaining two, my colleague, Lord Middleton, had fourteen years' service in India as an officer in an Indian cavalry regiment to which he added some time spent in staff appointments attached to Provincial Governors.

INDIAN CONTRASTS

My own experience of India was long and varied, and included thirty-six years of active service in the country out of my total service of thirty-nine years. It is quite impossible for me to put out of my mind the whole of this long experience and not to use it as interpreting both the evidence laid before the Committee and the inner knowledge of the various political developments, and the principles and practice of administration with which I had been so intimately concerned from the age of twenty until the age of sixty, and with which, with my ever-abiding interest in the country where I served so long, I had out of sheer necessity to keep in touch.

It is on the basis of all that experience that I interpret the tenor of the Indian Press, the mixed motives behind the Congress, the development of the Terrorist movement, the true significance of the Poona Pact; the differences between the statements made in private and the opinions recorded for publication among the politicians themselves; between the old aristocracy of birth and landed estate and the little middle-class oligarchy which previous Reforms have brought into prominence; between those who represent the old intelligentsia of the country, Hindu and Moslem alike, constituting the real India, with roots deep in traditions, and, on the other hand, the new urban intelligentsia which is the product of English education, often very undigested, entirely exotic to the soil, and with roots which are shallow, and political doctrines entirely unintelligible to the multitudes of voters now to be newly enfranchised; riddled with superstition and at the mercy of every paid agitator whose stock-in-trade is to attribute every trouble from which the masses suffer to malignant exploitation by the British Raj.

In England we can allow the most violent Hyde Park orator to find his level among the crowds, by no means entirely sympathetic, which listen for a few minutes to his flights of oratory. In India we cannot afford such good-natured indulgence, because the minds among whom calumnies and incitements are spread are so credulous and unbalanced that the sparks that fly recklessly may rapidly create a conflagration. Time after time we have seen crowds so affected by this kind of oratory that they rush to plunder, to incendiarism, and murder. I have myself talked to a number of convicts in the Andamans found guilty of Terrorist conspiracy and crime. Some of them were still sullen, but others poured out their hearts and said: "Why did the Government allow newspapers to spread their lies amongst us poor fellows and thus lead to our ruin?"

The miserable occurrences of recent years until Lord Willingdon courageously dealt with these Congress agitators were entirely due to the failure of Government to suppress from its early beginnings grave offences against the law of sedition and against sections of the Penal Code which deal with speeches or writings calculated to instil hatred between various classes of His Majesty's subjects in India. The Congress was thereby invested with a halo of false patriotism and the populace generally became saturated temporarily with the belief that the British Raj was setting in the West and the Congress Raj was rising in the East. The reply of some village headmen to a district officer, who reproached them for their obedience to the Congress agitator when the first non-co-operation movement had subsided, illustrates exactly the effect on the population at large of what was really nothing less than a revolutionary movement. They said: "We thought that Gandhi was King and that you were no longer King; but now that we know Gandhi is not King, and that after all you are the King, of course we will obey you."

INDIAN PUBLIC OPINION

The average British citizen, in Parliament or out of it, persistently talks about "the demand of the Indian people," or about Indian public opinion, and keeps on forgetting that he is mistaking

the declarations of the active Indian politician for the "voice of the people," giving to this phrase the same significance that he would attach to it in the case of a united democratic race. There is a "Nationalist" party in India, but there is no true national feeling for the simple reason that there is no Indian nation yet in existence. If there had been such a nation there would have been no necessity for so many communal electorates in a Constitution which seeks to introduce democracy into the heart of the structure which we are trying to build.

I am merely stating the facts as they exist—facts which every intelligent Indian knows to exist. I am not desiring to disparage the ability of so many Indians both among the politically minded and among a large number of educated men who take no active part in politics. The situation in which we find ourselves today is but the direct result of history embracing some thirty centuries before the British arrived on the scene at all and about two centuries since the British connection with India began pouring new wine into old bottles. I have never deplored the fact that English education was introduced into India. If we had resisted the spread of Western ideas and tried to keep the English language and literature a sealed book, and if Lord Macaulay in his famous Minute had taken a line exactly contrary to the line he took, we should have sinned against the light.

It is therefore certain that those who are the product of this education which has been thrown open to them could not continue indefinitely *in statu pupillari*. It is equally certain that we could not plunge from a system of government which was based on ancient and deep-rooted political conceptions into a form of government which is entirely of foreign origin and totally alien to the traditions of the whole people simply by the stroke of a pen.

STAGES OF ADVANCE

It is round the endeavours to find stages for an orderly advance from one system towards its exact opposite that the whole political controversies and contests of the twentieth century have raged. Since Mr. Montagu's famous announcement the whole question is not one of the goal, but of pace and distance on a road leading

to it. The question is, how far and how fast we should go at any particular time. The late Mr. Gokhale, who was a statesman and no mere politician, shortly before his death pointed out that, although there might be individual Indians who were equal, in ability and intellect, to British statesmen and administrators, yet that was not enough. It was not until the average Indian was equal to the average British citizen that any full advance in a system of self-government, similar to that of Great Britain, could be attained, and he emphasized the long interval which must elapse before Indians as a whole could attain that level. But the advanced Indian politician of today throws scorn on Mr. Gokhale's warning voice; having advanced but one or two laps in the race, he wants to take the many laps still ahead at a single stride while the great mass of the people has scarcely moved at all from the starting-post. With great respect to the majority of the Select Committee, I submit that in framing their proposals they have ignored almost entirely this question of pace and distance.

Three times between the age of forty-five and the age of seventy I have had the honour of being a consultant upon new constitutional schemes for India: three Constitutions within twenty-five years! Surely that fact alone tells its own tale. What has been the reason for this desperate haste? The Majority Report gives no real answer to this question. In a passage here or there they reveal their consciousness of some of the real conditions of the country. But having done this they recommend a plunge into the future by stating conclusions which are based on pious hopes and Western analogies that have no bearing whatever upon the probable sequence of events when the human material concerned is taken into account.

An old Indian friend of mine ended a letter to me with the following sentence: "I fully concur with you that it is difficult to forecast the future of India; as some sage politician first observed in the House of Commons years ago, 'Providence has placed India in the hands of Parliament and Parliament has handed back the trust to Providence.' " But Providence may have its own way of dealing with those who from weariness hand back uncompleted a task which they are too lazy or too timid to per-

form. The distinction between timidity and courage is often finely drawn; what appears courageous may really be timidity in disguise, a disguise which India penetrates. The whole theory of the new Constitution is to transfer to the masses of India the task of securing just and good government by the simple power of the vote, without any ground for believing that the masses will be able to use that power for the amelioration of their lot, and indeed in the face of evidence that those already enfranchised have proved quite unable to make any good use of it at all.

THE CONSERVATIVE MINORITY

I will now turn to the criticisms which have been levelled against the Conservative minority. It is said that they have no constructive alternative scheme; it has even been suggested by Lord Linlithgow himself that by objecting to the transfer of law and order they should logically have objected to any instalment of provincial autonomy at all, and that they have thereby laid themselves open to lack of courage. I should like to know what would have been said of them if they had adopted this "logical" course and advocated a return to the Morley-Minto scheme, or the return to a pre-Morley-Minto system. That is to say, according to such critics, that they should have blindly ignored the Montagu announcement, and shut their eyes to everything that has happened since.

The Committee itself has wisely said that the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919, still holds the ground as the only pledge that Parliament is bound to honour, and that all subsequent statements of policy add nothing to that pledge. That is absolutely true. But though they may add nothing to the pledge, they have aroused in the minds of Indian politicians expectations of the surrender to themselves of powers which also cannot be entirely ignored. The Conservative minority is not a group of blind reactionaries, but if its proposed amendments have no constructive value, then the Statutory Commission's schemes have also no constructive value, for with one notable exception, which I will explain in greater detail presently, the Conservative minority have based their scheme on the recommendations of the Statutory Com-

mission itself. And of all the documents submitted to the Joint Select Committee, there is no document which has equal importance. It submitted to Parliament the unanimous conclusions of a body of men appointed in conformity with the Government of India Act and containing representatives of all three parties, whereas the long discussions of three Round-Table Conferences merely represented the conflicting opinions of a number of delegates selected by the Government and forming a body of men with no constituent powers whose differences—and they were many—were never subjected to a vote.

THE FEDERAL IDEA

Those members of the Statutory Commission who were also members of the Joint Select Committee are always anxious to point out that a scheme for Federation, as an ultimate ideal for Provinces and States alike, was roughly adumbrated in Part VII., Volume II., of their Report. That some day or other, if a self-governing India were to become a reality, the relations between Provinces and States would require some common meeting ground, and that that common meeting ground must eventually take some form of Federation, the only hitherto known name in the world for unions of that description, was a commonplace to anybody who tried to look into the distant future of India, and the only difference between all casual thinkers of this description and the Statutory Commission was the greater authority with which the Commission was invested. But the Statutory Commission regarded it as a distant ideal, owing to the great anomalies which had to be overcome, and the dispatch of Lord Irwin's Government dated September 20, 1930, repeated the expression "distant ideal" within a few weeks of the dramatic deliverances of a few of the Princes at the First Round-Table Conference, thereby demonstrating that any preliminary negotiations between the Princes and the politicians had been kept a profound secret from the then Viceroy.

It is surely manifest that the Princes when they made that declaration had no prescience of the long labours of the Federal Structural Committee and the series of dilemmas in which the

whole question was involved. But the Princes, through their representatives, have always made it clear that that preliminary acquiescence was not binding upon them unless the conditions which they laid down were fully complied with, and the choice is still open to them when the time comes to sign or refuse to sign the Instrument of Accession which has to be laid before each Chief with such conditions as are applicable to his particular State. Now the Statutory Commission, realizing these immense difficulties, discussed, in paragraphs 234 to 237, a preliminary step towards joint consultation on matters of common concern, and they found the solution in their recommendation of "The Council of Greater India," and though they did not sketch out this proposal in complete detail, they showed clearly that the creation of such a Council was not a casual *obiter dictum*, but a distinct storey in the edifice which they presented to Parliament.

The Conservative minority have accepted this storey as part of the edifice which they approve. The criticism that they have no constructive policy is simply ridiculous and is voiced mainly by those who are absolutely ignorant of Indian conditions. If the Simon Commission were not ashamed to put forward this Council of Greater India as an integral part of their plan, the Conservative minority need have no shame about supporting that part of the new building. After provincial autonomy has shown that it is something real and responsible, and after this proposed Council of Greater India has for the first time received Constitutional sanction and has exercised the functions designed for it, then the Indian States and the Indian Provinces will be in a better position to judge whether a form of Statutory Federation is likely to overcome successfully the formidable difficulties which have to be surmounted and which are described in Lord Salisbury's amendment. Premature Federation may merely result in the collapse of the whole structure and in a demand by the federating Princes to secede again from a Federal Constitution which they see is going to spell their ruin. I should like to draw attention to the concluding words of paragraph 228 of the Simon Commission's Report, under the heading "General Acceptance of the Federal Idea." The words are :

“ We are therefore following what has become a generally accepted view when we express our own belief that the essential unity of Greater India will one day be expressed in some form of federal association, but that the evolution will be slow and cannot be rashly pressed.”

I take those two words “ rashly pressed ” as a correct description of the sudden declaration of the Princes at the First Round-Table Conference.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

The tendency among Indian politicians is to believe that if you talk about a thing long enough and repeat it often enough it has become an actual fact. It has been so with the question of provincial autonomy as meaning the handing over of the whole provincial field to a Ministry responsible to the local Legislature. I must point out, however, that the term in itself does not connote any particular form of internal government in the territory to which it applies. It is a catchword which has been used for years past to express the growing degree of independence from interference by the Government of India which the Indian Provinces have enjoyed. Whether an area constitutes a Province or a State, whether it is administered by a Governor in Council if a Province, or by its Ruler if a State, its autonomy is limited only by the extent to which some higher authority has the power to intervene and give instructions which it is bound to obey, a statutory authority in the case of the Provinces, the doctrine of paramountcy in the case of the States. Within the Province the question is, how many departments of Government should be in the charge of the Governor in Council and how many in charge of Ministers responsible to the Legislature? The Montagu Reforms transferred to the latter agency such important subjects as Education, Sanitation, Medical, Internal Excise, Public Works (Roads and Buildings), and the entire control over all local bodies—viz., municipalities and district boards and subsidiary village unions and committees.

In respect of all these transferred departments the Governor acted with his Ministers. The remaining subjects were Reserved, that is to say they were dealt with by the Governor in Council, but it must be noted that in all Reserved subjects the power of

supervision remained with the Government of India. Therefore, in respect of all Reserved subjects now to be transferred, a double change is effected simultaneously—viz., the removal of the supervision of the Governor-General in Council and the committal of control to the charge of a non-official Minister who is responsible to an enlarged Legislature elected by a widely extended electorate. What are these subjects? Land Revenue, Finance, Forests, Irrigation and Law and Order, which term embraces police, the whole magisterial and judicial system, prisons and prisoners. The Majority Report, following the Simon Commission, recommends that all these subjects should now be transferred to the charge of Ministers.

LAW AND ORDER

The Conservative minority also accepts all these transfers except one, and that is the transfer of law and order. That minority is taunted with the fact that if it does not agree with the transfer of law and order, but does agree with the transfer of all the other subjects, it is guilty of flagrant inconsistency. This argument can only be put forward by people who have no personal knowledge of the administration of the country. The argument that because you are willing to incur minimum risks or minor risks you should therefore also incur maximum risks is an appeal to prejudice, not to common sense. British critics have not the slightest appreciation what the relative risks are when they hurl these taunts.

The real distinction is that while the Conservative minority accept risks which involve deterioration in administration, they are not willing to gamble with the lives and liberties of the people, for it will be a gamble until Ministers, enlarged Legislative Councils and enlarged electorates have demonstrated that in these other wide fields of responsibility they have acquired a real sense of responsibility and have the courage, the honesty and the strength of purpose which will enable these great departments committed to them to function without communal fear or favour. We wish to know first whether all the safeguards imposed have been enforced or waived and what the reactions have been to such en-

forcement or waiver. In fact we wish to see whether the optimistic expectations on which the whole scheme of the majority Report is based have been verified by actual working, before we take a step which may prove so disastrous to the security not only of the great ignorant and illiterate masses, for whose welfare we cannot shake off our own responsibility, but to the stability of a Continent, and of the new Constitution itself.

We shall be told that Indians have already held the portfolio of law and order and administered it with success. That may be so, and I am not making an accusation against the capacity of Indians to administer even this department as Executive Councillors in charge of a Reserved subject. The Executive Councillor is appointed by the Crown for a period of five years; he issues orders in the name of the Governor in Council, and in many cases only with the concurrence of the Governor, according to the rules of business. The Governor may require a meeting of all the Executive Councillors before the particular action is authorized, and, not only that, but throughout the Government of which he is a member on the Reserved side is subject to supervision of the Governor-General in Council, and even of the Secretary of State. He is therefore in a sheltered position, not responsible to the Legislature, and can always explain to his private critics that in taking or refusing to take certain action he could not have his own way.

The same man as a Minister is in a totally different position. A bold and honest line of action may bring upon him the vituperation of his supporters and his opponents alike and the pressure of his friends and relatives and the intrigues of all who are dissatisfied. As the Simon Commission have pointed out, Provincial Ministers have often been saved from defeat in the Legislature by the support of the official bloc. And that official bloc will no longer be there to lend the great weight of their administrative experience in support of a Minister who has been courageous enough to resist all these pressures and temptations which will assail him.

THE REPORT SAFEGUARDS

The supporters of the majority scheme will reply that the inherent dangers in the committal of law and order to a Minister

are met by the safeguards which they have provided. The Conservative minority did in fact vote for these safeguards as being better than nothing, but they do not go very far in the protection of the people. The Committee as a whole were greatly impressed by the danger of Terrorism, and they have left it open to the Governor to keep under his own control the dossiers of suspected terrorists and the names of informers and of the secret information which they have supplied, and they provide that in extreme cases he may actually take over any department of State if he deems it necessary to keep Terrorism under control.

But these are very drastic steps, which no Governor is likely to take until a situation has become very bad indeed. It must be remembered, however, that the whole Police Force, save a very few special detectives and a comparatively insignificant staff selected to work under them, will be under the Minister, and it is only with the co-operation of the ordinary police that these special secret branches can function at all. A lot of the information on which they depend is picked up and communicated to them through the ordinary station house diaries, and many of the crimes which turn out to be political are investigated in the first instance by the ordinary police. There is real danger that jealousy between divided forces will come into play, for jealousies of that kind are not peculiar to India but are more likely to interfere with honest work there than in most other countries. It must also be remembered that owing to the extraordinary ramifications of relationships among Hindus there may be members in the Legislative Council, and even Ministers themselves, whose youthful relations or their relations by marriage have become involved in Terrorist conspiracies. It is unnecessary to develop these contingencies in more detail; they merely show how difficult it may become to keep even Terrorism in a watertight compartment.

The Committee have also provided that the Inspector-General of Police should be specially accessible to the Governor, and that the question of police promotions and discipline should be left entirely in his hands. The Committee appear to think that by the isolation of the Inspector-General of Police in this privileged position they have successfully disposed of the risks in the whole field of

law and order. In this I venture to think, and I speak from personal knowledge of administration of the criminal law, that they are entirely mistaken. The Inspector-General of Police is a departmental chief; he controls, through the district superintendents, the recruiting, training, discipline and equipment of the police force as a whole, but the maintenance of law and order and the vigilant watch over the criminal classes, as well as the offences of powerful patrons of crime among the higher classes, depend not upon the Inspector-General of Police but upon the district magistrate of each district and upon the commissioners of divisions over them, in so far as their executive action is concerned. The Inspector-General of Police may be called in by either of these responsible officers if it appears that police action has deteriorated or discipline has been relaxed, and he in his turn can co-operate and advise, but he cannot command. He is prevented, and very properly prevented, from interfering in any way with the independence of the whole magistracy, and were he to interfere the magistracy would be very rightly up in arms.

Now the commissioners and the district officers, if the transfer of law and order is made, will be under the control of the Minister in charge, and no such Minister will consent to be a mere cypher; he is bound to insist that all recommendations from these officers, whether they relate to police or jails or the proper exercise of magisterial authority, shall come up to him for orders, and even if in some cases those orders may require the concurrence of the Governor, the Minister is bound to require that the recommendation should pass through his hands. He will be the authority for sanctioning prosecutions in cases where the sanction of the local government is required, as the authority for ordering the withdrawal of prosecutions. An Indian magistrate or judge has always been under a disadvantage from which the neutral British officer in the same position is free. When, where the communal question arises, he endeavours to act with strict honesty and impartiality, if the decision is in favour of his co-religionist he is accused of communal favouritism. If the decision is against his co-religionist it is at once asserted that he has been bought. It is obvious that similar accusations will be levelled at a Minister in

like circumstances. Nor can we exclude the possibility that a Minister may himself be unscrupulous or corrupt.

It is also useless to shut our eyes against the underground intrigues with which the whole of India is permeated, and of the existence of which every British administrator in India can draw illustrations from his own experience. Intrigues of this kind have manifested their effect in the Departments already transferred under the Montagu scheme, just as there have been corrupt magistrates, whose corruption was a by-word but against whom it was impossible to prove any specific case. It is against such intrigues or corruption that the local officers have to keep up the battle as well as they can. And it must also not be forgotten that it is these officers upon whom the people depend for protection against malpractices or tyranny committed by the police themselves. Consequently it is abundantly clear that no Governor can possibly safeguard the spread of iniquities of this description carried on over the districts in a Province which may be as large as the United Kingdom and equally populous.

THE GOVERNOR'S ADVISERS

It is a contention of the Conservative minority that the Governor under the new Constitution should be given one Councillor at least who is thoroughly familiar with the problems of administration. The Governor-General is given three Councillors, but the Governor has none, and the proposal of the Committee that he should have a small secretariat of his own controlled by a special secretary will not suffice to fill the breach. The secretary will have no constitutional position and will be regarded merely as a subordinate official, but inasmuch as he will be supposed to have great influence with the Governor this special office will become a bureau round which intrigue will gather. The office will be flooded with petitions and exhortations to him to use his special powers to over-rule the Ministers. Some of these may contain valuable information, demanding investigation about the Minister himself. What is the Governor to do with such? Is he to forward them to the Minister who is accused, who can thereby set on foot measures to bring the accuser to grief, or is he to send them

secretly for investigation by subordinates of the Minister concerned? The only other alternative is the waste-paper basket. I think that any administrator of experience may be forgiven for feeling the fear that the quality of justice as administered under the conditions described may seriously deteriorate if this transfer is brought about.

These are the reasons which have impelled the Conservative minority to vote against the transfer of law and order. There is ample material in the original recommendations of the local Governments to the Simon Commission to justify this minority in the course that they have adopted, and if persons who are interested in this question will read paragraphs 57 to 64, Chapter 1, Volume 2, together with paragraphs 40 to 43, preceding them, they will find how strong the case was considered by the various local Governments and by the Committees appointed by the Legislative Councils themselves to co-operate with the Commission either for the complete reservation of law and order or for other shifts and devices by which this particular department of State should be protected from the dangers inherent in the transfer.

The fact that Provincial Governments have resiled from those recommendations is due to no circumstances arising from increased confidence in the Ministers or from a change in the character of the people. The difference is this: when they submitted their genuine doubts and anxieties the case was still an open one, but the recommendations of the Simon Commission and the discussions of the Round-Table Conference, as well as the pronouncement of His Majesty's Government in December, 1931, have proved to their minds at least that the question was no longer open to discussion. The course in fact which the Simon Commission took was a course taken with serious hesitation, and it was based upon two reasons: One was that the omission of law and order was out of accord with the political machinery they were creating. The other was that with law and order alone reserved the pressure against the one reserved department would increase in intensity.

To the first reason I submit the answer: that the people of India do not know or understand anything about constitutional anomalies; that is merely the argument of a few lawyers. To the

second reason my answer is: that it is contrary to British precedent to shift the consequences from themselves to helpless millions of people. And in effect there is a further criticism which I propound for your consideration: that the pressure will not cease, but will be concentrated upon the Governor himself if he dares to interfere with a responsible Legislature and a Minister responsible to that body.

INDIA AND THE REPORT

The Report has not been accepted by the Congress and it has been turned down by the so-called Liberals and Moderates, who are bracing themselves to frighten the British Government into yet further concessions, but who nevertheless know well that the Constitution offered them contains possibilities in working which, as they themselves say, will enable the Congress to secure the extreme demands which they are putting forward for the extrusion of all British control or influence in India. And the tragic irony of it is that the British troops maintained in the country will by their presence keep in place and power, it may be, a small body of malcontents who, were there no British Army thus protecting them, would have to seek the shelter of obscurity or perish by the sword of more martial races.

The Union of Britain and India is a question-begging title. We are all in favour of the union of Britain and India; the point in dispute is not the objective, but the method and steps by which that union can best be secured. I would enquire of my good friends of the Union of Britain and India whether they are convinced that under the new Constitution India will develop according to plan into a self-governing democracy; and also whether they are really satisfied that these reforms will produce greater happiness, hope and prosperity among the 300 odd millions of people who are ignorant, illiterate, and know nothing about politics. Upon this point I quote an extract from a paper by Sir Malcolm Hailey on "The Future of India." This opinion was expressed in the summer of 1933, and it at least cannot be said of him at all events that he is out of date:

"The suitability or adaptability of the type of government we are substituting was an essential element in arriving at a forecast of the effects it may have on Indian developments. In so far as the previous régime was self-sufficient in the sense that it did not base itself on representative institutions, it was a form of government to which the East was well accustomed. So far as we know the spirit of India at present, it is fair to say that it would probably prefer some form of government not definitely responsible to a majority vote. In the end, India might find herself best suited with something quite different from parliamentary government in our form; something in the nature of a directorate sufficiently responsive to popular needs and ideas to gain general acquiescence, but not dependent on a majority vote."

The expression "something in the nature of a directorate," which is not responsible to a majority vote, sounds to me suspiciously like a Soviet; at all events it is clear that that is not the forecast on which the whole case for the new Constitution depends, for it is based on the development of a democratic Constitution envisaged by the Montagu announcement.

The time at my disposal does not permit of my talking on many subjects. I will simply end by stating that the Government's scheme rests upon the great illusion that you can give away powers and still retain them; that you can sap the independence of the great Services and still maintain it; or, to use a homely phrase, that you can give away your cake and still have it.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, January 15, 1935, when a paper, entitled "The Indian Report: a Minority View," was read by Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., M.P. In the unavoidable absence of Sir Joseph Nall, M.P., the chair was occupied by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., and Lady Seton, Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Maynard, Lady Bennett, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Lady Hunter, Mr. G. P. Dick, C.I.E., and Mrs. Dick, Mr. B. C. Allen, C.S.I., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. A. M. Macmillan, C.I.E., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. Paul Stewart, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Miss C. K. Cumming, Miss L. Sorabji, Miss A. A. Morton, Miss Farquharson, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. R. H. S. Carthew, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. George Pilcher, Mrs. B. D. Berry, Mrs. G. N. Roy, Dr. R. Hingorani, Mrs. and Miss Flower, Mrs. Blenkinsop, Mr. and Mrs. D. Ross-Johnson, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. C. E. Bruce, Captain and Mrs. Browne, Miss M. Ashworth, Colonel A. G. Hamilton, Colonel A. S. Hamilton, Mr. F. Grubb, Mrs. Dewar and Mr. M. J. Dewar, Mr. J. A. Swan, Mr. R. R. M. Nawaz, Colonel H. J. Jones, Mrs. Gordon Farquharson, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Mrs. Thumbo Chetty, Mr. E. Coleman, Mr. J. Rogier, Mrs. Brooke, Mrs. Arglis, Miss Leatherdale, Mr. Sambid Das, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. M. S. Ahmad, Miss M. Hopley, Mr. Wilfrid Wright, Mr. and Mrs. H. N. Laurie, Mrs. Baird Smith, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Sir Malcolm Seton read a telegram from Sir Joseph Nall intimating that he was kept in bed by a severe chill, and to his great regret was unable to preside. Sir Malcolm said that at a few minutes' notice Sir Michael O'Dwyer had kindly consented to step into the gap.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said that all would join in regretting the absence through ill-health of the Marquess of Salisbury, who, as originally arranged, was to have taken the Chair, and also of Sir Joseph Nall, whose sudden indisposition prevented him from replacing Lord Salisbury. The task had now fallen on his unworthy shoulders. But he was glad to have the honour of presiding at the lecture to be given by his old Oxford friend and Indian colleague, Sir Reginald Craddock, a man whose comradeship anyone might well be proud of.

The lecture was then read.

Sir JOHN MAYNARD, who was first called upon, said: It is a very great pleasure to me to find myself on the same platform with my old friends Sir Reginald Craddock and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, although I admit that it is just possible that we may not see completely eye to eye on everything. But I am always hopeful, and I trust this will not continue to be the case by the time I have finished my speech. I wish to deal with a question relating to responsibility at the centre. No one here is likely for a moment to contest the excellence of the record of what I may call the old system, the system conducted by public men from England together with services recruited for the most part from England, at all events recruited in the upper ranks by the Secretary of State.

But it must not be forgotten that this Government of India, constituted as it has hitherto been, was not an independent authority. It was responsible to the British Parliament. In point of fact we cannot constitutionally conceive of a Government anywhere which is not responsible to some representative body. Either it is responsible to a Parliament in England, as it has hitherto been almost entirely, or in the alternative it would be responsible to a similar elected body elsewhere.

One very important consequence results from this responsibility to an elected body, the Parliament of England. In many matters, all the everyday matters, it may be said without hesitation that this responsibility to the British Parliament did not affect the course of administration. The British Parliament did not interfere in the daily details, and in point of fact it might almost be forgotten that this particular responsibility existed.

But there was one very important class of matters in which this responsibility to the British Parliament did very greatly affect the course of policy and administration by the Secretary of State and by the administration in India. These matters were mainly economic in character. We have all heard of the difficulties which arose about the cotton duties, all those questions connected with tariffs and free trade, which were a subject of considerable dispute from time to time between Britain and certain classes at all events of Indians. There were certain other economic questions. It is a very important matter, of course, for any industry that it shall have the custom of Government. When you have a Government such as that of India, which is dealing with an extensive system of railways and with public works on a large scale, with all the requirements of an army, you obviously get a system in which the custom of the Government is very important.

It was quite obvious that when the authority which dealt with this matter was an authority which was dependent upon the popular vote in its own country, it was almost certain that to a certain extent the interests of the trade of that other country should prevail. As a matter of fact, to a great extent the interests of the British voter and of those who had influence in British politics inevitably did prevail when any of these serious clashes of opinion did occur. I do not make any charge against any public men or any Secretary of State when I remind you that a man cannot serve two masters, either he will neglect one or he will neglect the other.

If you picture to yourself the difficult position of the Secretary of State, called upon to deal with one of these matters, in which the interests of

Britain and India were to all apparent purposes contrary, where there was a clash, you can imagine the possibility of a Secretary of State not being influenced to some extent by the consideration of the fortunes of his own political party or even his own fate in the constituencies. However desirous a man might be to hold the balance absolutely even, I do not think it is conceivable that this influence should not have been operative.

I had thought, I confess, until quite recently, that the effect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and of that Convention, by which when there were agreements between the Indian Government and the majority in the Assembly that particular view should prevail, had been to end this kind of influence brought to bear upon the Government in India. But I have seen occasion during the last few days to alter my conviction upon this subject. I have been much struck by the history of this recent trade agreement between England and India. I will just remind you of one or two facts about it.

In November an important deputation of Lancashire cotton mill-owners visited Mr. Runciman and put before him certain considerations. I do not say that that body actually conveyed a threat, but they came so very near to a threat that for practical purposes it might be described as one. They did very definitely convey to Mr. Runciman that if there was not considerable speed in the settlement of this trade agreement (obviously with the object of getting it settled before a more advanced form of constitution was established in India), then it was quite possible that Lancashire would take up an attitude which was not favourable to the constitutional proposals of the Government. That came so near to being a threat that for practical purposes we might describe it as one.

I felt that this would not under existing circumstances operate to prevent the Government from taking the line which it ought to take, but during the last few days the agreement has actually come out. I cannot say, from lack of complete information, whether it is favourable or unfavourable, but it is clear that much opinion in India on the subject of this agreement is very strongly adverse; they do consider that they are not being fairly treated in this agreement. Here was a case in which the balance of justice was disturbed by the fact that the Secretary of State, responsible to electorates in Britain, was somehow caused to take a line which appears to business men in India not to be a fair one.

The argument which I want to put before you is this. When you have a condition such as that, when you have this type of suspicion created between business men in India and business men in England, there is surely only one remedy, and that is a remedy which will put the two as negotiating parties on precisely the same footing. There must be, in other words, negotiations between a Government in Great Britain responsible to its own electorates and on the other side a Government in India which is equally responsible to representatives of its own people. Then by free, open negotiations, without any corrupt or semi-corrupt influences on either side, you will get justice done as between the two. I put that to you as an argument for the responsibility at the centre which will give this result which I desire to see.

Sir CHARLES INNES asked for permission to say a few words. He said that he did not propose to deal with Sir Reginald Craddock's paper, but he wished to refer to what the last speaker had said about the Fiscal Convention. As Commerce Member of the Government of India he had probably had more to do with the working of the Fiscal Convention than any other person in the room. He had been in charge of the first Steel Protection Act and other Protection Acts, and he wished to state that always the British Government had played absolutely fair in respect of the Fiscal Convention. Never once had they tried to force on the Government of India views with which the Government of India did not agree.

Sir PATRICK FAGAN: I do not rise to indulge in any adverse criticisms of the excellent paper to which we have just listened. On the contrary, my object is to express my complete and humble agreement with practically every word of it. I think the Association is to be congratulated on having had the opportunity this afternoon of listening to such a realistic and practical exposition of the situation created by the Joint Select Committee Report from one about whom it can most emphatically be said that, in view of his long experience and his very distinguished career, he really does know something of what he is talking about. The practical and realistic tone of his paper is, I think, a refreshing contrast to many vague and rather irrelevant idealisms and generalizations about India to which we have listened during the past two years.

The paper contains so much material for fruitful reflection that it is difficult to select special points. A very noteworthy feature, however, is the very devastating criticism which has been presented in it of the proposed transfer of law and order and its exposure of the inadequacy, not to say futility, of the safeguards by which it is proposed to protect those two fundamental aspects of administration. It is at this point, it seems to me, that the cheerful, complacent, and I might almost say pathetic, ignorance displayed by the majority of the Joint Select Committee on certain fundamental and elementary conditions and incidents of Indian district administration are more specially displayed.

On the subject of Federation Sir Reginald said a good deal that was very important. He specially emphasized a point which I have always regarded as the most astonishing incident in the initial stages and in the inception of the project of an All-India Federation, and it is this: that up to within a few weeks of the dramatic declaration made by four or five Princes, both the Statutory Commission and the Government of India were in complete ignorance that the possibility of All-India Federation was so near and that they still regarded it as a far-distant ideal.

That extraordinary circumstance seems to me to throw very grave doubt on the view that the Princes of India as a whole were at the inception of the project of All-India Federation such enthusiastic supporters of it as has been generally represented. That they were not is, I think, fairly clear from a consideration of their subsequent attitude towards the idea of a Federal Constitution.

Then on the question of pledges, those pledges of which we have heard so

much, pledges outside the scope of the Statute of 1919, Sir Reginald had something to say. At the last meeting of this Association I myself ventured to address a question to the Marquess of Zetland on the subject. I asked him how far the Joint Select Committee had recognized the existence of these extraneous pledges—that is, pledges outside the scope of the Statute—and how far they had felt themselves bound by such pledges. I understood him to say that they recognized no such pledges and were not bound by them. Sir Reginald in his paper to-day has, I notice, completed the exposition of that myth, the myth about pledges binding the British people and the British Parliament to do various things. It was a myth, I think, which has done more mischief as regards this Indian question than all the other myths which have congregated so thickly about the great problem.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON : Mr. Chairman, as you know, I have a strong objection to engaging in public controversy with retired members of my own Service for whom I have such deep-seated respect as I have for you and for Sir Reginald Craddock. But Sir Reginald Craddock has thrown down a public challenge to the organization of which I am the Chairman, and I propose to take up that challenge, and to confine myself to dealing with the two questions which he has put to me.

I have studied those questions carefully, and I feel that Sir Reginald has probably not put to me the questions that he intended to ask. It would, however, perhaps be an impertinence in me to answer any questions other than those which he has put. What he said was, "The Union of Britain and India is a question-begging title." That is a remark which might be applied to the names adopted by other organizations. "We are all in favour," he goes on, "of the union of Britain and India; the point in dispute is not the objective but the method and steps by which that union can best be secured."

He then goes on to put the first question. "I would enquire of my good friends of the Union of Britain and India whether they are convinced that under the new Constitution India will develop according to plan into a self-governing democracy?"

Of course not. I am surprised—I should like to use a stronger word—that a question like that contained in those words should be put by a man who has been a distinguished member of the Joint Select Committee. It was never intended, either by the framers of the White Paper, or so far as I can see by those who were responsible for the Majority Report of the Joint Select Committee, that under *this* Constitution India should develop into a self-governing democracy.

Under this Constitution defence and foreign affairs are reserved, and it is very necessary that they should be so reserved, and the Indian Legislature has been given no power to amend the Constitution. There are restrictions on every side which will make it impossible for India to develop into a self-governing democracy under this Constitution.

This Constitution will have to be amended in very many respects before that can be predicated. Probably not under the next Constitution, possibly

not even under the next but one, will India develop into a self-governing democracy.

After that you will remember that Sir Reginald went on to quote an amusing passage from a speech made by Sir Malcolm Hailey, in which Sir Malcolm Hailey, in Sir Reginald's eyes, was preaching Bolshevism. What Sir Malcolm Hailey meant, I think, was simply this, that it was quite possible that once India has become a self-governing democracy and thereby acquired self-determination, she may decide to delegate her powers to what he calls a directorate, but that will be an expression of the popular will just as much as the democracy that we are giving to them.

The second question that Sir Reginald put was whether we are really satisfied that these reforms will produce greater happiness, hope and prosperity among the three hundred odd millions of people who are ignorant, illiterate, and know nothing about politics. We have often been told, and told very truly, that in matters of social reform it is only Indians who can tell what is wanted and how far defects can be remedied. If you look at the record of Ministers in regard to social services during the period that they have been in control, you will not find much that they need be ashamed of.

If you look in the field of education you will find a great increase in the number of schools, a large rise in the number of students. The number of women in the higher schools has risen over 100 per cent. in the last five years.

Look also at public health. The number of hospitals and dispensaries has gone up by something like 35 per cent., while for the Depressed Classes, on whose behalf so much anxiety is expressed, you may remember that the Simon Commission, writing in 1930, said that, while paying tribute to everything that had been done by the English Government and Christian missionaries, in the matter of education the members of the Depressed Classes had never been so well looked after as since the transfer of education to Ministers.

Those surely are grounds for thinking that in the future the happiness of the people will be as well looked after by Indian Ministers as it has been by us. Hope and prosperity were two of the words Sir Reginald used. They raise wide questions of psychology and international economics which it is impossible for me to touch on now.

I would merely ask Sir Reginald whether in these days when the prosperity of one country depends on the economic condition of others he knows any form of Constitution about which it could be confidently predicted that it would produce greater prosperity in the country to which it is applied?

Mr. C. G. HANCOCK: If I understood Sir Reginald rightly, he said the Report will enable the Congress to secure their extreme demands. Does Sir Reginald anticipate that the Congress Party will be able to obtain the majority in the Federal Assembly, and if so on what evidence does he base it?

I take the view that the Princes of that Assembly will get 125 seats, and the Moslems and other minorities 145 seats, making 270 out of 375. How then are the Congress Party going to get a majority?

Sir LOUIS DANE : I am unfortunately another Indian administrator. As Chairman of this non-partisan Association I carefully abstained from becoming a member either of the India Defence League or of the Union of Britain and India.

As an Irishman I must confess that the title that has been assumed by the latter body seems to me rather ominous. I am old enough to remember when the Unionist Party was formed in England with a view to maintaining the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. That Party is still called the Unionist Party, but the Union between Great Britain and Ireland to a very great extent has ceased to exist.

Why has it ceased to exist? Because of exactly the same circumstances as are now being experienced in regard to India. It has been said that it is ridiculous to compare India with Ireland. So it is, but not for the reason that the people who advance that argument put forward. They say, in India you have a Viceroy, a Civil Service, and an Army, and therefore order will be preserved and everything will be for the best in this best of all possible worlds. In Ireland you had a Lord-Lieutenant, but he was not supported by an Army, and the Civil Service were allowed to disappear or made to vanish. What I would like to point out is, Southern Ireland represents about three or four large districts in India. It is within a few hours' sail from this country, and it has a land frontier adjoining a particularly loyal portion of the Empire.

It is ridiculous to say that we were not capable of maintaining treaty conditions in Ireland. If, with all the facilities we have for maintaining those conditions we have failed to do so, how on earth is a Viceroy with a wreck of a Civil Service and only 60,000 British troops (which will be required for the external defence of India and cannot be employed in the future for the maintenance of internal order) expected to maintain order and good government in India? (Applause.)

There is another thing. As an outsider I notice that arguments in the heat of the battle are being used by the contestants that really are hardly worthy of the occasion or of the men using them to trip up their antagonists.

One argument was that, because the Prime Minister had drafted an eloquent paper called the White Paper upon the general view that he took of the debates in the Round-Table Conferences and had got his colleagues to agree with that as a basis for discussion, therefore the British Government were practically bound by that White Paper : that it was offered to the Indians, and if they accepted it, we thereby became pledged. That seemed to me always absurd. The only pledge that is really binding on Parliament is the Preamble of the Act of 1919. The Joint Select Committee have upheld this view. It is worth noting that several of the Members, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Zetland, Lord Hardinge, and, I think, others, have said that they were not prepared to support the White Paper until it had been materially amended as it has been by the Committee. Lord Derby accepted the Report as it secured our paramountcy, and Lord Eustace Percy because it was the negation of Dominion status. This, of course, will create an uproar in India. In July, 1930, the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri, speaking before this Association, declared that he only wanted Dominion status

because it carried with it the right of secession. On remonstrance made he rather toned this down, but he has reverted to his former ideas again in India. He spoke, when the meaning of the term was doubtful, before the last Imperial Conference and the Statute of Westminster. It is just as well that the term does not now appear in the Report. If it is allowed, a vote of all or most of the Assemblies for secession might easily precipitate an appalling crisis.

Furthermore, the Act said nothing about democratic representation, nor did Mr. Montagu's pledge. They only referred to responsible government, though the other term came in later.

We attach a most extraordinarily limited meaning to responsible government. It has, of course, two senses. One is the Government of a country that is responsible to all outside authorities. That is a form of responsibility that all National Governments must have, whether they are based upon democratic representation or otherwise. Then there is representative and responsible government. That term does not occur in the Act at all. Responsible is now used as if it must necessarily connote the democratic representation. I do not know what was in Lord Curzon's mind when he introduced the phrase "responsible," but he certainly was not a great upholder of democratic representation, and I doubt if he contemplated that this meaning would be given to his phrase.

However, let us assume that there is to be democratic representation, though at the same time there is no doubt that responsible government does not necessarily depend upon such suffrage or anything of the kind. The Indian State Durbars are responsible, but certainly not democratic. And it is the universal suffrage, or rather general suffrage, which I regard as likely to be the rock on which such responsible government in India will fall.

You have heard Sir John Maynard telling us a most interesting story how certain representatives of the voters in Lancashire were able to bring such pressure to bear on the Minister of Trade here that in a very limited period there was an Anglo-Indian Trade Agreement carried through—which I may mention the Indian papers and politicians have indignantly repudiated. If that is the form of responsible government that we are to have, heaven help us from it in India! Already the influences that are brought to bear on Ministers and any person in a public position in India are bad enough without having to be threatened by being turned out by the votes of his constituents.

I can only say that I still adhere to the opinion I expressed when the Editor of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* early in 1930, on the issue of the Simon Commission's Report, asked me to give my views on the problem. I said I thought, as far as I could see, the best thing was to allow autonomy preferably in certain selected provinces, possibly eventually in all, but not to have a gigantic talking machine at the headquarters of the Government of India.

I am inclined to attribute the recent failures of the Indian Government in a great many respects to the existence of an Assembly talking incessantly. They got hypnotized. The Indian papers were filled with columns of talk, and you could not tell where it led to. At the same time there was the example of the British Parliament before them!

I suggested that what was desirable was to try out your autonomy in the provinces. Let the young horses have a good gallop, but keep a good rein on, and the rein I proposed was that the Government of India should remain more or less as it was at present, but without the large talking Assembly that there is now. Instead of this there might be a small Reichsrath, with delegates from the States and provincial assemblies. I am glad to see that the idea of delegates has been approved of, only they have unfortunately suggested far too many delegates.

You have to consider what the Government of India will have to do in the future. The Viceroy has to deal with defence and foreign affairs, which are excluded from the Federal Government. Then you have Customs and the Railways, and Imperial Finance and the Central Bank, the Post Office and Telegraphs, and Radio. Most of those, practically all of them, are, or will be, managed by boards, specially appointed to avoid political influence.

Will somebody tell me what functions of government beyond these are to be necessarily discharged by the Government of India, assuming that this Constitution goes through. Either the Senate and Assembly will have nothing to do, or their energies will be devoted to vigorous disputations with the Assemblies in the provinces until nothing will be done at all in one gigantic babel. Therefore, I strongly hold, let this self-government be worked out well in all the provinces, if necessary; but do for heaven's sake keep the power of the Government of India unimpaired as a check.

The CHAIRMAN: I find myself very largely in agreement with Sir Louis Dane, except as regards the next thing to be done. We are now faced with the fact that the principles of this scheme, however we may disagree with them, have been accepted by both Houses of Parliament, and by the majority of the Conservative delegates at the Queen's Hall. The Bill will be before us in a week or two and be pushed through Parliament. We have to see now to what extent we can amend the principles or the details of this measure, and for that purpose the admirable paper we have just heard will be most helpful.

We have all the same end in view—to work out a system of administration which will be for the benefit of the peoples of India, *all* classes, and will not be ruinous to the great interests of Great Britain in India.

The outlines of such a scheme were put forward by two leading authorities. Lord Halifax, when he was Viceroy in India, had to report on the proposals of the Simon Committee, and this is what he and his colleagues, British and Indian, said in their despatch: "The Government of India would . . . be within specified limits under the control of His Majesty's Government, but it is of the essence of our proposals that that control should be of such a nature as to establish partnership in place of subordination."

Then they went on to define how this principle of partnership should be given effect to: "If the proposals we make for a partnership between Britain and India, in the government of India, are accepted, it would seem to follow that there should be partnership in the Legislature as well as in the Executive. . . . We would retain nomination for the two purposes of curing in-

equalities or defects in representation by election, and of obtaining some additional support in the Assembly for an Executive of the form which we contemplate."

Obviously the principle of partnership involves retaining British representation in the superior Executive, both in the Central Government and in the provinces, also in the Legislatures and in the Services. That scheme was before the three Round-Table Conferences. It was never challenged, and at the close of the third Round-Table Conference Sir Samuel Hoare gave the principle his blessing. These are the words he used :

"We have been confronted with the problem of reconciling the claims of three partners who have for many generations been united in an undertaking of far-reaching ramifications; Great Britain on the one hand, British India on the other, and Indian India on the other. The old articles of association were getting out of date; a new bond of union had to be found . . . The new bond must be the bond of an All-India Federation with the rights of each of the three parties effectively safeguarded."

We all desire to admit our Indian fellow-subjects into partnership in the great Indian Empire; we all want to give the Indian Princes an opportunity of associating themselves in the Federation; but we do not want to see the British partner eliminated from the whole civil administration.

But that principle, which Sir Samuel Hoare acclaimed, has been entirely ignored in the White Paper and by the Joint Committee. Realizing that, when I gave evidence last year, I put forward the outlines of an alternative based on it. That was fifteen months ago, but I suppose, being a very humble person and identified with a certain line of controversy, my little contribution was ignored. These are the main heads :

1. Give facilities, as proposed by the Statutory Commission, for the future attainment, if feasible, of an All-India Federation based on the voluntary association of the Provinces and self-governing States with Great Britain (hitherto the senior partner) for certain common purposes. This is also the proposal of the Conservative minority.

2. The Central Government, however constituted, must remain responsible to the British Crown and Parliament, as proposed by the Commission, at least till a stable All-India Federation on the above lines is set up; when that is done the control of Parliament to be restricted to the matters recited in para. 225 of the Government of India Despatch.

3. In the Central and Provincial Governments Great Britain's partnership in the Indian Empire to be recognized by adequate British representation not only in the Executive but in the Legislature (as proposed in para. 138 of Government of India Despatch of September 20, 1930) and also in all the important Services.

4. In the interests of good administration, and especially of the non-vocal masses, who are still minors politically, maintain in all the important Services—General Administration, Judiciary, Police, Public Works, Irrigation, Forests, Agriculture, Public Health, etc.—a British element adequate to ensure the existing standards of efficiency, impartiality, and integrity. (The present total of British officials in these Services is under 3,000 for a population of 350 millions; it is rapidly diminishing with a consequent lowering

of standards, and to-day Indians hold many more of the highly-paid posts than the British.)

5. While accepting, on the above conditions, transfer of the remaining field of Provincial administration to the control of Provincial legislatures, subject as at present to recall of powers if abused, it is essential in the interests of security and impartial administration to retain non-legislative control of the Courts and Police till experience shows that they can be safely made over to legislative control province by province.

Those suggestions cover many of the proposals of the Conservative minority; but they are based on the principle of partnership laid down by the late Viceroy and the present Secretary of State. I think that in promoting the Joint Committee's scheme they have departed from that principle. The predominant partner, Great Britain, now disappears from the civil administration. The whole burden of operating safeguards is thrown on the Viceroy and the eleven Governors of provinces, who are deprived of British support and counsel in the Executive, and to a great extent in the Legislature (the Punjab will have one British Member in a Council of 175), while by the transfer of the Services *all* the machinery of the administration is taken out of their hands.

Surely we are dealing generously with our Indian fellow-subjects in offering them full and free partnership in the British Indian Empire which we have built up. But partnership does not involve the elimination of the hitherto predominant partner from the business of the partnership. We trust, therefore, that in pushing this measure through Parliament every effort will be made to secure the retention of a British element in the Superior Executive, in the Legislatures and in the Services.

That will, as in the past, promote the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, for which Parliament is ultimately responsible, while furthering the development of self-government towards the ultimate goal.

Sir REGINALD CRADDOCK, replying to the discussion, said: The speeches of Sir Michael, Sir Louis Dane, and others, and the statement made by Sir Charles Innes, more or less dispose of most of the criticisms which have been advanced. Sir Charles Innes has answered Sir John Maynard, and as to the new Trade Agreement between India and Great Britain, I have read it over several times, but I have not yet made up my mind as to what particular benefits it will confer on either party.

I did not ask Sir John Thompson the question whether this constitution would give complete democracy in India. I was asking whether in the opinion, not only of Sir John but of others, they have any real confidence that democracy will ever prove suitable for India, or whether the steps we are taking now will bring it about in the long run. That is what I understood Sir Malcolm Hailey to mean. He did not think democracy was the kind of scheme which would ever fall in with Indian ideas. It has not fallen in with a great many countries in Europe. I meant merely as to whether it was a form of government that was likely to succeed and get established in India.

The only other point Sir John Thompson took was with regard to the

increase in hospitals and dispensaries and schools and pupils. It seems to me that Sir John Thompson is doing what a great many of the Indian politicians and Indian officials themselves do; he attaches the weight to quantity, and very little weight to quality. A mass of evidence from the Hartog Committee onwards showed that there was serious deterioration in the condition of the schools and hospitals. Any Government under the Montagu scheme and its Finance Member were ready to give the new Ministers every chance. But you must examine not merely into the number of figures, but as to the quality of the schools and hospitals. I hear from all sides that there has been serious deterioration. I have seen from reports in *The Times of India* that things are going from bad to worse in local bodies. There is also a famous municipality, Kumbakonum, in Madras, where it is reported that the candidates decided that it was not good enough to bother with elections there. They simply tossed for it, and the candidate that lost the toss retired, so that there was no contest and the electors were never called upon to vote.

Mr. Hancock asked why it should be thought that the Congress would gain ascendancy over the legislative bodies. I cannot say whether they will or not, but I think there is an extreme risk. With these enormous bodies you won't find the men for them; and for another thing Liberals and Moderates are names which they call themselves; there is very little difference between them and the Congress. When the Congress had only about one-third of the seats they could always defeat the Government when they liked, because they had support from members not definitely Congress men.

There is another point which perhaps Mr. Hancock has not noticed, and that is that the reason for these enormous Councils has been simply this: you calculated how many seats would satisfy the Princes, then you calculated the number of seats that the various States must have if they decide to come in. You then double the number of seats that are the minimum of one-third for the Princes, in order to determine the number of seats for British India, 125; double that, 250, makes 375 in all.

The great difficulty will be as to whether the Princes are going to vote on a British Indian subject or not. If they vote on a subject that refers purely to British India, there will be a claim to interference in their States. If the Princes do not vote on purely British Indian questions, where is the balance gone that we have heard about all this time?

Sir MALCOLM SETON: I think you will all join very heartily in a vote of thanks not only to Sir Reginald Craddock, who has explained a great many points quite clearly as to the considerations which underlie the Minority Report, but also to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who was kind enough to take the Chair at one minute's notice. He was not only a most impartial Chairman, but he has put before us some points which I know we shall do well to consider quietly.

Mr. STANLEY RICE writes:

As I was prevented from hearing Sir Reginald Craddock's paper, will you allow me to add a brief note to the discussion on a point which probably

did not attract attention? Sir Reginald spoke of the dramatic deliverances of a "few of the Princes" which had been kept "a profound secret" from the Viceroy, and again of the "sudden declaration of the Princes." The impression is left that a small clique of Princes impulsively committed the Order to a policy on which they had not been consulted. That is not an accurate picture. In the first place there was no secret. "Ranji" and others had engaged English counsel to discuss the position of the States, and I was in Baroda when "Ranji" arrived on his mission. It must be borne in mind that at the time of the first Round-Table Conference everything was very much in the air. Nobody knew what direction the discussion would take. All that the Princes could do was to say that if Federation was desired they would not stand in the way. Next, the declaration was made not by a haphazard clique, but by the representatives of the principal States, invited by the Government of India to attend the Conference. The number was strictly limited, and had to be enlarged to admit one or two States which this strict limitation had excluded. What would Sir Reginald say if I described the Simon Report—the Old Testament to which he pins his faith—as the work of a "few Englishmen" who had kept their ideas a "profound secret"?

THE INDIAN REPORT: THE LABOUR MINORITY VIEW

By C. R. ATTLEE, M.P.

I THINK I ought to apologize for addressing you, because I recognize that among this audience are people who have given years of service in India and probably forgotten more than I know on the subject. I speak as one who has been thrust into the job of trying to come to some conclusion on this great question. It has twice been my fate to have to consider this problem, first as a member of the Simon Commission, and, secondly, as a member of the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons.

Although I am not at all concerned with establishing for myself a reputation for consistency, I should like to point out that the conclusions to which I and my colleagues came, when serving on the Joint Select Committee, are not as a matter of fact different from the conclusions to which we came on the Simon Report. My Labour colleague on the Commission, the late Vernon Hartsorn, and I went round India. We were appointed, I think, because we had what are called virgin minds, and we tried to apply ourselves to the problem and understand what were the roots of the matter.

The two things, I think, that struck us most of all were, first, that after all the real problem of India is the social problem. What are you going to do in order to enable this immense mass of people in Asia to raise themselves out of the social and economic conditions in which they are at present?

Our point was, here you have in an exaggerated form the evils which we see elsewhere in the world. We approached the subject as Socialists; that does not mean that we did so with absolute preconceptions as to what should be done, but that we did approach it with the view that we held that you must work in this world for equality of status, equality of wealth, and that we are out as far as we can to form a society based on the principles of the brotherhood of man. That was at the back of our minds.

The next thing that struck us of enormous importance was that

any Government that has to work has to depend on the force of public opinion. It is possible to have a Government dependent entirely on armed force, but obviously, in the stage at which we have arrived in India, that is out of the question. I do not believe that anybody suggests that we should try and rule India entirely regardless of the views of the Indian people.

It is quite clear that in the government of India, whoever rules in that immense country, the instrument of government must be the Indian people themselves, whether they are acting as responsible ministers or whether they are acting as the servants of a bureaucracy. Although when the Commissioners were in India we were boycotted by certain sections of Indian opinion, we mixed with men and women of various points of view, and we came to the conclusion that, whatever might be the differences among the various sections in Indian society, there was running through the minds of everybody we met, officials and non-officials alike, that feeling which you can call nationalism, that demand for status. That, I think you will find, is brought out very clearly in the Simon Report itself in the concluding paragraphs. The Commission as a whole came to that conclusion, and they emphasized the point that the one force in India which seemed to them to hold the possibility of overcoming sectionalism, which is the great danger as they saw it in Indian society, was the force of nationalism.

Therefore we hold that our business in considering the Indian Constitution is twofold. The first thing is that the Constitution must be one which will be accepted by the Indian people and worked by them. You have to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of India. The second thing in our minds is that that Constitution must be a Constitution which will give the possibility of there being brought about those changes in the economic and social structure of India which we think is essential for the happiness of that country. Those two things to our minds go together.

I hold that you can make changes perhaps by despotic power for a time, but you cannot make real changes in society from without. It must be done by the force of the people acting them-

selves. In a word, we in our party reject both Communism and Nazi-ism. We are democrats, and our idea is to try and free people to achieve their own emancipation.

AN ALL-INDIA SOLUTION

In the Simon Report we stressed the geographical, political, and economic unity of India. We stressed particularly that through the course of British rule there had been a Nationalist movement. And we came to the conclusion that India must express herself as a nation before we could expect great advances on social and economic lines. We did so not merely from a consideration of Indian affairs, but from what we have observed in other countries. Nationalism is a very peculiar thing, and Nationalism that is frustrated may in my view cause very great evils. Nationalism can only be useful if it finds its full vent in the institutions of a country, and thereupon sets free the energies of the people to work in various directions. We therefore came to the conclusion that you must have an All-India solution if you were to satisfy Nationalism, and the only reason why we could not recommend a Federal Constitution right away was the fact that at that time the conditions were not present.

We knew nothing of what line the Princes were likely to take. I should say here that those who think that the Simon Commission of set purpose said, "Thus far and no further; we will deal with the Provinces and not with the Centre, because you must have one change at a time," are entirely wrong. As a matter of fact, on the Simon Commission we discussed every kind of device whereby we should get some responsibility into the Centre. I made several abortive attempts at suggestions myself, so did others. But they all broke down on the fact that until you obtain a unity of princely India and British India, you cannot from the nature of the subjects of the Central Government get a real degree of responsibility into the Centre.

Again, if I may say so, our proposal for a Council of Greater India, that has been brought out as an alternative to Federation, was nothing more than something to try and bridge quite an obvious gap. Mr. Churchill has rather a habit of selecting from

the Simon Commission's Report the exceptions and the temporary provisions, and making them the principal proposals. He is a very great builder! He never quite understood, I think, the architecture of our Report. We designed a great Federal building, to house both the States and British India, but we had not got the material for the top storey. Therefore we had to put on a temporary tarpaulin called the Council of Greater India, but we never thought of that as a prime architectural feature. Similarly with regard to quite a number of safeguards and provisions that had to be put in. They are not the chief feature. But it is always a peculiarity of Mr. Churchill that he takes the sanitary tiles that were intended for the lavatory and insists on putting them in the dining-room.

SECOND CHAMBERS

With regard to our second objective, we had no wish to set up a brown oligarchy. In saying that I am not attacking any class of Indian society, for I object to a white oligarchy, or a black oligarchy, or a yellow oligarchy, or any oligarchy whatsoever. We did not think that we should fulfil our responsibility to the people of India if we made recommendations which would hand over the government of India to the few, to the privileged, and to the wealthy. You will notice in the Simon Commission's Report that we rejected giving special seats to landlords. In a note I objected to giving special seats to commerce, and I and some of my colleagues objected to anything in the nature of Second Chambers. Although we know all the arguments in favour of Second Chambers and of how you bring into the councils of the nation a person of eminence like our Chairman, Lord Snell, yet we also know from our experience that such people manage to come in through the ordinary course of election, and in our view all Second Chambers are intended by their nature to preserve privilege. But I never argue with Conservatives on the subject of Second Chambers, because I agree if they are Conservatives they must be in favour of them, and as I am not a Conservative I am necessarily against them.

Finally, we stressed particularly in the Simon Report the need for flexibility. We thought that it was dangerous to try to fix

your Constitution in every detail. Particularly is it dangerous to import from elsewhere all kinds of devices that perhaps worked quite well in the country in which they were evolved, but often become quite distorted on export. The British Constitution to my mind is one of those things which you cannot export. It does not keep on the voyage. Something happens to it. It becomes changed. You can, I believe, export principles of the British Government, but those principles must be applied for the uses and to fit the conditions of the people for whom they are intended.

I think I may say that that was, broadly speaking, the line that we took in the Simon Report, except for two other points. First of all, this old question of responsibility. We felt that there was a great danger of creating irresponsibility where you meant to create responsibility. With all respect to the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and their advisers, I think that to a considerable extent the training under the system they proposed was a training in irresponsibility and not responsibility, particularly in the Central Government: and responsibility, after all, means that you must be allowed to make mistakes. I think the sheltered life theory cannot be applied to Government, and I think there has been a tendency all through to be too much afraid that some mistake will be fatal. It is what is often in the minds of very, very good old nurses, who have been years in the family. They look after the child and love it very much, and they want to be very careful the child does not do itself any harm. In the Simon Commission Report we wanted the clearest line drawn between responsibility and irresponsibility: if you were going to have autocratic government, have it; if democratic, have it: but not a mongrel.

THE LABOUR MINORITY PLAN

I propose to deal with the proposals put forward by myself and my colleagues on the Joint Select Committee, and to show they are in line with those general principles.

First of all, with regard to the question of trying to get the consent of Indians. Something more is needed. You must get the enthusiastic working of Indians. When I say "Indians," you

will say, "Here is an ignorant person. He does not know that there is this and that sort of Indian, and all the rest of it." I grant you that, but I am here as a politician, and we are considering a political subject. If you are going to have politics, you have to have politicians. Therefore if you are going to build up a political system in India, you have to deal with Indian politicians, and you have to get a system which Indian politicians will work.

I do not profess to understand India at all. I know there are people who have been out there many years, who tell me they are in the same condition. I have only reached the first stage of knowledge, in which I know that I do not know. But I do know what Indians say, and that they feel there is an enormous importance in this matter of the status of India if you are going to get anyone to work this Constitution. I think it is a pre-requisite to the working of the Constitution that you should have a definite recognition of the status of India in the British Commonwealth of Nations. I think the gravest mistake is that there is no acknowledgment whatever of that in the proposals of the majority and in the proposals which are now coming before us in a Bill. It is all very well to say they are implicit, but I think from the slight acquaintance I have with Indians that they like things to be explicit; they like the thing to be written down and to know that they have got it. For the life of me I cannot understand why people who believe that India should keep in the British Commonwealth of Nations will not give them a banner with an inscription, under which they can fight for liberty within the Commonwealth. I am quite sure, if you do not give it them they will have a banner, and that banner will have something else on it:—"Independence" perhaps. Therefore I think it is of paramount importance that any plan for the Constitution of India should recognize that need for status and should deliberately work for the progressive realization of that Dominion status.

I know some of the difficulties in the way of achieving that all at once, the difficulties caused by the defence problem and so forth. But if you want to get this Constitution worked, you must have a clear view that there is that Dominion status not some-

where away on the horizon, so that whenever you think you are coming to it, it is a bit further off, but actually realizable in a definite period of years. I shall be told you cannot lay down periods of years in these matters. Well, you can lay down a period to work for. You may not attain it.

Take such a question as the Indianization of the Army. That is a problem that is very difficult for anyone to express an exact opinion upon, but I am quite sure that if you want the soldiers to Indianize the Army, you must tell them that they have got to do it in so many years, and they will get on with the job. But if you say it is to be done some time or other, your progress will be very slow.

A DEVELOPING CONSTITUTION

In the Constitution there must be in our view the seeds of growth. I will say a little later on how we propose to get the seeds of growth in the Constitution. That again was cardinal in suggestions of the Simon Commission Report, that you must not have a fixed Constitution, that you must have a Constitution which can develop. Throughout the British Commonwealth the Dominions have attained to their Dominion status far more by a gradual development than by a series of explicit acts; and we want to see in the Constitution a steady progress by the desuetude of certain powers of the Governor-General and by a steady progress of the responsibility, the possibility of actually achieving Dominion status within this Constitution.

We accept the main outlines of the scheme, as I think one is bound to do. I do not see how you can reject the general framework of a Federal solution, given the conditions of India. I do not think you can possibly object to provincial self-government. I think it is quite impossible that you should have a unitary government for India. But when you come to say what kind of government you are going to set up, it is there you run into a difficulty.

In accordance with the casual ways so frequent in our history, we have wandered into the India problem, wandered into the governance of India without ever quite knowing where we were getting. I think some of our earliest administrators had quite a

clear idea. They realized that we must work for the elimination of our rule. But I think later on that our general line has been, "Well, we will carry on for a bit and see how our rule is getting on; it will last a good many years." We had got into a very difficult condition. Consider the parallel evolution in this country. It might be possible for a pre-reform-days Government in this country, which was really an oligarchy, to run an Empire in which there were all kinds of despotisms; but it is a very different thing when you have a democratic system at work here.

Take one point. We do, as a matter of fact, through our forces maintain the Indian Princes on their thrones. To that extent we are responsible for what goes on in the Indian States. And yet we have only very slight powers of interference. Some of those States give us an example, in my view, of what might be done in other parts of India; but some of them give an example of what ought to be avoided. In either case you have that difficult position of irresponsibility coupled with responsibility. How long that could have gone on is doubtful. I think it is essential that the Indian States should be brought in with the rest of India, because I do not doubt that the movements that you have in British India are bound to flood through into the States across the rather imaginary lines that form those frontiers.

Inevitably when you form your Federation you are going to have a considerable representation which will come from the States, some of which may be what we should call progressive, some of which may be intensely conservative. You have to consider what kind of a balance you are going to have with the rest of your Centre. It seems to me that the majority of the Committee have decided that what is required at the Centre is a conservative force to keep things as they are. They have also considered that in the main Provinces you have got to have some kind of a conservative body, which will prevent things going too fast. The assumption seems to be that there is a great flow of radical feeling running through Indian society. I wish it were so. If it is, well and good. I am much more afraid of our putting reaction in the saddle. I realize that whatever we do in regard to the franchise and representation, the power of wealth is going

to be very great in the Indian legislatures. I am not saying that in any way as treating India differently from Europe. It is so in every country in the world—money talks in politics; it takes an extraordinarily long time (I am here giving you our point of view) before the poor realize their political power and make use of it.

My colleague here, Harry Snell, has been trying for I do not know how many years to induce the workers to return their own representatives. It was two generations after they got the vote before they began to do so. Whatever Constitution we give to India, it will be a long time, I am sure, before the workers of India and the poor of India elect representatives to make the social and economic changes that they require. I face the fact that the probability is that in most Provinces you will have Conservative Governments. Frankly, I think India, like the rest of the world, has got to go through that phase. We have had to do the same in this country.

THE FRANCHISE

But what my friends and I are particularly concerned for is that there should be among the poor the potentiality of political power. That is to say, that they should have a vote even if they do not know how to use it. They may in time learn to use it and so work for their own emancipation. For this reason we propose that you should have an extended franchise. We would have adult franchise now if we were convinced that effective arrangements could be made for it. We are persuaded that it is not possible today. Adult franchise, in which the vote is not really made effective through the failure of arrangements, is only a farce, as is seen in quite a good number of countries. But we would give the fullest vote to the masses. We would sweep away altogether special representation for wealth. I do not much like having special representation for labour. I recommended against it in the Simon Report. I would rather have adult franchise immediately in the towns and urban areas, because I want other politicians to feel the weight of a labour vote rather than to have special persons returned by special constituencies.

At the same time I recognize that in a period of transition you

may have to have special representation. But that special representation should in my view be on behalf of those who are economically weak, not those who are economically strong. I do not think there is any danger of either business or landlords failing to get representation. I think there is great danger that labour, the Depressed Classes, and so on will not get it. We have had to accept the separate communal electorates, much as we dislike them. We want the system to be regarded as only a temporary measure.

THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

I am rather appalled at the proposed composition of the Central Legislature. We are setting up two Houses, with some 620 legislators, and what they are going to do beats me; because it seems to me the content of administration at the Centre is extraordinarily small. I do not believe the volume of legislation great, because when I look at our own House and run through the things we discuss in the House of Commons, I see that most of them fall in the provincial sphere. I think there is a great danger in creating an enormous body with not very much to do, because someone is sure to be active at setting idle hands to work.

We feel that in our own House. Largely through bad arrangement we have much too big a House for business, and plenty of mischief goes on. I am against these very unwieldy arrangements, and I have heard no argument at all except the possible need for fitting in some of the representation of the Princes, and a possible suggestion that it is necessary to buttress up conservatism for the Upper House at the Centre. I think in logic and in constitutional propriety it is really out of place altogether. The Council of State is an extra cog in the wheel. Particularly when it is given equal power with the Lower House and it is provided that this bulky, enormous body shall have a joint session some time or other. I do not know where they will sit—out in the open, I suppose. When you have a joint session like that, and you give equal powers to both Houses, why not have one House?

I would like to see a smaller House. Frankly, I do not think that you are going to get a repetition of Westminster at Delhi. I do not think the conditions exist for it. Not only is there dis-

parate representation, partly by nominees and partly by elected persons, but I do not see that the conditions are there for a party system, and however much you may abuse party, you will find that our British political system cannot work without it. I see no possibility of a party system operating at the Centre on any lines that would be socially useful for India. I do not want to see a division of parties on communal lines. I do not think it would be desirable to see a division of parties on geographical lines, whether east and west or north and south. I do not see myself a possibility of anything like a Parliamentary system at Delhi at the present time.

We have made certain suggestions as to what should take its place. We would not suggest this should be actually incorporated in a Constitution. It would be merely an indication that we thought that at the Centre you must have the greatest possible flexibility in order that the Indian Federation may work out its own Constitution, and we propose that foreign affairs should be transferred. That, I think, many people disagree with. I think Sir John Thompson made the point that as long as the Army was in the hands of the Home Government through the Governor-General, you could not transfer foreign affairs. But really, if you are going to be logical, if you do not give India control of her foreign affairs, you ought not to make her pay for her defence. I think, if you look through the whole range of precedents of the British Commonwealth, you will find that where provinces have not had responsible government, they have not paid for their own defence. India has paid for her own defence, and her defence apart from the local circumstances, the North-West Frontier and so on, depends on foreign policy. If the foreign policy is in the hands of the Government here, India may be affected by issues quite outside her own interests.

I think also that we need to remember that we are living in a new age; that foreign affairs should be, if they are not, a matter for Geneva; that India is already a member of the League of Nations. I think it is reasonable that when we move on, as I hope we shall, to a new and different kind of foreign affairs, that India should have command of her own destinies.

I cannot understand why India should not have charge of her finance. Nobody is free unless they have charge of their finance. There was a man up at Oxford in my time who used to have to write home to his parents every time he wanted to buy anything and they sent him a postal order. It was a bad training for that lad, and I do not think he remained solvent very long. A special responsibility is placed on the Governor-General in respect of finance. I do not think it is either necessary or right. I think you have to exercise trust in the matter.

THE DIFFICULTIES

I do understand something of the difficulties. It is suggested to me very often in letters that I do not know a great many things about India. It is quite true. People often do not think I know things I do know. One dear lady sent me long excerpts from the Simon Report: they were passages which I had drafted myself! I do realize the enormous difficulties, I realize the complexities that you have in India, the differences of religion, of caste and so on. But you have to sum up these things and set one thing against another, and to my mind when you come to consider safeguards, the only effective safeguard is goodwill.

I do not much believe in safeguards to this and that. I know there are some safeguards you have to have, unfortunately, because of distrust by certain sections of Indians of each other. I do not believe in all these other safeguards. I am certain that with regard to commerce it is perfectly futile to put in safeguards, because if there is one particular part of political practice that has been thoroughly learnt in India it is the boycott. I cannot conceive how you are going to make people buy our goods if they do not want to. Therefore we say, reduce safeguards to a minimum, and let them gradually fall into desuetude as they have in the rest of the Dominions.

At the Centre from the start work for complete responsibility. Do not cut, say, the reserved subject of defence right off. Have a statutory committee of your Legislature, and hope Indians will gradually get more and more experience and more and more control, and have a definite programme of Indianization, until

you will come to the time in which you can hand that over, because that after all is the biggest obstacle of all in regard to full self-government

Let us take the same way in the Provinces. I say let us reduce the safeguards as far as possible. I do not think you can get very far on fear. The only way to conquer it is by goodwill. Above all, if we want to get anywhere, we must remember that India at the stage now reached cannot be ruled against her will, because the sentiment of Indian Nationalism runs right through your educated classes, including those in Government service.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING LECTURE

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Friday, February 1, 1935, when the foregoing lecture "The Indian Report: The Labour Minority View" was given by Mr. C. R. Attlee, M.P. Lord Snell, C.B.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present.

Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir Abdul and Lady Qadir, Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Maynard, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Edward MacLagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Todhunter, K.C.S.I., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. V. H. Boalch, C.B.E., Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. T. T. Williams, Mr. W. A. Lee, Mr. C. C. Fink, Mrs. R. M. Gray, Mr. J. G. Drummond, Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. B. D. Berry, Mrs. Ralph Flower and Miss Flower, Miss Clarkson, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. George Pilcher, Mr. A. M. Macmillan, C.I.E., and Miss Macmillan, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Dr. K. N. Sitaram, Mrs. Burges, Miss C. K. Cumming, Colonel and Mrs. A. G. Hamilton, Mrs. C. Swayne, Mrs. B. Bacon, Mrs. Fredericks, Mr. L. M. D. de Silva, K.C., Mr. M. J. Clark Hall, Mr. T. R. Reynolds, Mr. H. O. Boger, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. Carthew, Miss K. Speechley, Mrs. Churchill, Mrs. Paul Stewart, Major McLaren, Mrs. Farmer, Miss Allen, Mr. Graves, Major N. L. Pearse, Mr. W. M. F. Hudson, Mr. N. Nadkar, Mr. Leonard W. Matters, Miss Gravatt, Miss Hopley, Mr. V. Howlett, Mr. Kantaraj, Mr. Wolff, Mr. Revis, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: This afternoon Mr. Attlee is to speak to us on "The Indian Report: The Labour Minority View." Mr. Attlee will endeavour to place before you certain opinions and convictions at which he has arrived. There are few British politicians who have a closer knowledge and a clearer insight into the Indian problem than has my friend Mr. Attlee.

As a member of the original Simon Commission, it was his business to examine the matter in detail, and then with his colleagues he had twenty months of most interesting slavery on the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform. What he has to say to us today, whether you approve of it or not, will be the fruitage of a very well-informed mind.

Mr. Attlee then delivered his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will agree that Mr. Attlee has placed before us observations which will open a wide field for discussion. Among the duties which Mr. Brown has imposed upon me is a Chairman's address, but if you will permit me I will make my comments at a later stage. I think that course may break up the discussion a little and be more useful.

Mr. J. C. FRENCH : I am sure that everyone will be in sympathy with the fundamental aims and ideals which Mr. Attlee has presented in his most lucid and interesting address. If I understand him aright, those are the welfare of the masses of India, the well-being of the poor of India. These aims have been the traditional policy, in a manner more significant than that of any previous ruler of India, of the British Government in India. Mr. Attlee has told us that he views with alarm the handing over of India to the few, the wealthy and the privileged. Is it not a fair question to ask, What is going to happen to the masses of India under the proposed new Constitution?

Mr. Attlee has told us that when he went out on the Simon Commission he found social evils in India of the same character, but in exaggerated form, as those of other countries. How are the new Parliaments going to deal with these social evils? Among the social evils known to him some arise from the land system in India, the relations of landlord and tenant. For many years the British Government has endeavoured to safeguard the rights of the tenant. In this connection I may point to the Province in which I served—Bengal. The Settlement Department of the Governor of Bengal is continually engaged in preparing a record of rights in which all the legal titles and rights of occupancies of the land are entered.

In India the land is not worked by labourers on a farm, but by small tenants. They are always recording the rights of these small men to actually work on the soil, trying to give them some fixity of legal possession and a fair rent. Giving the man who works on the land fixity of possession is equivalent to giving him a fair wage for his labour, and I venture to think that this is a policy that will be approved by the Labour Party. In the United Provinces Lord MacDonnell many years ago passed his famous Tenancy Acts, which had the same purpose in view. Under the proposed Constitution what prospect is there that the new Parliaments will continue this policy of the British Government? The members will be largely composed of landlords, petty landlords perhaps, but landlords.

Another social evil in India is that of usury. Again we may ask, What are the new Parliaments going to do about it? From my experience of the Legislative Assembly I am doubtful. I remember in Simla a member brought in a Bill to check usury. The various members raised objection after objection, difficulty after difficulty. They damned it with faint praise, or praised it with faint damns. The Swaraj party in the Legislative Assembly did nothing for the Bill, and finally it was quietly dropped. What prospect is there that in the new Parliaments such a Bill will have any better fate? The Members will be the same; their sentiments will be unaltered. It is clear that Mr. Attlee is under no delusion as to the actual conditions in India, for he has said that for a long time to come the inexperienced Indian electorate will continue to elect the same people we see in the Assembly at present—*i.e.*, people interested in the land as landlords and people interested in money-lending. What is going to happen to the mass of the people if the Government is going to be in the hands of such people? What is going to happen to them in the long period during which they will continue to elect such people? I think you will agree with me that the prospect is not very bright.

Would it not be well to give the masses of India some safeguards, and to accept the safeguards of Lord Salisbury in his Minority Report—namely, keep the Centre unchanged, and retain law and order in the Provinces—so that whatever the masses have to suffer from their landlords and usurers in the Parliament, at any rate when they come to the police and courts they will get a fair deal? I commend that to your earnest consideration.

Some words used in the debate in Parliament on December 10 express to perfection the policy of the India Defence League, to which I have the honour to belong. Those words are: "We do not want to hand over the workers and peasants of India to the princes, landlords, money-lenders, industrialists, and lawyers." What admirable words, and how profoundly they express the policy of the India Defence League! Where did those words come from? From a speech of the gentleman who has addressed us this afternoon, Mr. Attlee.

Mr. JOSEPH NISSIM: It requires some courage to address an assembly like this. I should like to begin by saying that Mr. Attlee's point of view in approaching the question of India with a sympathetic mind and heart is undoubtedly the correct point of view. You can do no good with India or for India unless you are inspired by a feeling of the greatest sympathy with the people and their aspirations.

I think Mr. Attlee might well take greater credit than he has done for the Simon Commission Report, to which we all know he has contributed some of the best material. I beg of you, ladies and gentlemen, some day to try and re-read that Report. You will find that there is much more in it than you have ever dreamed. I was very much impressed with this, that I think it inspired the great Rulers of India to announce their assent to Federation, for I find throughout that Commission Report the thesis was that there is only one India, and that the goal for which everybody should work would be Federation.

Saying so, I would also like to remind Mr. Attlee that we here would like him to be explicit and not implicit. So far as I am able to judge, he and his party are supporters of this great Bill, only they would like to see it amended in some important particulars. If that be so, I hope he will tell us explicitly. I think that is his position.

I find that anybody who does not know India at first hand, any European or Englishman who first approaches the problem of India, is apt to be reactionary, and it is only very gradually that he overcomes that. I am referring to statesmen and people versed in affairs. I do not mean all. I hope that Mr. Churchill's education, which is making very great progress, will ultimately land him into being a supporter of this Federation when he sees it at work. I am not surprised by his attitude. I think, as he learns more about India, and how Indians have fared when power has been entrusted to them, he will change his mind. Whether in the judiciary, or in the Executive, or in the Army, or anywhere you like, they have come up to the scratch.

Saying that, I think I ought to spend the few moments of my time in dealing with three very important points Mr. Attlee has raised—namely,

Dominion status, the question of the large size of the Legislative Assembly and Council at Delhi, and finance.

I beg of him to look at it in this way, that so far there has been no definite Parliamentary promise of Dominion status; and, secondly, that Dominion status implies two things, position of equality with the Dominions, and a Constitution similar to that of the Dominions. There is no question that the aim of the National Government here has been to give India a position of equality with all the Dominions; and if Dominion status means that, of course there is no difficulty about it. But you cannot endow India with a Constitution similar to the Dominions for self-evident reasons. In the first place, the Constitution of the Dominions since the Statute of Westminster, which came into force at the end of 1931, enables them to declare their legislative independence if they so wish, and enables them to legislate for themselves in everything concerning the Dominions.

I do not think anybody would be prepared to endow India at present with a Constitution similar to that of the Dominions, and to announce that that is the goal would, I think, be misleading and an announcement which it would not be in the power of this country to enforce, because I do not think the electorate here would let them do it. India is not a Dominion. The Dominions have had no Mutiny such as we saw in India. I remember Sir Francis Younghusband saying that the correct attitude towards Indians should be one of comradeship; but there is no good saying they are exactly the same as Britishers.

The next point is with regard to the size of the Assemblies at the Centre. I do not think Mr. Attlee realizes all the work there will be for it to do. There is no doubt that when we look back there was not much legislation then. There is also no doubt that the Provinces in the future will be doing a great deal; but if you were to ask me why India should have a new and more up-to-date Constitution, I would say life and property are safeguarded, defence is safeguarded, but what we have not done for India so far has been to endow it with a Constitution which the people themselves could work for their economic welfare day in and day out, month in and month out. British Civil Servants have not had the time to give attention to India's many real industrial, trade and commerce problems.

What I foresee for India is that some day, with a new Constitution at work, you will have a Government of the people of India themselves able to alleviate their economic position, and so India will develop to its full stature.

Mr. Attlee said the logical conclusion of having foreign affairs in your own hands is that India should not pay for its own defence. I would only remind him that the British Commonwealth, and England in particular, contributes very vitally to the defence of India, by the Navy. If there were any trouble in India, any conflict with a power such as Soviet Russia, this country and the Commonwealth would be ready to contribute a vast amount more. I think that is the justification for keeping defence and foreign affairs in the hands of the Governor-General.

Mr. Attlee was rather doubtful also whether the Governor-General should have the extraordinary powers with regard to finance. All I can say is, unless that is safeguarded, India could not make any progress. You see it in

Germany today. You see it in every country in the world. So far the financial standing of India is a thing in which one can take pride, and which could easily be destroyed. Therein really lies the weakness of the Labour attitude. They rarely realize how easy it is to play havoc with the financial stability of a country, unless they approach it in that conservative attitude of retaining what is best and only modifying where necessary.

To Mr. Attlee and his party I would say two things. In the first place, I regret very deeply that this question of the new Constitution should have been made a party question. It would be a grand thing if it went out to India that the Labour Party were behind the National Government heart and soul in this.

The second thing I would tell Mr. Attlee and his party is this: that he is perfectly right, there ought to be a goal towards which India should work. That goal you find in the Simon Commission Report and in the present Bill. It is the goal of Federation for 350 millions of people, so that within Federation they may realize a united India, a prosperous India, an India that could speak with strength in this Commonwealth, an India which would stand up for the Mother Country, England, no matter what threats may be hurled at her by foreigners or by people within the Commonwealth.

Mr. W. A. LEE: I come before you as a private in the ranks of British dwellers in India, an associate for many years of villagers and coolies. Some of us used to say that no one is entitled to hold an opinion on the affairs of the ordinary people of India unless he has lived for some years among the villagers and can understand at least one vernacular language. That is no longer correct. One who has served on the Simon Commission and on the Joint Select Committee is entitled to be heard by all of us with the very greatest respect.

With very much that Mr. Attlee has said I find myself in enthusiastic sympathy. For example, he referred to the people I know best, the peasants, and said he would not like to hand them over to the tender mercies of landlords and other persons in authority. His remedy for that is to give them all votes. That sounds a plausibly reasonable way to safeguard their interests; but look at the electorate. The Franchise Committee reported that the majority of the electors do not know what the elections are about. If you were acquainted with them you would know that that is quite true. With the ignorant electorate in India the enthusiasm of fanaticism finds the largest following. The wild promises of unscrupulous politicians have the greatest attraction, promises that they know they cannot fulfil; they do not care whether they fulfil them or not; they blame the British if they fail; they blame the British for every ill from droughts to earthquakes. Such promises are made chiefly by members of the largest and strongest political organization, and there can be very little doubt that few representatives by a wide electorate will be elected except those chosen by the Indian National Congress. I cannot tell Mr. Attlee much about that Congress, National only in name and in the conception of its British founder. It may be likened perhaps to Tammany Hall or to an organization whose headquarters are in Moscow.

There is, as Lord Halifax has often told us, a developing national consciousness in India. It has been visibly growing for the last half-century. If the present acceleration of rate is continued, in geometrical progression, in a couple of generations the peasants may be able to protect themselves by electing representatives whose work they are competent to criticize and disapprove. Until then Mr. Attlee's remedy would make them by their votes the slaves of the representatives they elect, representatives chosen for them by a narrow oligarchy.

I do not want to be misunderstood. I am speaking of the Indian National Congress as a body. I know that it contains many altruistic servants of India, men upon whom the mantle of Gokhale has very worthily fallen. If you feel in doubt as to what must happen, look at Calcutta. We have been in Calcutta about as long as the Americans in New York, and some people would say we have about as much right to it. We did not buy it from a lot of Continental filibusters. We found a rice swamp and made a city. British energy, British capital, British trade made it the second city of the Empire. British lives have made it the healthiest city I know in the tropics. Its municipal affairs are managed by a corporation elected on a wide electorate, which does not elect a Briton. The corporation is of the character that might be expected as a necessary consequence of the electorate. One mayor was elected while in gaol for sedition. It has notorious political extremists in its service, and views inimical to the Government seem to be made a qualification for employment there.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report explained fully that it was impossible to find then a competent electorate, and having done that they took no further interest in the electorate, but proceeded to project a democratic Government without any basis in democracy.

The Franchise Committee loyally carried out the directions of the Prime Minister, and proposed to quadruple the existing ignorant electorate, justifying the increase by saying rather cynically that it might not be much less intelligent. They were only interested apparently in the maximum number that it would be possible mechanically, administratively, to poll, and not at all in the quality of the electorate. I used to hope that I should live to see a Federated India, with its representatives forming the legislative bodies in British India elected by an expanding electorate with its roots in all the manhood of the land. But I fear, if the present proposals go through, the realization of my hopes will recede beyond my time, and, if Mr. Attlee's ideas carry weight, it may never come to pass.

MR. GEORGE PILCHER: I would like to say that I was sorry that the Labour Party did not feel that on the Joint Select Committee's Report they could come in and give a universal commendation from all parties in this country. When I heard the bases of their objections I was the more disappointed, because it did not seem to me that there was very great substance in them. It seems to me that, remembering the Balfour Committee's definition of Dominion status, India is rapidly getting that status in all the essentials that Lord Balfour's Committee defined; she is already obtaining them in the national sphere. The Balfour Committee in defining Dominion status were

thinking much more of the equality of these great units in the Empire *vis-à-vis* the world than they were of the precise nature of the organization and Parliamentary system inside the unit. If India has her place at Geneva and has a High Commissioner in London, and she negotiates through that High Commissioner a trade treaty such as we had the other day, she has got or is rapidly getting the full equality of status *vis-à-vis* the world.

With Sir Malcolm Hailey and many other good judges of India it does not seem to me that to have such a status India need necessarily imitate our democratic institutions that have developed inside this country. The more we keep on asking for Dominion status for India the more you will make her politicians believe that she has to have that particular form of internal organization before she can achieve it. That is not true. Fundamental conditions in the country demand that she should have a quite different organization inside, and Sir Malcolm Hailey at Oxford prognosticated an ultimate Directory. She could still have Dominion status. She could still have equality in the Councils of the British Empire. That seems to me the essential fallacy of proceeding in this demand for a status which India is rapidly obtaining as things are.

With regard to the internal organization and the means by which she is to obtain it, I sympathize fully with the Labour Party in the apprehension lest the result of these reforms may be the handing over of the masses, whom all of us who have lived in India must love, to undesirable and possibly quite tyrannical influences. But what an amazing expedient it is that the Labour Party suggests as a safeguard against that. Here we are, contemplating an electorate of 36 millions, a very small percentage of whom could possibly be literate. In the last census there were added to the population something like 30 million persons, more than all the people we had in India under any form of education as the result of one hundred and fifty years of progress.

Mr. Attlee had a vision of very conservative Parliaments in the Provinces. I think that connotes a misunderstanding, a misconception of how Indian votes are given and how these things develop in India. You will not have conservative Provincial Councils at all. The mass vote will be organized, not by landlords and moneyed people. Our difficulty has been to get the landlords and the moneyed classes and old-fashioned classes to take any part in politics.

When I was a member of the Assembly 68 per cent. of its members were lawyers. The people who come to the front in India and work the machine are the manipulating classes. They manipulate this vast electorate. The landed classes in this country for several centuries certainly gave a bias to our laws which favoured the landed community. But in India the danger is the manipulation for ulterior purposes of these entirely ignorant people, wholesale, and they are so desperately ignorant in the villages that the population tends to become the creatures of any well-organized system of the kind.

There was something in the paper the other day as to Mr. Gandhi's new village organization. The moment he gives the word his followers can do anything they like with the villagers. That is the class I think you are going to get functioning and giving the tone in these Councils. Those

bodies will not be conservative in any English sense at all. The Councils will work from motives quite different from what the Labour Party in England understands as Conservatism. I am quite prepared to believe, in fact I am morally certain, that the masses are in jeopardy as a result of those operations, and I am sure you cannot check those tendencies by multiplying your electorate still more.

Mr. Attlee, after his great experience, when he talks of enfranchising still larger numbers, must realize the millions, the tens of millions of Indians, many in cities like Calcutta, who have only one name. Think of trying to identify all the Abduls, for instance. If the *burra babu* is sick—a man of very great importance—unless you know the exact gully in which he lives it is extremely difficult to find his dwelling; and when you get there you may find a large population in it, all enfranchisable under the present system, to say nothing of adult suffrage.

I was terribly disappointed that the *mukhi* scheme for indirect election was turned down. I did think that was a possible solution, a means of mobilizing the real opinion of the peasants at the bottom in such a way that the manipulating classes could not possibly get at them and distort their opinion and real intentions in the legislature. But I would submit to Mr. Attlee that this danger of the possible manipulation of so many millions of such ignorant people is a very important point that his party might bear in mind in the House of Commons during the next few months. It is to prevent that that safeguards are most necessary.

SIR JOHN THOMPSON: Mr. Pilcher has told you that Dominion status is something which implies a Constitution on the same lines as those of the Dominions at the present day.

To my mind it does nothing of the kind. Dominion status means autonomy within the Empire, and that is what we have promised to India. The Joint Select Committee have said that it is implicit in the Preamble to the Bill of 1919, and it should be made perfectly clear that it is the goal of our policy in India. If there is no mention of Dominion status in the Bill when it becomes an Act, India will think that something is being withheld, and I think it would be most unfortunate if any controversy were to arise at the present moment about the implications of the exclusion of the word Dominion status from the Bill before Parliament.

THE CHAIRMAN: It seems to me, listening to the speeches here today, that I am once again in the Joint Select Committee. For twenty months we sat and heard from a section of that Committee precisely that tone, that temper of 80 per cent. distrust of the people of India and 100 per cent. distrust of the British Labour Party. If you reflect upon what has happened here today, you will recall that the one positive suggestion that has been made in this discussion is that the members of the Joint Select Committee, who were members of the Labour Party, and the Labour Party itself, should have supported the proposals of the National Government. Now, really, that is not a contribution to the solution of the Indian problem. There was something more to be done than that.

I will not go into details except to say this, that over and over again we pleaded that Dominion status, as defined here today by Sir John Thompson, should be explicitly reaffirmed. It had been promised over and over again in the most solemn circumstances and without any qualification. If it was not intended to honour those pledges they ought not to have been given. Since they were given, the British people ought to see that they are honoured; and if it is intended to honour them, why can we not say so and be frank with the Indian people? Because these solemn promises have been ignored there has been the outcry that we foretold, in India and elsewhere. And now it has to be dragged out of the Government that it was not thought necessary to repeat what was said in the Preamble of the Act of 1919. Can you wonder that the Indian people are suspicious?

We throw bouquets at ourselves for what we have done in India, and I do not want to belittle that. But it is not what we have done; it is what our responsibility now is. The problem of India is, in the scientific sense, insoluble. You cannot put any view forward that will be a complete solution, but you must do something. To do nothing is to do the most revolutionary thing of all. It is in all probability to lose India to the Empire in any form. You cannot stop this nationalist ferment in India. It will go on whether you like it or not, and if you are wise you will try and meet it by co-operation and by sympathy, and not by telling the Indian people that they are unfit to govern. That was said of the agricultural labourers in England in 1885 and 1886. The women were told they could not use the vote correctly, and the Labour Party that it could not govern. That is common form in the political warfare of this country.

I am sorry that I have indulged myself by using these few vehement words in criticism of the rather unsympathetic treatment that the views Mr. Attlee and myself have been responsible for have received in this specialized audience, which has dealt with the past rather than with our present responsibility. Any further comments on those lines will be made by Mr. Attlee himself.

MR. ATTLEE: I wish first to thank you for the very patient way in which you listened to my remarks. I want to be brief, and I will just deal with one or two points. In regard to Mr. French, I understand his point of view, only I always think it would be more helpful if he went right back and said, "Let us get back to the conditions which existed in 1870." Because, if his views are sound, he is quite wrong in handing over anything to the Indians. From my observation there are very great evils in the landlord system in India, and very great evils in the usury system. We have had a hundred years in which we have been the effective power in India, and we have kept these systems in being. Therefore it is about time we tried something else.

I do not think the conditions are such that the British Civil Servant can do the work he used to do. I quite grant the old times when he was "protector of the poor," and so forth. But if you have these people who have the art of propaganda, who do know how to get hold of the villagers, to misrepresent, it is an awful position for an administration to carry on with

that against them. And remember that all the evils that exist can be put down to the British. That is the trouble, always the trouble, when you have got Nationalism. That is why it is so easy to be a Nationalist. You need not think, because all your problems and evils are due to the alien power. It is only when you have cleared out the alien power you find your own difficulties.

I think Sir John Thompson answered Mr. Nissim on one point. Dominion status does not concern the Constitution, but affects the interrelations of the members of the British Commonwealth.

With regard to finance: "How easy to play havoc with the financial stability of a country"—I agree it is. We have had the whole world laid waste by the financiers in the last ten or twelve years. And we are setting up in India in my opinion precisely the kind of people who have been strangling world prosperity in that time.

There was a point made with regard to my suggestion about foreign policy. It was suggested that I was wrong about the defence question, because, after all, we help India, and therefore we should have control over her foreign policy. But what about the politics? India is a reservoir of man power in anything that arises in Asia. Therefore India should have a word in our foreign policy. It is not a recognition of equality of status. The fact that India helps us does not affect the matter. The fact that we help India does.

I quite agree with Mr. Lee about the difficulty of protecting the peasants. I do not think the conditions now exist in which an external power can protect the peasants. My hope is that there will be in India a number of people of great devotion, who will give themselves up to helping the peasants, men like Mr. Joshi. There will be a great many ordinary, self-seeking people, and I hope there will be enough self-interest among them to make them feel it worth while to court the votes of the peasants, and thus they will gradually educate them politically.

There was the parallel by Mr. French between Calcutta and New York. I remember when I was on board ship reading an account of the Chicago parliamentary elections. I said to Sir John Simon: "I think this will reconcile you to the elections in the North-West Frontier Province." (Laughter.) When you talk about the Calcutta Corporation, do not forget Chicago.

I think that Mr. Pilcher gave us some very good Toryism. It was the kind of thing that has always been said to us in our party; we have always been told we ought to be ruled for our good. Our view is that you cannot rule people for their good. The time comes when they have to rule themselves.

Sir MALCOLM SETON: I have a very pleasant task in asking you to carry a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Attlee, and to Lord Snell for presiding.

We know that they have both done twenty months' rigorous imprisonment in the Joint Select Committee, and those who are great authorities on penal matters think imprisonment ought to lead to a regeneration of character! In addition to that, Lord Snell has occupied what ought to be the highly educative post of Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the India Office,

where I had the pleasure of working under him; and Mr. Attlee served on the Simon Commission. Therefore we know they have devoted a great deal of attention to India, and I think we do all feel grateful to them for having put before us a great many points which some of us did not see quite clearly. They have explained why they take the attitude they do, and they have given us a great deal of food for thought.

I am not going to attempt to discuss the merits of the question. I am sure that we all like Lord Snell the better for that touch of human emotion about his party, which we had almost missed in the angelic detachment of Mr. Attlee.

It is exceedingly interesting, I think, to find that the world has only very gradually found out that nationalism and democracy have no necessary connection. It used to be assumed that they were almost identical. It is quite clear that they are not. I am not going to talk about their respective merits. Mr. Attlee's whole discussion showed a recognition of that, and, after all, a very great deal turns upon that distinction. If you want to give a country national self-government, you can do it. You do not necessarily ensure the setting up therein of democratic institutions.

I am sure we all share Mr. Attlee's opinion about oligarchy. I feel confident that it was only from want of time, or from desire to avoid the exhaustive catalogue of the spectrum, that when he told us how much he disliked white, brown, black, and yellow oligarchies he did not think it necessary to say anything whatever about a Red oligarchy! I would ask you therefore to pass a hearty vote of thanks. (Cheers.)

THE SANDEMAN CENTENARY LUNCHEON

THE Association co-operated with the Royal Central Asian Society in organizing a subscription luncheon at the Criterion Restaurant on February 25 to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Sir Robert Sandeman (1835-1892). Earl Peel presided and some 140 members and guests were present.

Field-Marshal Sir CLAUD JACOB said: I first met Sir Robert Sandeman in November, 1885, nearly fifty years ago. I had marched with my regiment up the Bolan Pass to Quetta and Peshin. That year was the occasion of the Russian war scare, when everybody thought we were going to war with Russia, and during that hot weather supplies and transport were purchased in great quantities and hurried to Rindli at the entrance of the Bolan Pass. The heat was so great that the supplies went bad and had to be destroyed.

I do not think any of those—and there are some here today who served in Baluchistan in the eighties—are likely to forget what Quetta was like and the conditions under which the troops had to live. The Quetta of those days was the unhealthiest station in India. You doubtless remember Kipling's poem about Jack Barrett, who was sent to Quetta. There were very few amenities—only two metalled roads in Quetta, mud huts to live in, everyone a pessimist, the British soldiers dying like flies; cholera, enteric fever, and malaria rampant. The regiment we relieved—and we went up full strength, very full of life—was in a desperate state: 200 had died, over 200 were on sick leave, and 150 were too sick to march and had to be carried in bullock carts.

You may say, What has this to do with Sir Robert Sandeman? I have tried to show you in a few words what the province was like, and the legacy he took over when he became Agent to the Governor-General. The Afghan War had only terminated at the end of 1880; we evacuated Kandahar in 1881. It was decided to retain and occupy Quetta and Peshin. The administration had only been set going a short time. The country had not settled down. Even in Quetta, with its garrison of two British and two Indian battalions, officers had to go about armed in cantonments. It was not safe to go beyond the cantonment limits without an escort.

I would like to say what a great pleasure it is to me to see Sir Hugh Barnes and Sir Henry McMahon here—both old friends of fifty years' standing. Both these distinguished officers followed in Sandeman's footsteps and were in turn Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan. There are, of course, a great many other friends here who served with me in that province, and one of the speakers was in my own regiment—I refer to Colonel Bruce.

When Sir Henry McMahon was A.G.G. he one day spoke to me about a Life of Sir Robert Sandeman which had been written in Urdu by Rai Bahadur Hitu Ram, who was one of Sir Robert's subordinates, and a very loyal and faithful subordinate he was. He said he could not get anyone to

translate it. In a very innocent way he talked about the light task it would be. I, still more innocently, agreed to do it, not realizing what I was letting myself in for. When the book was sent to me, I found it was a volume of eleven hundred pages of Urdu. With it was a pile of type-written manuscript about three feet high, representing the work of an Indian clerk who had tried his hand at translating it. I also noticed from some of the handwriting on the pile that other people had been trying their hand at it. One of them is here this afternoon. It took me two years to do this translation.

I remember that day in March, 1892, when the news came of Sir Robert's death. The whole province mourned his passing. I was a young officer at the time, but during the twenty-five years I served in Baluchistan I realized what a debt of gratitude our country owes to Sandeman for the splendid work he did. I go so far as to say that in my opinion we have never had his equal on the North-West Frontier of India.

Had we adopted elsewhere the policy which he inaugurated, we should have been saved a great deal of the trouble we have encountered during the last twenty-five years.

Lieut.-Col. Sir HENRY McMAHON: To judge Sandeman as an administrator is to judge his system of administration, commonly known as the Sandeman Policy, and to do that one must compare it with the system of frontier administration which, up to his time, was in force along the whole North-West Frontier of India and southwards to the sea. That system, then commonly known as the Punjab System, was one of a "Close Border"—*i.e.*, that of an arbitrary line drawn along the edge of the border foothills beyond which a British official was not allowed to step or to have dealings with the people on the other side.

Within that arbitrary line the country was administered under the rigid and inelastic discipline of Indian Criminal and Civil Law, a system which, foreign to the people and unsuited to their needs, in due course of time atrophied and destroyed the authority and responsibility of the local headmen and substituted in their place the rule of the magistrate and the policeman. Outside that arbitrary line the border people were left entirely to themselves—to stew in their own juice; but unfortunately the juice frequently boiled over on to our side of the line. Then followed the usual military punitive expedition with its brief stay and hurried retirement, after which both sides sat and licked their wounds until occasion again arose for some similar costly but fruitless action.

But why so much, you may ask, about the old Punjab system and nothing of Sandeman's? It is because the one was the absolute antithesis of the other. In the Sandeman Policy there was no "Close Border"; no arbitrary line beyond which his officials could not step. On the contrary, every encouragement was given for visiting and cultivating personal and friendly touch with border neighbours. This led to invitations to step in and assist in amicable solutions of the ever-prevalent family and tribal feuds. Such help was readily given; one successful settlement led to another, until an increasingly large area of country and its people woke up

one day to find themselves enjoying the advantages of Pax Britannica without resenting the residence in their midst of the British officials who had brought this about.

And why? Because Sandeman avoided any unnecessary interference with the local and tribal laws and customs of the people of the country; because he endeavoured to maintain the status and strengthen the authority of their local and tribal chiefs and headmen. It was them he made responsible for administering their own local and tribal laws and customs and for the maintenance of peace and order within their limits. To assist them in this, they were granted the pay of an adequate number of their own enlisted men as levies. Criminal cases and civil disputes had to be tried and judged by their own local jirgas—*i.e.*, councils of local elders. The jirga served the part of the magistrate, the levies that of policemen. Sandeman's officers, thus freed from the red tape and legal trammels that filled up the time of their Cis-Frontier brethren, were free to devote their time to touring allotted areas and in cultivating personal relations with the peoples within and beyond them.

This Sandeman system of peaceful penetration gave but little scope for military or punitive expeditions. The one or two that did occur differed much from the Punjab pattern. To soldiers these expeditions were disappointing. The invading army comprised but a minute military force compared to the vast horde of tribal chiefs and horsemen who accompanied Sandeman on these, what I may call triumphal, processions. Of fighting there was next to none. The enemy knew we had come not for a week-end visit, but to stay for good. Why, said they, needlessly antagonize the newcomers? Perhaps the most important of these military expeditions was that of 1889-1890.

The critics and opponents of the Sandeman Policy always argued that what Sandeman could do with Baluch and Brahui tribes could not be done with the Pathan and the Afghan. To this I will only say in reply that the expedition to which I refer was one which made a wide sweep round a vast tract of country inhabited entirely by pure Pathan and Afghan tribes, and which then became the Zhob District of Baluchistan, and in a short time a peaceful revenue-paying district, an area larger than Switzerland and more than twice the size of Wales.

With such results, what more need I say of Sandeman as an administrator? Picture to yourselves the success of his policy. Picture his first little step in the face of official criticism and opposition across that dear old Close Border in 1875. Picture his creation of today, that vast, peacefully administered tract of Baluchistan, stretching from the Helmand River of Afghanistan to the sea and from the Gomal River in the East to Persia in the West.

We come here today to commemorate Sandeman's memory. He is long since dead, but his system of administration still lives. It has extended far beyond its birthplace in Baluchistan. I myself have been privileged to introduce it in the far north of the North-West Frontier, in Gilgit and Chitral with their levy systems, and later on in the Pathan areas of Malakand, Dir, and Swat. It has been adopted far wider still in more

distant lands, as other speakers may tell you, today. But how many of you know that outside our own British territories the success of Marshal Lyautey's administration in Morocco was due to what he had heard described of the Sandeman Policy in Baluchistan?

I would that Sandeman and his policy had been born a century or so before, in the early days of our advance in India. Who knows but that some of the Indian problems of today might have been simplified!

Lieut.-Col. C. E. BRUCE: Having sat at the feet of Sir Robert Sandeman as a boy (and, if rumour is correct, sometimes even across his knees and there received my first impressions of his doctrines), if I were asked to sum up in three words the secret of Sandeman's success as a man, I would say his intense human sympathy for the people committed to his charge. So intense, indeed, was that sympathy that even on his death-bed his last thoughts and almost his last words were for the people. "Where are the people?" he asked. "I cannot speak without the people." And the people, his people, were brought in and filed past his bed and touched his hand.

I will illustrate how universal was this side of his character. How many men, do you think, on receiving a telegram at Bombay that one of their officers was being transferred—my father, as a matter of fact—would have given up a week of their well-earned leave and taken the next train across the country to Calcutta to have that order cancelled? Very few, I think. And again, when, in 1879, my mother—the only white woman in Quetta—was stricken down with cholera, Sandeman took my three brothers and myself, all of us children under seven years of age, into his house, so that my father might be free to devote himself to nursing my mother. So perhaps I owe my very presence here today to his unfailing sympathy!

The influence of his "magnetic personality" was, perhaps, never better shown than on the occasion of his first visit to the Zhob valley when the old dying robber-chief of the Mando-Khel tribe, Khanan Khan, sent in a letter by his two sons, commending them and his country to Sir Robert's care; but adding that, in the circumstances, he hoped his personal attendance would be excused and his sons sent back, as soon as they could be spared, as he wished to see them once more before he died. And Khanan Khan had never even seen Sandeman!

That his name was still a name to conjure with many years after his death was forcibly brought home to me when, as a junior subaltern in the 24th Baluchis, I was on a military sketching tour in an out-of-the-way part of Baluchistan. Accompanied by a small regimental guard I had arrived at a village with a not too savoury reputation. The headman flatly refused to supply me with anything—chickens, eggs, anything. Eventually, in desperation, I turned on him and said, "You would not have done this to Sinneman Sahib?" "What know you of Sinneman Sahib?" he asked. And, when I had explained my connection, a complete change came over the scene. Nothing, now, was too good for me to the half of his kingdom. And the next morning, when I came out of my tent, there he was, ready mounted, and he never left me until he had delivered me safe and sound into Quetta several days later.

But it remained for Sandeman's passing to call forth the strangest and most magnificent tribute ever paid by a wild race to its alien ruler. For then was seen the unique spectacle of two great tribal chiefs—Kalat and Las Beyla—ready to go to war to have the privilege of burying his body. If Carlyle's conception of a "great" man as one who performed a mission "to establish order where chaos reigned supreme" be a correct one, then, indeed, was Sandeman "great." Sandeman may be dead, but "what we admired remains, yea, will remain"—the spirit of service and self-sacrifice.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Peel): I have the honour to propose the toast to the memory of Sandeman. You have heard some very moving personal reminiscences of those who have known Sir Robert Sandeman, and you have heard a most interesting sketch by Sir Henry McMahon of his methods of dealing with the tribes. I have no personal knowledge of Sir Robert Sandeman, but everyone who has served at the India Office must be familiar with the reputation of that great man. No one, again, who has had anything to do with Indian Frontier problems but must have been able to form some opinion about the relative merits of the Close Border system and of the more generous and humane method of establishing friendly relations with the tribes.

Sir Robert Sandeman came from the town of Perth. I mention that because I do not think there is any small town in this country that has sent out a longer list of eminent public servants to do their duty in different parts of the Empire. The fierce ordeal of the Mutiny coloured his early experience in India, and he was present at the disarming of the native regiment which his father commanded at that time. But besides that early experience he had what I think may be said to be the good fortune of concentrating the whole of his service in one place. So many of our eminent consuls, pro-consuls and officials have shifted from one command to another, but his life in Baluchistan may be said to constitute one single episode.

We are often charged as a nation with being lacking in sympathy and understanding of other races or peoples. I do not know why it is, but these unfounded legends persist long after they have been disproved by practical experience. Sandeman had the most remarkable instinctive appreciation of the point of view of different tribes and races. He possessed this faculty, I think, in an extraordinary degree. Not only was he able to appreciate and understand other races, but he had a remarkable faculty, too, of acquiring their friendship. You remember that phrase of the Khan of Khelat, who wrote to him, "As your sincere friend, who is ever with you like two kernels in one almond."

Now, the system that he adopted in Baluchistan was in the nature of a new creative policy. Many men, of course, before his time have done admirable work in that country, especially, if I may say so, one of the relatives of the Field-Marshal who has already addressed you; and as Sir Henry McMahon has told you, his object was not so much to rule directly as to exercise control through the natural rulers of the country—chieftains,

sirdars, and khans. He supported their authority. He developed it where it was necessary. The result was that he built up a strong Baluchistan, which sustained all the strains that were so soon to be put upon it in the Afghan War of 1879-80 and in that later period of general disturbance on the Frontier of 1897.

But that policy which he initiated and created had a wider influence even than on the Indian Frontier. Sir Henry has recalled how it was followed in Morocco by Marshal Lyautey. I had an opportunity of meeting the Marshal in that country, and he informed me how much he had admired and followed the administrative methods of Sir Robert Sandeman. Not only so, but in different parts of East and West Africa the same policy of governing through the chiefs, through the natural authorities of the country, has been eminently successful. Whether or not the system would succeed with more sophisticated races I do not know; but undoubtedly that influence, that personal and dominating influence, has been especially successful with those wilder tribes and races who have not yet put on the more conventional trappings of civilization.

My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is well that we should recall the memory and achievements of eminent men who have served the Empire in the past, and I think it was a very happy thought of the two Societies that they would not let the centenary of the birth of Sir Robert Sandeman go unrecognized, but that they would, from the mouths of so many speakers, recall to their countrymen—who are sometimes apt to forget the services of their best servants—the great achievements of that celebrated man.

Sir JOHN MAFFEY said: Today revives many memories for me. Of the many fellowships to which a man may belong in the service of His Majesty there is none which binds men closer than the fellowship of days spent under the smiles and frowns of the Frontier hills. Therefore it is a great honour to me to speak to this toast—the Memory of Sir Robert Sandeman—and to stand up before you with men who bear names honoured from generation to generation in the annals of the Frontier—Jacob, Young-husband, McMahon, Bruce.

If we could retrace our steps in India there is little doubt that next time—but there never is a next time—we should deal more delicately, more patiently with features and institutions of an Oriental society which had the force and prestige of tradition, and which had in them the seeds of healthy development. We were carried away with the amazing efficiency of our bureaucratic methods. We were a new broom and we made a joyous clean sweep. In that impatient age of the clean sweep Robert Sandeman showed a sturdy independence of mind. He saw what others failed to see. He saw a tribal machinery which could be swept away or which could be made to work with the right man lightly touching the controls. As we know today he was the right man. He showed what personality could achieve and by his personality he created modern Baluchistan.

When early in the history of the present century I, at the other end of the Frontier, was decanted from my tonga at the old Punjab Frontier Force

mess in Kohat—a tenderfoot about to receive from the Piffers a liberal education—it was not so long, not more than a few years, since Robert Sandeman had been laid to rest in the garden at Las Beyla and his memory was a living and vivid memory held in high honour.

The Frontier of India is like a P. and O. liner. It has a sharp end and a blunt end. I spent my time at the blunt end, which is usually associated with a third-class passage. I have often wondered what Sandeman might have achieved if in those seventies and eighties of last century he had been given authority along the length and breadth of the Frontier, including that blunt end. We shall never know the answer to that. But I think all of us here will admit that the problems of the old North-West Frontier were tough problems, and many of us here with our own eyes watched them getting tougher through no fault of our own.

I hold the view that the problems of the Frontier were particularly thorny where the Sikhs and Afghans had been in closest and most relentless contact—with Ranjit Singh, for instance, demanding an annual tribute of Afridi heads. We inherited those legacies of hate. Our Afghan wars had bred profound distrust in Kabul and our Afghan tribes of the North-West Frontier were particularly susceptible to influences from Kabul which excited their fanaticism and their greed. On top of all this there came in our time that influx of modern rifles, the arms traffic from the Persian Gulf which filled the tribesmen with a new swagger and confidence.

I touch on these points, since whatever is said in praise and honour of the great Sandeman nothing should be said in dispraise of those men who spent their lives—yes, and too often gave their lives—on what had been the old Punjab Frontier, in conditions in which the dice were loaded, dealing with tribesmen who had divided loyalties—if they had loyalties at all, for the soil was not congenial to loyalties—tribesmen who responded to the call of the mulla and the rupee. Men like George Dodd, for instance. There was an ideal figure for the Frontier, one of the best men who ever came out of the Indian Army into the political service. And do not forget that he had forces under him in Waziristan right back as far as Wano. The stage was set for a Sandeman, but the times were out of joint. We did not know what any day might bring forth. And on a day in July, 1914, George Dodd, with his great friend Toronto Brown, fell at the hand of a tribal assassin. What George Dodd could not do no man could do. That was 1914, and the forces were now gathering which led to a crash of the fabric with which we were trying to hold the Mahsud and Wazir country. These events brought on, as you all know, the military invasion of Waziristan and a reconsideration of our policy. It was indeed high time that the problem should be reconsidered.

I am not one of those who hold that there is only one way of solving a problem. I believe there are at least a dozen ways of solving any human problem. Once the choice is made, what is required is faith, will-power, and the right man in the right place. It is true that I was anxious to deal with that particular problem of Waziristan by methods of longer range and by playing for time. Yes, that is true. And I will not say that I have no regrets that I did not have the opportunity of demonstrating what might

have been achieved. But at any rate, when the problem was grappled on other lines it was grappled with energy and determination.

I pay my tribute to the thoroughness of the work done in Waziristan, and in that tribute I specially include three men here today—Lord Peel, who, as Secretary of State for India at the time, had to handle this thorny question, which I did not make less thorny, and who knew his own mind; Sir Denys Bray, who, as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, having taken his line held to it logically and firmly; and Colonel Charles Bruce, who had the good fortune and the gifts to follow in his father's footsteps and was the right man in the right place.

So I passed on and found myself with new tribal interests in the tribal areas of the Sudan. The headline allotted to me is "The Sandeman System Today." Let me reassure you, I am not going to switch you over to Africa. Let me confess that personally I cannot think of Sandeman away from his beloved Frontier and its Afghan background. Indirect rule and native administration associated with the name of Lord Lugard and others aim broadly at the preservation of all that is best and capable of development in traditional tribal authority. That may be easy or it may be difficult. I have tried my hand at it, and, whether it be easy or difficult, you do hold the problem in the hollow of your hand and can see all round it. It is a far cry from that to the Indian Frontier. The Frontier was the stage of Sandeman with its Afghan background. I shall not take him from his Frontier pedestal. It would be like Walter Scott without Scotland.

What about the problem today? What is the most significant change which has occurred in very recent times, a change which to an old Frontier officer reads like a chapter of fiction? I can hardly believe it when I think of my uneasy days in the Khyber Agency when Kabul to the west lay in dark and impenetrable shadow. Afghanistan now: a member of the League of Nations, Afghanistan in free communication with the outside world, confident of her independence, trusting in Great Britain as a friend. Let me pay a tribute, long overdue, to the act of statesmanship from which these great consequences have steadily flowed, the Treaty of Peace between India and Afghanistan after the futile so-called Third Afghan War, negotiated by Sir Hamilton Grant at Rawalpindi in 1919. He introduced a note of generosity into those proceedings for which he was hotly attacked. How strange that seems now in the light of after events! He was ahead of his times, and that is always a difficult position.

But the policy as a whole was the policy of Lord Chelmsford, a chief whose memory is very dear to those who served under him. His Afghan policy met with the coldest reception here in the world of politics and of the press. He stood alone. It is interesting to reflect that many of the things for which he pressed during his life are the commonplaces of today. What short memories people have! That policy of closer and more generous understanding with Afghanistan has freed the ice-jam of the Frontier. As the new conditions gather strength is it too much to hope that this tangle of blood feuds, raids and sanctuaries will gradually pass into the limbo of things? We are nearing the end of a long period of economic and

political maladjustments on the North-West Frontier. Let us be patient. Once there were Buddhist *stupas* in the Khyber Pass.

It would be unwise to force the pace, to rush into drastic measures, now that these new and unexpected forces are swirling through and round the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier, letting in light and air. The unholy deadlock is ending. There will be ugly chapters in the future as there have been in the past, but since the "fundamentals" are changing we can afford to be patient. And in that chapter of patience there will be new scope for the Sandeman system today. The work of Sandeman will go on—gradually the mountains will merge with the plain.

Lieut.-Col. Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: As one of the founders of the Central Asian Society, I should like to take this opportunity of speaking of Sir Robert Sandeman in his relation to Central Asia. It so happens that it was in that connection that I met Sir Robert Sandeman at Quetta in the year 1891. Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob referred to the time when we were hastily preparing against a Russian invasion in the year 1885. The Russians at that time were steadily advancing in the direction of India. In the year 1891 they had annexed the Pamirs. It was their last advance in the direction of India, and incidentally they had arrested me on the Pamirs and turned me out of what was Afghan territory.

It was in connection with this incident that I had to go to Quetta to see Lord Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief in India. He had taken the arrest of a British officer on Afghan territory as an exceedingly serious proceeding, had mobilized a division at Quetta, and I was there to relate to him exactly what had occurred. There it was that I saw Sir Robert Sandeman. I told him what Russian officers had said to me, both then in 1891 and also previously in 1889, that every officer in the Russian Army thought of nothing else except the invasion of India. I do not know what were the views of the Russian Government, but at any rate those Russian officers I met in Central Asia at that time did speak quite openly to me about invading India.

I was talking about this with Sir Robert Sandeman, and he said he was quite certain that we had the tribes on our side of the Frontier absolutely and firmly in hand. That was a point upon which we could rely. He said, "Of course, with the Russians advancing year by year towards us, we have to keep our eyes open, keep alert, keep our tribesmen firm and secure; but as long as we do that, we have nothing to fear from the Russians."

I should like to leave with you what was left with me, the impression of Sir Robert Sandeman as a big man in every way, big in heart, and big in mind. He has been a big inspiration to all Frontier officers on the Indian Frontier from that time since, and I hope he will be an inspiration for many years yet, and an inspiration also to us today in our dealings with the great Indian problem. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have here with us Sir Hugh Barnes, who served for ten years with Sir Robert Sandeman. I think the audience will be very glad to hear him for a few minutes.

SIR HUGH BARNES: I am very glad to have the opportunity of paying a tribute to my old Chief and friend, Sir Robert Sandeman, because I think I served longer with him than probably anybody here today.

In the year 1880 I happened to be Assistant to Sir Oliver St. John, the Resident in Kandahar. I came away in 1881 when the troops were withdrawn. I returned to Quetta with the troops, and found that Sir Robert Sandeman had gone on leave. In 1882 Sandeman came back, and from that day until his death in 1892 I was in Quetta practically all the time, with the exception of an occasional absence on leave. During that period I can only say that I learnt to entertain the highest admiration and affection for Sir Robert Sandeman. He was always kindness itself to all his subordinates. I happened to live just opposite the Residency gates, and he was very fond of reading to me his despatches to the Government of India.

It was, I believe, mainly owing to Sandeman's strong recommendation while on leave that it was finally decided in 1882 to annex as British territory the Afghan districts of Pishin, Shorarud, Sibi, and Thal Chotiali. The first two were added to Quetta and I was placed in charge. Sibi and Thal Chotiali were formed into a separate district and placed under Mr. Bruce. The annexation of these districts enabled him at a later date to extend his authority over Zhob and the tribes between Thal Chotiali and the Gumal River. He often had to fight hard to get sanction to his proposals. But he was indomitable in urging his views, and it may be recorded to his honour and credit that he never forgot his responsibility for the good name of the Government he served. He never ran unnecessary risks and he never once led his Government into disaster.

It is no use my saying much about the Sandeman Policy, because you have had some admirable speeches from those who have preceded me. But there is one thing I would like to mention, and that is his opening of the Gumal Pass. In the summer of 1889 I happened to be up in Simla, acting for the Under-Secretary of the Foreign Department. The Gumal Pass had been closed by the Mahsud Waziris, so that the Ghilzai traders could not come down as usual in the autumn, and there was talk of a military expedition. The Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, decided to tour down the Frontier with Sir James Lyall, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and, as Sir Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary, fell ill, I was deputed to accompany the party. I remember that we came down the Indus in boats as far as Kohat and then marched to Dera Ismail Khan. There Sandeman joined us, as he had been summoned to the Conference. The first thing Sandeman did was to suggest to Sir James Lyall that Waziristan should be added to Baluchistan, so that he could introduce his tribal system there. Sir James Lyall said, "How would you propose to do it?" He answered in effect, "I would run a road from the Gumal to the Tochi behind the Waziris, put a small cantonment somewhere along it, and then take all the headmen into my service." Of course, Sir James Lyall would not hear of the proposal for a moment, as he said Waziristan had always belonged to the Punjab.

Towards the end of the Conference, Sandeman asked, would the Viceroy and Sir James Lyall object if he tried to open the Gumal from Zhob? They said, "No, if you think you can do it." Sandeman went back to

Quetta, and as soon as he got the orders from Calcutta he started for Zhob. As I dare say you know, he successfully marched down the Gumal, escorted by Waziris, with only one casualty, and established posts of the Mahsuds in the Pass to keep it open for the future. That was a wonderful feat of his. It compared with his opening of the Bolan Pass when it was closed years before.

When Sir Robert died in 1892, I was asked to write his obituary notice for the *Pioneer*, which I did. I might, perhaps, just read you a few words at the end of it, which are better than what I can express now in my old age.

“Of Sir Robert Sandeman as an official chief and in his private relations, it is difficult in a public article, without seeming exaggeration, to say all that intimate acquaintance and affectionate admiration for his character would readily dictate. . . . No man was ever better served by his subordinates, whether European or Indian. As may be supposed, he was a shrewd judge of character. He seemed to know by instinct whom he could trust, and once his confidence was given it was given unreservedly.

“Kind-hearted and generous, he was the cheeriest and most genial of hosts, and his hospitality was unbounded. In his friendships Sir Robert Sandeman was as enthusiastic and as thorough as in his official work, and the man who was fortunate enough to win his affection was always sure of the staunchest and most uncompromising ally. Even in his bitterest political conflicts he always had a friendly feeling for his opponents. He was kind and courteous to all men and feared none.

“It is the privilege of the little town of Las Bela in Southern Baluchistan to

‘Keep safe his dedicated dust,
His sacred sleep,’

and we may be sure that the present Jam of Las Bela will be faithful to his trust.

“Sir Robert’s last words on his death-bed were for the people he loved so well, and it is a satisfaction to his friends to feel that, though he is gone, his influence and his example still survive, and that for many a generation to come his name will be remembered with affection and respect by the Pathan and Baluch tribesmen for whom he accomplished so much.”

This concluded the speeches, and the company stood and drank in silence to the memory of Sir Robert Sandeman.

THE JUDICATURE AND THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION BILL

BY SIR AMBERSON MARTEN, M.A., LL.D.

WE are particularly fortunate today in at least three respects. In the first place our Chairman holds, and will always hold, a revered position in the annals of the Indian High Courts. It must be a satisfaction to him to know that the example he showed at the Bombay Bar has been of the greatest help to his successors, many of whom are Indians occupying today very prominent public positions. It is to the regret of all that he is no longer on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But it is our good fortune to have him preside today, with his life-long experience of India both in the Provinces and in Delhi and also at Downing Street.

In the next place we are fortunate in having for our subject a non-political matter, although it forms part of the Government of India Bill now in the Committee stage in the House of Commons. Such violent controversies have been aroused both here and in India over the Indian problem, that this happy position of the Judicature must be almost unique. So far the Judicature has escaped any communal awards, Poona Pacts, or the like. And this is not because the subject is not important. On the contrary, its vital importance to good government in the past as well as to good government in the future is accepted by all. And the proud and honoured position which the Indian Judicature occupies today is one of the most striking examples in India of successful co-operation between Indians and Europeans for India's common good. Accordingly in his recent speech on moving the second reading of the Bill, the Secretary of State in dealing with the chapter on the Judicature was able to say :

“ It is an all-important chapter which I believe we shall find to be almost uncontroversial. It was the aim of the [Joint Select] Committee and it

has been the aim of the Government in making the proposals dealing with this all-important question to achieve the objective of keeping the Judicature, superior and subordinate, free and independent of political influence. I believe it will be found that we have been not unsuccessful in achieving that objective."

Thirdly, we are fortunate in the drafting of this Bill. Personally, I find it easy and clear to read, for there is a welcome departure from the modern but troublesome method of legislation by reference, and an absence of the involved language frequently found in financial legislation.

So I turn happily to my subject, keeping before me the aim of helpful constructive criticism entirely free of any party or other politics. And if my remarks will appeal mainly to lawyers, I hope those of my audience who do not belong to the legal profession will forgive me, and allow the lawyers for once to have their say about the courts their professional lives are passed in.

SUPERIOR COURTS

Dealing then first with the Superior Courts, part ix., s. 190, of the Bill creates a new court called the Federal Court for certain federal matters. It substantially maintains the existing Provincial High Courts of British India, which (to use the language of the Joint Select Committee's Report, p. 201) "will be institutions which will not accurately be described as either federalized or provincialized." And while providing for appeals to the Federal Court (ss. 195, 197) from the Provincial High Courts and also from the High Courts of the Indian Princes on certain federal matters, it confers power (s. 196) on the Indian Legislature to form another branch of the Federal Court (which I will call the Supreme Court) for hearing civil appeals generally from the Provincial High Courts, provided they satisfy certain pecuniary and other essentials.

FEDERAL COURT

On this the first question to be asked is, Is a Federal Court essential? The answer must, I think, be "Yes." If the proposed Federation was confined to British India, the existing High

Courts could, I think, dispose of federal disputes even between the Federation and an individual State or between two States. Provision for, say, a Bench of three judges and speedy trials with direct appeals to the Privy Council should negative undue delay or conflicting decisions by the various High Courts. Indeed, the existing hearings of income tax matters run much on those lines, although the relevant legislation is open to improvement as regards the details of procedure laid down.

But it is the essence of the proposed Federation that at least one-half of the Princes' States should join the Federation. Accordingly I do not think it practicable either for their High Courts or for those of British India to hear disputes between the Princes' States and either the Federation or the British Indian Provinces. For one thing the lawyers in the respective courts would be quite unfamiliar with the practice and procedure in the other courts. They would have no right of audience in each other's courts, and might not even speak the same language.

JURISDICTION

A Federal Court then being essential, what is to be its jurisdiction? The Bill gives it an original jurisdiction to the exclusion of any other court in any dispute involving a matter of legal right between the Federation, the Princes' States and the Provinces, or any two or more of them. As regards particular agreements, this jurisdiction may be expressly excluded. A State is also excluded unless the dispute concerns the application or interpretation of the Act or any Order in Council thereunder, or concerns some matter with respect to which the Federal Legislature has power to make laws in relation to that State. It is important to note that here the Bill follows the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee (p. 194) in preference to the White Paper proposals, which would have confined the jurisdiction against a State to matters arising on the Federal Act alone (p. 337). With respect, I think the Bill has adopted the better plan. All disputes of, in effect, a federal nature and involving matters of legal right between any of the Federation, the

States, or the Provinces will then be decided by the same court—viz., the Federal Court.

The appellate jurisdiction given to the Federal Court from the Provincial and State High Courts differs, however, in this respect, for it will be confined to questions of law as to the application or interpretation of the Act or any Order in Council made thereunder. Here the Bill follows the White Paper proposals in preference to the Select Committee's Report, which advised that this appellate jurisdiction should be extended to the interpretation of laws which the Federal Legislature had power to pass. Expense apart, I prefer the Committee's proposals. But I gather they have been rejected mainly because of the fear that if adopted the result might be to give the Federal Court an excessive number of appeals from the Provincial High Courts.

The unfortunate result will therefore be that in British India disputes over future Federal Legislation will be decided by the various High Courts, unless the conflicting parties are two provinces or a province and the Federation; but that similar disputes between the latter will be decided by the Federal Court. Thus different interpretations of the same Act may be given by the various Provincial High Courts; and as appeals will lie direct to the Privy Council, the Judicial Committee will have to decide the point involved without the benefit of the judgments of the Federal Court on it.

I appreciate, however, that if the Federal Court should give a decision upon a point, it would have to be followed by all courts in British India unless reversed by the Privy Council. That at any rate is my reading of s. 202, for that section cannot mean that the law has to be declared by both the Federal Court and the Privy Council before being binding on Provincial High Courts.

A SUPREME COURT OF APPEAL

Another way of avoiding any difficulty in this respect would be to give a direct right of appeal to the Federal Court from Provincial High Courts in all cases of a suitable value and whether of a federal nature or not. In this way the Federal Court would

have the controlling voice over all High Courts, whether Provincial or State, as regards the Federal Act itself, and over all Provincial High Courts as regards not only future federal or provincial legislation, but all important civil litigation as well.

But the Bill hesitates to take this step. I fully recognize that it is one of great importance and difficulty, for it involves the creation of a Supreme Court of Appeal from the Provincial High Courts in civil litigation, and the consequent exclusion *pro tanto* of the present right of appeal to the Privy Council. In effect the present Bill leaves it to the Federal Legislature to create such a Supreme Court if it thinks fit. Accordingly, after seven years of deliberation by various commissions, conferences, and committees, this matter is still left open.

Is this wise? There is no doubt a substantial body of opinion in India which would prefer its disputes to be settled in the country of origin, and the expense of a journey overseas avoided, except in very special cases. And, after all, this only follows present-day views in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. Moreover, there is a dignity attached to a Supreme Court of that nature which gives dignity to the State itself. The Supreme Court of the U.S.A. is one example of this. Accordingly the Bill misses the opportunity of itself founding a body of a dignity and importance which might well appeal to Indian sentiment and imagination. The creation of a Federal Court alone will not, I think, effect this. The very name has to my ear a chilling sound. I would much prefer the familiar expression Supreme Court.

Sentiment apart, two main objections hitherto made to a Supreme Court of Appeal have been the size of the court and its expense. But now that the Bill excludes any right of appeal in criminal cases, these objections are largely met. The Bill here follows the Select Committee's Report and rejects the White Paper proposals, and I respectfully agree. The existing rights of appeal substantially protect the criminal, in my opinion, although some modifications might be made as regards the comparatively few criminal cases heard by High Court judges as sessions judges in the exercise of their original jurisdiction. To give any general right of criminal appeal to a Supreme Court would almost swamp

that court, and would inevitably increase delays and expense in the immense criminal litigation of India.

APPELLATE JURISDICTION

Another and more important objection is that India would thus lose the benefit of the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to a large extent, although in very special cases that right of appeal might still be given by special leave. To this there is no answer. The loss has to be faced, and the Bill leaves it to the Indian Legislature to decide whether to face it. It is a commonplace that the Privy Council, by its judicial strength and complete independence, has been a leading factor in creating and maintaining the success of the Indian Courts established under British rule. And, at the outset at any rate, it cannot be expected that an Indian Supreme Court will carry the prestige which the Privy Council now possesses.

It is accordingly of extreme importance that the new court, whether called Federal or Supreme, should make a good start. If, however, it is to be confined to federal matters, then I foresee that both Bench and Bar are not likely to begin with much practical experience of that class of litigation, apart, of course, from the ordinary interpretation of statutes and documents. And for this very good reason : that such litigation is seldom experienced in the Indian High Courts, even if one includes the analogous cases of alleged excess by a legislature of its powers, as arose in the famous cases questioning the right of the Indian Legislature to empower Indian High Courts to divorce parties with a residence in India, but domiciled in England. Moreover, it seems to me likely that for some few years there will be little federal work for the Federal Court to do under the existing Bill. Any disputes will, at any rate, take some time to reach that court and be ripe for hearing. That again will not assist its start.

If, on the other hand, the court was also a Court of Appeal, the position would be exactly the opposite. Then both Bench and Bar would start with familiar work. And there would be plenty of it to occupy their time, but not excessively so, I think. A bench of, say, ten to twelve judges would allow, say, six judges

to sit in two benches of three judges each for Supreme Court appeals, and yet leave four to six judges for federal work. The expense of the extra three to five judges would be offset to some degree by the extra court fees earned. And there would thus be a better working margin for illness or leave. The present Bill only provides for seven judges, and does not contain any power to fill temporary vacancies in the aggregate number, although the age limit is increased to sixty-five. Any temporary vacancy in the chief justiceship has to be filled by another member of the court under s. 192, and there is no power to fill the latter's vacancy. I appreciate that the larger the Supreme Court is, the greater will be the drain upon the best judicial strength of the High Courts. But as the age limit of the former is increased to sixty-five, and the latter retained at sixty, the Federal Court will be able to utilize judges who normally would have retired. And incidentally the Exchequer will save their pensions during the extra five years. Moreover, I think it probable that the higher position and the increased age limit may well attract leading members of the Bar, who would not accept a High Court judgeship under the present conditions of early appointment and early retirement.

I therefore still cherish some hopes that the Bill may be amended in this respect. And if it were, the home of the new court could be a suitable one from that very beginning for a full court, and not one built in bits to accommodate temporary needs. And here I may observe that under s. 296 the Federal Court is to come into existence at once, although the Federation itself has not been established. I may also notice that the Federal Court is to sit at Delhi or such other place as the Chief Justice with the approval of the Governor-General may decide. But whether such a court is practicable at Delhi in the hot weather, particularly for any judges who have passed the normal retiring age of sixty, I very much doubt. Some more temperate spot, such as Bangalore, would seem far preferable at that season. Moreover, it might bring a natural division between northern and southern litigation, the former going to Delhi and the latter to Bangalore, with a consequent saving in journeys and expense to litigants and others.

JUDGESHIPS

The qualifications for a federal judgeship require that the appointee should have been for at least five years a judge of an Indian High Court or else a barrister of ten years' standing or a pleader in a High Court of similar standing. Consequently I.C.S. officers will only qualify by five years' service on the High Court Bench, unless previously called to the English or Indian Bar. These High Courts may be either in British India or a Federated State. And one may here express the hope that by thus meeting on a common Bench, the judges thus recruited from different sources may greatly help to make the new Indian Federation a unit in fact as well as in name, just as the Privy Council have been a main link in unifying the British Empire. And the new court will also give scope for the present Bars in the States and the Provinces to assist in that good work.

Other points to be noted are that appeals will still lie to the Privy Council by special leave of the Federal Court or the Privy Council—a wise provision in my opinion. And s. 203 contains a useful power for the Governor-General to obtain the opinion of the Federal Court on a question of law of public importance. It is also important to observe that (what I have called) the Supreme Court of Appeal if established will not be a separate court from the Federal Court, but only a branch of it. The Bill here follows the Report of the Select Committee in preference to the White Paper, and it seems to me to be clearly right in so doing. It would never do to have two separate courts of that importance and jurisdiction. One court working in different divisions according to the jurisdiction exercised will be quite familiar practice. For instance, the original jurisdiction of the Bombay High Court derived from the King's Courts of former days is quite different from its appellate jurisdiction derived from the former courts of the East India Company. And yet those different jurisdictions are exercised by this same court though sitting in different divisions. Moreover, one court instead of two will make for that practical unity in the Federation to which I have already alluded.

HIGH COURT JUDGESHIPS

Turning next to the High Courts, the first point of importance is the change in the qualifications of the judges. The Bill abolishes the old rule requiring at least one-third of the Bench to be barristers and another third to be members of the Indian Civil Service. And it no longer requires the Chief Justice to be a barrister. These proposed changes have been matters of controversy in India for many years past; and only last month I read of recent resolutions both of the Bombay Bar Council and the Bombay Incorporated Law Society to the effect that at least one-third of the judges should be barristers: that a substantial proportion of the judges should be recruited from persons entitled to practise in the High Court: and that an I.C.S. officer should not be eligible for the post of Chief Justice.

Unfortunately, the existing one-third rule is capricious in its working, for the very good reason that individual judges cannot be divided into fractions. Accordingly, a bench of, say, seven permanent judges requires six barrister or civilian judges, and a bench of ten, eight. This only leaves one vacancy in the former case and two in the latter for advocates on the original side or pleaders on the appellate side not called to the English Bar. One of these vacancies almost necessarily went, in Bombay, to an appellate side pleader, and frequently the Government pleader, because of his familiarity with mofussil criminal and civil appeals.

But this left no vacancy, or at most one, for the many distinguished advocates on the original side who had not been called to the English Bar. My dear friend the late Sir Dinsha Mulla, who ended his fine career on the Privy Council, is a striking example of this. The retiring Advocate-General, Sir Jamsetji Kanga, is another. And if it be said that a bench of nine judges gives three posts for non-barristers or civilians, those three posts are cut down to two, if the aggregate number be raised to ten.

This, then, appears to be the main reason for the change, in that it will facilitate the appointment of the best available man to a vacant puisne judgeship. But I would deprecate the change if it involved any substantial diminution in the number of civilian

judges. The latter, with their practical experience of up-country life, litigation and languages, and also of administration, including official correspondence, fully bear their share in the work of the High Court. And I read with pleasure what the Select Committee say in this connection in para. 331 of their report.

CHIEF JUSTICESHIP

As regards the appointment of Chief Justice, what I have already said shows that this appointment cannot in future be confined to barristers. It must extend to original side advocates, at any rate. And that being so, it would be invidious to exclude either civilians or appellate side advocates from that appointment, particularly if they had already served several years on the High Court Bench with distinction.

And here it must be borne in mind that for the purposes of this Bill several courts are to be deemed High Courts which do not at present enjoy that status—*e.g.*, the Chief Court in Oudh and the Judicial Commissioners' Courts in the Central Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind. In Sind the presiding judge was always a civilian in my time, and I believe that he may be so in the other courts I have just named. But so far as the senior High Courts are concerned, I think it reasonable to suppose that professional feeling will be duly considered in making any appointment; and that in the big commercial cities such as Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, where the commercial litigation is heavy and important, due regard will be paid to the fact that the advocates at those bars thereby gain a much wider experience of such litigation than can be obtained by civilian officers in mofussil litigation, which more generally runs to land, money-lending or family disputes.

SUPERINTENDENCE

The next important point is as to the continuance of the High Court's powers of superintendence over any court subject to its appellate jurisdiction. This is dealt with in ss. 213 and 214 of the

Bill. The latter section mainly follows s. 107 of the Government of India Act, 1919, but omits the important existing power of directing the transfer of any suit or appeal. For the moment I do not follow the reason for that omission. It is true that s. 213 of the Bill retains the High Court's powers under any Letters Patent, and that Clause 29 of the Amended Letters Patent of 1865 enables the Bombay High Court to transfer any criminal case or appeal. But I do not find a similar clause in the Letters Patent as regards civil litigation. Apart from the Letters Patent, the High Courts have powers of ordering transfers both under the Civil Procedure Code and the Criminal Procedure Code.

CONCURRENT LEGISLATIVE POWERS

And this brings me to a most important point, viz., the powers both of the Federal and the Provincial Legislatures to alter the jurisdiction of the High Courts both in this and other respects. S. 213 of the Bill clearly contemplates this. Then, turning to Schedule 7, item 50 of List 1 and item 14 of List 3 enable the Federal Legislature to legislate as regards the jurisdiction of all courts (except the Federal Court) with respect to any of the matters in those respective lists. The Provincial Legislature has a concurrent power of legislation as regards item 14 of List 3: while items 1 and 2 give it legislative power not only as regards the courts' jurisdiction with respect to matters in List 2 but also over the constitution and organization of all courts generally.

This may expose the High Courts to attack from two directions, viz., from the bureaucratic mind already existing in England, which would favour the decision of disputes by some Government department or special tribunal, with either a limited right of appeal or none to the courts, and with a limited right of audience or none for the trained lawyer. The other attack might come from the enemies of Government, who have so far found the High Courts an efficient stumbling block against campaigns of intimidation and the like. And in the Courts of Calcutta and Bombay, where the dual system of counsel and solicitor prevails as in England, to the great advantage of commercial and other heavy litigants, efforts would doubtless be made to abolish that

system, and also to extend the existing right of audience of original side advocates to all advocates on the appellate side or to other pleaders. Another hardy annual or perhaps biennial is the proposal to establish a City Court for Bombay, the supposed Elysium for those desiring prompt and efficient justice at little or no cost.

Efforts also would probably be made to abolish on the original side the existing item system of costs prevailing in England and to substitute the Court Fees Act *ad valorem* system prevailing in the mofussil. Some think that this will expose another gold mine similar to the accumulations of past savings of the High Court represented by the High Court Funds, and now proposed to be applied in this year's Bombay budget in reducing the Provincial deficit by some 27 lakhs. But this change would very likely result in killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. At present many judgments for large sums are speedily obtained in undefended cases at a small cost. *Ad valorem* costs would heavily increase the expense, and would have to be paid by the plaintiff in the first instance. It by no means follows, therefore, that the same number of suits would be brought on the original side. And it is possible that this change of system might to some degree hamper commercial or financial business in Bombay.

I regret, therefore, that I cannot concur in the view of the Joint Select Committee that the Provincial Legislature would never willingly enact legislation which would prejudice or affect the status of the High Court. In Bombay, the proposals I have alluded to were frequently brought forward in the shape of enquiries, draft-Bills or the like, official or non-official, over many years and were as consistently opposed by the High Court at a considerable expenditure of time and trouble. But whether that opposition would be equally effective under the new Constitution is another matter.

As to this, one can only say that the new Constitution will succeed to a goodly heritage as regards the existing senior High Courts, and that this heritage can be destroyed after suitable preliminary sapping and mining. The substantial maintenance of the existing jurisdiction of the High Courts and their political in-

dependence does not form part of the special responsibilities imposed on the Governor-General and Governors under Clauses 12 and 52 of the Bill. But para. 334 of the Report recommends that they should be directed in their

“Instruments of Instruction to reserve for the signification of His Majesty’s pleasure any Bill which in their opinion would so derogate from the powers of the High Court as to endanger the position which those Courts are under the Constitution Act clearly designed to fill.”

In the Bill there are general powers in ss. 32 and 75 to withhold assent or to reserve Bills in addition to a general power of the Crown to disallow Acts within twelve months of assent by the Governor-General or Governors. But what I fear is the repetition of steps any one of which might not seem to the Governor to be sufficiently threatening to justify the exercise of his above special power of reservation or withholding assent.

LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS

I may now turn with pleasure to ss. 40 and 86 of the Bill, which prevent discussion in the Legislature on the conduct of a Federal or High Court Judge in the performance of his judicial functions, and to ss. 41 and 87, which prevent the courts from questioning the regularity of the procedure in any legislative proceedings, or the conduct of its officers or members in the exercise of powers for regulating procedure, conducting business or maintaining order in the Legislature. Both sets of provisions are, I think, needed.

SALARIES

As far as the judges themselves are concerned they are to be appointed by His Majesty: and their salaries and pensions are to be fixed by Order in Council and cannot be altered to their disadvantage after appointment: and while the salaries and pensions of Federal Judges and also the pensions of High Court Judges will be a charge on the Federal revenue, the salaries of High Court Judges will be a charge upon Provincial Revenues having regard to s. 33 (iii.) (d) and s. 78 (iii.) (d) of the Bill. That explains why High Court Judges’ pensions are not mentioned in

s. 217. Further, both Federal and High Court Judges will hold office during good behaviour, and apart from attaining the age limit will not be removable except upon a report by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. All these provisions seem to me very satisfactory.

ADMINISTRATION : EXPENSES AND CONTROL

Another satisfactory feature in the Bill consists of the safeguards for administrative expenses of the Federal and High Courts, including the salaries and pensions of its officers and servants. One way of crippling a court is to deny it an adequate staff or building. But these administrative expenses will be a charge on the Federal or Provincial Revenues, as the case may be. And under ss. 206 and 217 the Governor-General or Governor is to exercise his individual judgment as to the amount to be included in the Budget estimates. And although such estimates may be discussed by the Legislatures under ss. 34 and 79, they will not be subject to their vote.

Further, as I read s. 231 (iii.) and s. 230, the appointments to the staff attached to a Federal or High Court will rest with the Chief Justice, subject to the salaries or pensions he proposes requiring the approval of the Governor-General or Governor, and to the latter's discretionary power to require the appropriate Public Services Commission to be consulted as regards any original appointment to the court. So substantially the Chief Justice at any rate of Bombay retains his existing powers in this respect, but the personal discretion of the Governor is substituted for that of the present appropriate Government Department as regards the amount of salaries or pensions.

As regards the important question of the administrative control of the Provincial High Courts, the Bill follows the recommendation in para. 333 of the Select Committee's Report to give that control to the Provincial Governments. This is a very controversial point. Bengal has always been in direct relations with the Central Government, and the Simon Commission recommended that this should be the case as regards all High Courts. But the present scheme of a Federation with the Princes' States

and Provincial autonomy is a new factor, and it seems to me with great respect that the Select Committee has arrived at a right conclusion on this troublesome point.

SUBORDINATE CIVIL JUDICIARY

Turning next to the Subordinate Civil Judiciary, s. 244 provides in effect that candidates for initial appointment will be appointed by the Governor from a list selected by the Public Services Commission under rules made after consultation with the High Court as to the standard of qualifications to be attained. This should save both Government and the High Court much time and trouble under existing practice, though I regret to see that following the practice initiated by Government in recent years, the regulations may fix the number of appointments to be given to the various communities, and thus hamper the choice of the best men, irrespective of their communities.

The subsequent postings and promotions (below the rank of District Judge) and grants of leave will, however, rest with the High Court. This should remedy what is, I think, a defect in the present judicial administrative machinery of Bombay. The general conditions of service of these civil judges, including pay, leave and pension, will, I gather, be regulated by rules to be made under s. 230 by, or under, the authority of the Governor.

The proposals in s. 243 as regards the important post of District Judge, including Sessions Judges and additional joint or assistant district or session judges, mainly follow the Select Committee's Report. The Governor exercising his individual judgment will make all appointments, postings and promotions: and any recommendation by his minister will require previous consultation with the High Court. Further, persons not already in the service of His Majesty can only be appointed if a barrister or pleader and recommended by the High Court.

PRESIDENCY TOWNS

And here I come to what appears to me to be an omission, though I hesitate to say so, having regard to the great care and skill shown in the Judicature provisions of the Bill. I refer to

the Small Causes Court Civil Judges and the Presidency Criminal Magistrates in the cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. These are most important posts, and in Bombay the Chief Justice was always personally consulted as to every appointment and promotion. The former are appointed by the local Government under s. 7 of the Presidency Small Causes Court Act, 1882, and in effect only advocates or attorneys or civil judges of five years' standing are eligible. On my reading of the Bill, they will not come within either s. 243 or 244. Indeed, it would be quite wrong to include them under s. 244. And I would accordingly suggest an amendment in the Bill requiring the appointments to be made by the Governor in the exercise of his individual judgment and after consultation with the Chief Justice or the High Court. At present, under s. 274 of the Bill, I take it that the existing provisions of the Small Causes Court Act would remain in force.

Similar observations apply to Presidency Magistrates, who at present are appointed by the local Government under s. 18 of the Criminal Procedure Code. I do not find any qualification in that Code, but in practice the Chief Justice of Bombay always recommended an advocate or pleader for that post. I think, therefore, that the Bill should impose a suitable qualification.

SUBORDINATE CRIMINAL MAGISTRACY

This brings me to the subordinate criminal magistracy in the mofussil, and here I submit the Bill requires further consideration. The High Courts are not to be consulted as regards initial appointments or promotions or postings. These will all be effected by the local Government under the Criminal Procedure Code, I assume, as preserved by s. 274 of the Bill. Consequently there is a wide difference in the respective safeguards for the civil judges and the criminal magistracy in the mofussil. And yet the criminal courts are often preferred for a false attack upon an enemy, partly because they are cheaper and speedier, and partly because the enemy is thus put in a more invidious position. But the consequences of corruption or incompetence are even more serious than in the case of civil judges, for the liberty of the subject is involved.

The reason for this omission given in para. 341 of the Select Committee's Report appears to be that the High Court Judges have little knowledge of the judicial work of such magistrates. This is not true of Bombay. The Judges sitting regularly in the Court of Criminal Appeal acquire a considerable knowledge of the abilities of many of the magistrates. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise, having regard to the weekly stream of criminal appeals, revisional applications and the like. In particular, the decisions of the District Magistrates frequently come under review.

I appreciate, of course, that most of these magistrates are not whole-time judicial officers, but also have important executive duties with which the High Court is not concerned, and does not wish to be concerned. And I have not yet been able to verify my recollection as to how far the High Court was consulted as regards those magistrates. In Bombay that work would normally come first before my brother judge in charge of the appellate side administrative work. But however that may have been in the past, we are looking to the future, and I should like the High Court to have a voice in the selection and promotion of at any rate the higher magistrates, and in particular the District Magistrates. And I should also like a reference made in the Bill to the future possibility of separating completely the judicial from the executive in criminal matters, however impracticable from a financial point of view that may now be. No lawyer will be content till that is effected.

SIND AND ADEN

It remains to consider the separation of Sind from Bombay, and of Aden from British India. As regards Sind, its Judicial Commissioner's Court is already quite distinct from the Bombay High Court, and probably the presiding judge in each court will welcome the change, as presumably the subordinate judiciary will no longer serve sometimes under one court and sometimes under the other, a practice which has often involved difficulties in making recommendations to Government for promotion. As

regards Aden, s. 270 takes power to specify the High Court to which appeals should be made. The Select Committee's Report contemplated that it would be Bombay, as at present. But if some other court is selected, Bombay will be relieved, for it still has heavy arrears of other work. The Resident's Court has, however, been strengthened in recent years by the addition of a civilian officer with good judicial experience. In Bombay at the beginning of this year on the original side alone 1,332 suits were in arrear as from January 6, 1930. To remedy far less delay, two extra King's Bench Judges were recently appointed in England.

Since writing the above paper, I have read that an important representation is being sent to Parliament by the Calcutta Bar, the Bar Association, and the Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta, on several of the points I have mentioned. In particular they urge placing both the Criminal Magistracy and the Civil Judiciary under the sole control of the High Court: and they object to communal proportions in judicial services: and submit that the administrative machinery of the High Courts should be under the control of the Government of India. Their further submission that not less than two-thirds of the judges of every High Court, including the Chief Justice, should be drawn from members of the Bar (barrister and non-barrister) is open to the objections I have explained, that in a court of seven judges that would only leave one post for an I.C.S. judge: and that in several of the existing courts proposed by the Bill to be made High Courts, an I.C.S. officer is already the Chief Judge. In truth, the various High Courts existing and proposed have very different histories, traditions and conditions, and it is difficult to legislate in the same terms for all.

Bombay itself was acquired by the Crown in 1662, and since 1823 its High Court on the original side has enjoyed substantially the same equity and common law jurisdiction as that possessed by the English High Court. At the beginning of this century the only High Courts in British India were those of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Allahabad. This number is increased to eleven by s. 209 of the Bill, and power is taken to add to their number. I

can only hope that all their Law Reports will not be citable in each High Court. Otherwise the existing heavy burden of the Indian advocate in this respect will be made more and more grievous as time goes on and the aggregate number of citable reports increases.

My task is now concluded. And it only remains for me to wish success to the Judicature under the Indian Constitution Bill and to all who have to work under it.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A meeting was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, March 6, 1935, when a paper entitled "The Judicature and the Indian Constitution Bill" was read by Sir Amberson Marten, M.A., LL.D. The Right Hon. Sir George Lowndes, P.C., K.C.S.I., K.C., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

The Right Hon. Sir Shadi Lal, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Reginald A. Spence, Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Philip Buckland, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Lady Marten, Mr. A. Montgomery, Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. S. V. Vesey Fitzgerald, Mr. B. K. Sinha, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. B. D. Berry, Mrs. Foden, Swami Purohit, Mr. S. Das, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. J. Helme, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. C. H. K. Marten, Mr. C. E. Downs, Mr. David S. Downs, Commander H. Strong, Mrs. Paul Stuart, Syed M. Sayeedulla, Mrs. Bacon, Miss Marten, Mr. K. C. Sahney, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Miss Hopley, Mr. W. M. F. Hudson, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said : We are here to consider what to many people perhaps is not a very interesting part of the Bill now before Parliament, and one rather hopes that it may not interest politicians in the way that some other parts of the Bill have done. At the same time it is a matter of supreme importance to India, and, of course, of great interest to the legal profession in India.

The absolutely pure and unbiassed administration of justice in India is one of the great boons that, I think, the British Empire has been able to provide for that country, and one hopes very much that in the new chapter of their history nothing is going to happen which will lower the standard which certainly has obtained and will, we hope, obtain for the future. The setting up of this standard has been, I think, very largely the work of the High Courts in India, and to a great extent of some of the great English judges who have been there.

We are extremely fortunate this afternoon in having to address us a Chief Justice from Bombay, who has had great experience of Indian legal matters and litigation, and speaks from an expert point of view, apart from the study which I know he has made of this part of the Bill.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN : I am sure we are all very grateful to Sir Amberson Marten for his careful analysis of the provisions of the Bill as they touch the judiciary in India. It is a very difficult and complicated question. A great number of minor points arise throughout, which one hopes will receive some careful attention in Parliament.

Of course, the big outstanding factor of the thing is the constitution of

the Federal Court. I suppose one must agree, though I do so personally reluctantly, with Sir Amberson Marten that it is necessary; but it is a very difficult thing to start a Federal Court and to work a Federal Court for a huge country like India. When one thinks of the extraordinary crop of litigation that has arisen and is daily arising out of the British North America Act in Canada, where at all events you have a comparatively small number of parties to litigation, and when you compare the position in India, where you will have not only eleven Provinces, but an almost infinite number of States, large and small, each of which will have the right to bring any question touching its position under the Federation before this Federal Court, and in practically every case there will be a right of appeal to the Privy Council, it is difficult to see how that can be worked out.

This Federal Court may, as Sir Amberson says, be idle for a short time at first, but once it gets to work, I doubt whether anything like seven judges will be able to compete with its necessary requirements. One talks of arrears in the High Courts of India, but arrears in the Federal Court, it seems to me, may be almost appalling.

Then there is the question of where the Court is to sit and its constitution, which is again an extraordinarily difficult question. By the Bill it is to be one Court sitting in Delhi. I have had some experience of Delhi in pretty well every month of the year, luckily not very long at a time in the hotter months; but I am quite satisfied that from May until towards the end of October you will never get a Court to sit continuously and to work as a Federal Court must work, in Delhi. You cannot do it. The climate is against it. People will not go there. The States will not want to send their people. The Bar will not want to go there. The judges will not want to sit there. There will be a general tendency for it to adjourn to a more salubrious climate, probably Simla. That again will be an impossibility.

I think myself the only solution of that question will be to have the Court sitting in two different places. One may be Delhi. It is, as the capital of the new India, the natural place for this great Federal Court to sit. But you must find some other place nearer the centre of India with a more reasonable climate. If you have your seven judges, you do not want them idle during the hot weather. If you are paying them, you want to get all you can out of them. Where you should establish what I would call the hot weather division of it, I do not know, but obviously it ought to be within easier reach of the Provinces and States in Southern and Central India. That, I feel sure, will be a necessity if the thing is going to be a success at all.

Of course, there is the question of the Supreme Court. That has been left to India to decide for itself. I am sorry, because I think myself this would have been an excellent opportunity to start what must come in India sooner or later, and that is a Supreme Court of Appeal for India. The work of appeals to the Privy Council is increasing year by year, and it will be quite impossible to cope with it when the added burden of the Federation appeals come to be put on the list as well. There is bound to be some cutting off of appeals to the Privy Council. It has to come very soon. It has to be a very decisive step, and I would sooner see India start its own Supreme Court, keeping the Privy Council for important cases by special

leave—keeping it open for the hearing of important cases. It must be done very soon in India, and I think this would have been a great opportunity to do the whole thing by one stroke.

You ought to have the buildings sufficient to accommodate both branches of the Court. If you are going to have a second place, as I suggest you must, somewhere in a better climate, again your building must be ready to take in the Supreme Court, which will assuredly come, and come very soon. If it does not come by the act of India—and it is left to the Indian Legislature to decide whether they want a Supreme Court—it will undoubtedly come from this side. This volume of appeals to the Privy Council will have to be diminished, and that very soon.

On the interesting opinion of conflicting decisions, I think myself the Bill has taken the right view. One view was that everything touching a Federal question, whether it was between private individuals or between a private individual and the State, should be dealt with by the Federal Court. That would be an ideal, but I do not think you could do it, because questions of that sort might crop up in any litigation, and what you would do in an ordinary suit in a High Court if you found yourself faced with the interpretation of a Federal Act, I do not know; whether you would have to adjourn the case and send it up to the Federal Court and wait for its decision, I do not know. I think the Bill has taken the right course.

There are a great number of other questions which will arise with regard to this. How is your Bar going to be constituted? You must admit, of course, pleaders or barristers from every State in India to it. Are they only to be admitted to plead in regard to their own States, or would there be a free Bar in this Federal Court? Again I do not know. All these questions will merit very careful consideration, and a great deal of it will have to be done in India, of course. I do hope, when this part of the Bill comes before Parliament, that some attention will be paid to the very great difficulties I foresee in carrying it out.

There are many other difficulties which Sir Amberson Marten has raised, and I hope we shall hear some better advocate on the subject than myself.

Sir JAMES MACKENNA (Vice-Chairman) read an opinion sent by a member unable to attend, Mr. A. Sabonadière (District and Sessions Judge in the United Provinces, 1898-1916). He wrote:

I agree with Sir Amberson Marten, that it would be much the best if the Federal and Supreme Courts were different aspects of a single Court.

The question of the proportion of judges of different origins, if I may use this expression, in the High Courts has always been troublesome. Could it not be got over by enacting that there should be a minimum number of Barrister and a minimum number of Civilian judges for each possible total number of judges on the Court? I think that when the Court numbers over nine there should also be a minimum number (for instance, one on a Bench of ten) of judges who have done at least ten years in the Provincial Service and held office as District Judges.

I more than agree with the proposition that the powers of superintendence and administration of the High Courts should be put beyond doubt.

Sir Amberson mentions the question of a "City Court" for Bombay. The solution I should like to see is that in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon, and Karachi the original side work of the High Court should be taken by a new Court, whose judges should be as irremovable and as nearly as possible as dignified as those of the High Court. The name given to the Court does not much matter. In time similar Courts would no doubt be established at Cawnpore and other large commercial centres. The judges should all be barristers or Indian advocates. They could retain the original side method of court fees and instructions coming through solicitors. They would also do the Sessions work of their towns, and this would allow of appeal to the High Court. Those proposed Courts would also hear appeals from Magistrates of the first class or Presidency Magistrates, and, where allowed, from subordinate Civil Courts. The very real grievance that there is no appeal from a conviction for a serious offence in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Rangoon would thus be removed. I am not of the opinion that a Calcutta jury is vastly more free from proneness to error than is a judge, Indian or European, of many years' experience up-country.

It seems to me most necessary to keep District and Sessions Judges free from all political or administrative influence. The Act no doubt intends to do that. The "middle justice" is, from some aspects, the most important stage of justice in India. And the district and sessions judge's position as head of all the Courts in his judgeship, responsible for keeping his team in good running order and for inspecting his own office and those of the subordinate Courts quite regularly, ought to be, if anything, emphasized. My own experience was that these regular inspections, far from blocking my own judicial work, enabled me in the long run to do it more speedily.

Sir THOMAS RICHARDSON: There is only one point on which I propose to offer a few observations, and that is the question whether the administrative control of the High Courts should be assigned to the Central or to the Provincial Governments. On that question, with deference, I find myself at variance with the opinion which Sir Amberson Marten has expressed; but, as he has said, it is a controversial question, and therefore a difference of opinion is not perhaps surprising.

The Simon Commission recommended that this control should be assigned to the Central Government. The Joint Select Committee—and I speak with the greatest admiration for that great Committee—gave reasons for rejecting that advice which do not strike me as wholly satisfactory or conclusive. There seems to be even some inconsistency in what the Committee say. In the paragraph in which they expressly deal with administrative control, they describe the High Courts as essentially provincial institutions. A page or two later they use the expression which Sir Amberson quoted, that under their proposals the High Courts will neither be federalized nor provincialized. If that is so, would it not be possible to federalize them in this matter of administrative control?

As a suggestion, perhaps that course might be taken in respect of the

Chartered High Courts. The latter include the four classical High Courts of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Allahabad, and also the Courts of Lahore and Patna. The result would be that the High Courts of all the larger Provinces would be in the position in which the Calcutta High Court has always been—namely, in direct relation in this regard with the Central Government. It is unfortunately eleven years since I retired from the Bench of the Calcutta Court, but I have no doubt that the Court itself and opinion in Bengal will be disappointed if historical continuity in this respect is not preserved.

I am not in a position to speak of the views of the other High Courts, but I believe I am again on safe ground when I say that general opinion in India is very strongly in favour of administrative control being assigned to the Central Government. You will find confirmation of this in paragraph 108 of the Report of the Central Indian Committee, which was issued towards the end of 1929. The Committee there make some observations on the subject in connection with the importance of preserving the confidence of the people in the High Court.

I suppose there will be in the future an increasing number of Indian judges in the High Courts, and perhaps the Indians themselves may be better judges of the possible dangers that may beset their people than we are. Of course, the reputation of a Court must depend in the large on the quality of the judges who man it, but nevertheless adventitious aids may not be out of place. A cathedral is supported not only by the pillars inside the edifice, but also by the buttresses outside; and my submission is this, that in view of what I believe to be the strong and unanimous opinion of Indians in this matter, the question whether that opinion cannot be conciliated deserves further consideration by those who are responsible for giving to the Government of India Bill its final shape. (Applause.)

Mr. JOSEPH NISSIM : I first want to express our gratitude to Sir Amberson Marten for the extremely thorough manner in which he has dealt with the provisions relating to the judicature in the new Bill. I wish to make an observation on an important point, on which I may say my mind has fluctuated for a very long time. But the decisive factor has been the weighty speech delivered by our Chairman. That has settled in my mind that we should be right if we relieve the Privy Council of something at least of its present heavy burden. The point I wish to make is this: that I think you have to test it all by how it affects the peoples of India, their rights, their liberties, and their property.

So far as their civil rights and their property is concerned, you have got these provisions, with which I am perfectly satisfied, and I think all will be when they probe into it. But so far as the lives and liberties of the peoples of India are concerned, you will find there is nothing in the Bill to help them on to a higher plane. When you refer to the White Paper, you find there a very carefully defined provision, that in cases to be punished with death—not punishable, but punished with death—in cases where the Local Government files an appeal against acquittal, and then it is open to the High Court to decide on facts and law just as if it were the original Court, and in other

cases by special leave, there should be power in the Federal Legislature to clothe the Federal Court on its Supreme Court side with the jurisdiction of a Court of Criminal Appeal.

Our learned Chairman will bear me out when I say that the Privy Council disclaims ever acting as a Court of Criminal Appeal in India. They review criminal administration in cases of a grave miscarriage of justice when something very alarming has happened—perhaps one side has not been heard. I think that this is the opportunity when you can have provision to enable the Federal Legislature to give power to her Federal Court in serious criminal matters: all the more when you consider that nine out of ten criminal cases are decided in India without the help of a jury. There is the sessions judge acting with assessors, and he could and does overrule the opinion of the assessors. There is the risk of communal or race bias.

Moreover, you find that the entire evidence in these cases nine times out of ten is given in the vernacular, and recorded briefly in English by the judge in so far as he is able to understand it or to follow it. In such circumstances as those, to be satisfied throughout British India with no Court of criminal appeal to co-ordinate the work of the High Courts on a matter of penal law which is common to the whole of British India, is, I think, a serious defect.

No doubt it will be said the cost will be great. No doubt it may be said that the work of the Supreme Court or Federal Court should not be added to; but I do think that if you are ever to do anything to standardize the level of criminal administration in India on to the higher level, this is the opportunity, this is the proper time. I know no Federation in the universe where the Federal Court is not empowered to deal with points of criminal law arising on what is known as a writ of error. Whether you look at the United States of America from its earliest constitution, or to a Federal Court such as is set up in Canada, or Australia, or South Africa, I do not know a single Federation which does not empower its Federal Court in certain circumstances to review criminal administration by a writ of error or on a case stated or with leave.

Therefore I say the present position seems to be born of enormous confidence in the Privy Council. But when you hear a plea, such as we have heard today from the Chairman, that the Privy Council might well be relieved of some of its arduous functions; when you know the distaste with which it deals with criminal cases, and the oft-times that it asserts that it is not a Court of criminal jurisdiction, then I say this is the opportunity and the time, and I hope it will not be missed, not in the interests of lawyers, not in the interests of any Court, but in the interests of the 240 millions of people who inhabit British India.

THE CHAIRMAN: I wish to correct a misapprehension. I did not say the Privy Council asked to be relieved of any parts of its existing burden. I only say it will have to be relieved of what seems to me to be its future burden.

MR. J. CAMPBELL KER, M.P.: There are only two points I would like to raise this afternoon. I do not wish to follow the last speaker in a subject on which he knows far more than I do. I just want to say first of all what

a pleasure it was to listen to Sir Amberson Marten again and how it recalls old times at Bombay. I want to refer to the administrative control of the High Court in the Provinces, a very controversial question. Perhaps the reason why the recommendations of the Statutory Commission were departed from by the Joint Select Committee was partly because a new situation had arisen out of the Federation. The Statutory Commission were not in a position to consider a Federated India; and for that reason, and thinking perhaps of the High Courts in the States, as well as in the Provinces, the Joint Select Committee thought it better to leave the High Courts under the jurisdiction of the Provinces.

There is another reason—namely, that the functions of Government are divided into three parts, as we all know: legislative, executive, and judicial. There are being given to the Provinces wide legislative functions and executive functions also, and it would be considered an anomaly if you kept back only the judicial functions, which are also functions of Government. The functions of a Provincial Government would then be divided into two parts, one its own, and the other which would be considered to be under the Federal Government.

Under this Bill the High Court is to have a very great voice in the administration of the subordinate judiciary, and in order to secure co-operation between the High Court and the Government in this matter of the subordinate judiciary, it was considered better that the High Court should be part, as it were, of the Government of the Province and not an outside body.

The other point to which I would like to refer is the question of the District Magistrates and their appointment. It seems to me that on the question of appointing District Magistrates, Sir Amberson said he hoped the Chief Justices would be consulted. Under the Bill as it stands, these appointments will be appointments covered by Section 205 of the Bill, and under that section rules are to be made for the appointments to those posts. I do not know what the rules will contain, but I should imagine the Governor would always consult the Chief Justice in a matter of that kind. These appointments are to be made by the Governor in the exercise of his individual judgment. The Governor has to do two things. He does some things in his discretion, and some in the exercise of his individual judgment. To one like myself, who is not a lawyer, there seems to be no distinction at all between doing a thing in your discretion and doing a thing in your individual judgment. But there is a very fine distinction drawn in the Bill. The Governor does in his discretion things that he need not ask anybody's advice about before he does them; and he does in the exercise of his individual judgment those things which he would normally consult his Ministers about, and after consulting his Ministers he exercises his individual judgment.

Therefore it appears to me that the Governor will have the power of appointing District Magistrates, and I think there can be no doubt that, in practice at least, no Governor would usually make these appointments without consulting the High Court.

MR. VESEY FITZGERALD: I must begin by expressing the gratitude which we all feel to Sir Amberson Marten and to yourself, Mr. Chairman, for your

very thorough review of the situation. I have in my hand the Memorandum from the Calcutta Bar Association and Incorporated Law Society referred to at the end of Sir Amberson's paper. I gather that he had not seen that Report. They object to the Calcutta High Court being put under the Local Government. That objection may be merely a matter of sentiment, but in a Bill of this kind, dealing with the constitution of India, sentiment ought to be considered, and quite apart from sentiment they have also given a substantial administrative objection.

The Calcutta High Court deals with the superior litigation of two Provinces. You cannot put it under two different Governments. Assuming that its administrative control is only under the Government of Bengal, there may well be the same sort of difficulties as Sir Amberson has referred to with regard to the subordinate judiciary in Bombay and Sind. Perhaps the proper cure for that is to establish a separate High Court for Assam, though you will be up against some very serious vested interests if you do so.

To go on with this Calcutta Memorandum, they want to cut down the number of Civilians in the High Court, and they object to the Chief Justiceship being thrown open to Civilians. The first of these points has been amply dealt with in the paper. As for the second, speaking as a retired Civilian, I think we all in the Civil Service have resented the position, which does not arise under the High Courts Act. It is not a matter of law at all; it is merely a matter of administration by which Civilians have been barred from the pukka Chief Justiceships of the High Courts. At the same time I rather doubt whether this was perhaps the best time to bring forward that question, which raises a certain amount of sentimental objection in various parts of India.

The objections which come from the other Provinces have been worded in quite a different way. Nothing could have been handsomer than the terms in which the *Madras Law Journal* and the *Bombay Law Journal* recognized the merits, the legal learning and abilities of Civilian judges. I take it therefore that as far as those Provinces are concerned, the objection is not likely to be persisted in, once it is made clear that there is no intention of any wide departure from present practice. But the objections coming from Bengal have been tinged with that curious mixture of bitterness and distortion which colours so many things from Bengal. Even in this comparatively moderately worded statement of these three Bengal legal associations, personally I do not recognize the facts, or the alleged facts, as bearing any relation to the position in other parts of India. I realize that they are true to some extent in Bengal. They say that, for instance, Indian Civil Service judges are mainly connected with criminal work and acquire little or no experience in civil law, with the exception of probate and insolvency. That may be true of Bengal, but it certainly is a complete misrepresentation of the facts as regards the rest of India. Bengal is probably the only Province in India where a District Judge still has to waste his time on petty insolvency jurisdiction.

As regards the subordinate judiciary, I do not recognize the allegations made in this Memorandum. They bear no connection with the facts as I personally have known them in the Central Provinces and as I believe they

are in most Provinces of India. In the Central Provinces, at any rate, no appointment, transfer or promotion of a district or subordinate judge or munsiff was made except on the direct recommendation of the Judicial Commissioner. The order was drafted in the Judicial Commissioner's office and passed by the Governor as a matter of course. The Bengal procedure may have been the same, but I find it difficult to understand the Memorandum, which seems to come from altogether another world. I think most people, most subordinate judges and District Judges, will prefer the position as it certainly was in the Central Provinces, by which the appointment is made primarily by the chief judicial officer concerned subject to a certain amount of control in the Government—control to be exercised diplomatically and lightly, of course. I have only known two cases in which the Governor of the Central Provinces refused a recommendation made by the High Court. In both cases the action of the Governor was in the interests of judicial independence. So I think that kind of dual control is what is definitely wanted.

The only further comment is that if things are so bad as these people make out in Bengal, the sooner somebody sets about revising the judicial administration, more particularly the method of appointing, training and employing Civilian judges, so as to bring it up to the level of the rest of India, the better.

Sir PHILIP BUCKLAND: I read with the very greatest possible interest before I came the address which Sir Amberson Marten has delivered today, and I am sure we are all very grateful for the very careful summary he has given us of this portion of the Bill. I confess that until I heard your Chairman's observations I was entirely against any idea of a Supreme Court for India, but I understand that, to relieve the Privy Council from the ever-increasing work, this is bound in time to come. Sooner or later I apprehend a Supreme Court of Delhi is therefore necessary, and, if that is so, I should have thought it would have been preferable to proceed and make your Supreme Court of Appeal and to say that you will have jurisdiction in Federal matters.

One reason I should be against this is the difficulty of manning the Court. You may state the matter of broad principle, such as the establishment of a Supreme Court of Appeal either positively or negatively as you like, but when you come to consider whether such a thing should be done, it involves consideration of various small matters, which themselves may sound comparatively trivial, but yet taken together go to the efficiency of that Court when it is established. I refer to such matters as the ages of the judges, their salaries, and how you are going to manage them.

If we begin to think this problem out we shall see it is not going to be an easy one. There will need to be opportunities for promotion to what may be regarded as a superior Court. That possibly might be got over by making the emoluments the same. It also strikes me as highly anomalous to say that a judge in a High Court is no longer fit to work at sixty, but in a Federal Court he may continue to serve at sixty-five. You may say some judges are equal to this, and others certainly are not. Those who have served

throughout their lives in India should be obliged to retire at the earlier age. It is anomalous to say some may retire and some not.

It is rather assumed that the Court of Appeal would be manned by the existing judicial benches. There is no doubt that the very great reverence and respect in which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is held throughout India is because it does not come into contact with those who practise in the Courts in India. If you are going to man this Supreme Court of Appeal from the High Courts, there is no doubt it will be manned by people, by judges, whose foibles and faults, preferences and prejudices are well known to all the individuals who will be practising there, and who have been practising before them hitherto.

There is a story which I saw in print many years ago. Some of you may have seen it. I believe it is authentic. A traveller in some remote part of India came across some villagers engaged in a ceremonial rite. He enquired what they were doing. They said they were worshipping their god. They said: "We do not know much about him, and we have never seen him, but he is a very good god, and his name is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council." I think that very largely represents the attitude of the people of India towards the Privy Council.

One speaker suggested that there should be a right of appeal in criminal matters of this Court. There are quite enough appeals in India in all conscience. Some people say it is one of the curses of litigation, and in my opinion this certainly is a measure which ought not to be introduced.

SIR AMBERSON MARTEN: There is one point in particular I want to touch on, which Sir Philip Buckland has just mentioned—viz., the question of an All-India Criminal Court of Appeal. I hope no one will run away with the idea that at present there is no right of appeal in important criminal matters, particularly from capital sentences. As far as Bombay is concerned, the majority of capital sentences come from the mofussil. Every mofussil capital sentence has to come up to the High Court for confirmation. It comes before a bench of at least two judges, and the evidence is all printed. Why there should be a further appeal I do not understand.

Then, of course, there are a limited quantity of cases, but only in the chartered High Courts, where the High Court Judges, sitting in the exercise of their original jurisdiction, as in the city of Bombay, sit as Sessions Judges. There I follow what Mr. Nissim means. There is no right of appeal there from the judge and jury. The judge may have misdirected the jury. The jury may be wrong. There is, however, a limited power of stating a case to the full Court on a point of law reserved by the judge or on the certificate of the Advocate-General. This corresponds with the former practice in England as regards the Court for the Consideration of Crown Cases Reserved. There I agree that, as indicated in my paper, this power to state a case on a point of law might be extended. But Sessions cases in the city of Bombay are few as compared with criminal cases generally in the Presidency.

It was suggested in the memorandum, if I understood it rightly, of Mr. Sabonadière (which was read by Sir James MacKenna), that Calcutta and Bombay juries are exempt from criticism in criminal cases as compared with

judges in the mofussil. Juries have that privilege just as in England. And since the war—at any rate, in the Province of Bombay—the jury system has been extended to the mofussil as well.

I see friends in the audience like Mr. Ker, a former private secretary to the Governor and a great help to the High Court. Also Mr. Montgomerie, a former secretary of the Home Department, who, to my great disappointment, was transferred to other work immediately I was appointed Chief Justice. Both these experienced officers will remember that it was often a question for consideration whether we could prudently extend the jury system to other towns. And naturally the High Court obtained the views on this point of the Sessions Judges in the various districts. So the city of Bombay does not nowadays stand alone as regards juries in criminal cases.

Mr. Sabonadière also wants to establish some other Court in Bombay. I confess I did not quite follow that. I think his proposition must be elaborated. But if the suggestion is to found a new Criminal and Civil Court of Appeal midway between the High Court on the one hand, and either the Small Causes Civil Court or the Presidency Magistrates Criminal Court on the other hand, then I should not favour it.

Sir Thomas Richardson naturally drew attention to that important point as to whether a High Court is to be under the Local Government or the Central Government for administrative matters. The High Court of Calcutta, with its special history and traditions, has always been under the Central Government. Bombay and other High Courts have always been under their Local Government. And though I have been tempted at times to think it would be preferable to be under the Central Government, I prefer on the whole, as indicated in my paper, to rely on one's own Government. Differences of opinion no doubt may arise. For instance, the Chief Justice may want more judges, and the Bombay Government has not always been able to give them. But my conclusion was that I would rather deal with my own officers in my own Province. They always treated me with great fairness and courtesy. They knew the local situation, an advantage which officers in a Central Government coming from different Provinces might not have. Moreover, administration by a Central Government would almost inevitably result in a heavy triangular correspondence between the Central Government, the Provincial Government, and the High Court. The existing correspondence is heavy enough without any addition.

Sir JAMES MACKENNA: In the absence of Sir Malcolm Seton, the Chairman of Council, it falls to me to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir George Lowndes and Sir Amberson Marten for the respective parts they have played this afternoon. There is no necessity to sing the praises of these two distinguished legal luminaries.

I have always had a great respect for the law. It goes back to my early childhood when I was a small boy and spent my holidays with my grandparents. The parish minister used to pray every Sunday for "the magistracy, especially the magistrates of this locality; may they be a terror to evil-doers, but a praise and protection to them that do well." The only magistrate in the locality was my grandfather, who was a Justice of the Peace. As he

stood 6 feet 5 inches and weighed some twenty stone, we may infer that this prayer was amply answered. (Laughter.)

In point of fact there is nothing that touches the people of India more than the impartial administration of the law, for which they have a most profound respect, and we may, I think, rest assured that in the future, as in the past, the magistracy will continue to be “a terror to evil-doers and a praise and protection to them that do well.”

I would ask you to thank Sir George Lowndes and Sir Amberson Marten very much for coming here today and for giving us such a clear exposition of the Judicature under the Indian Constitution Bill. (Applause.)

THE ESSENTIALS FOR A FEDERAL INDIA

BY SIR ROBERT HOLLAND, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O.

(Judicial Adviser to the Siamese Government.)

DURING the past century and a half Great Britain, regarding her rule in India as a trust to be exercised on behalf of the people of India, has steadily pursued the policy of training Indians to govern and protect themselves, has admitted Indians to every branch of the administration, and has fostered the growth of self-governing institutions. But nevertheless, judging by outward signs, the methods employed appeared to be either administratively unsound or ill-adjusted to growing popular needs, because in post-war India the forces of disorder, which are always a latent menace to settled government, however good it may be, began to rear themselves on high. Sparks of fire were kindled at many places separated from one another by thousands of miles, from Peshawar in the north-west to Madras in the south-east. The demonstrations were by no means always anti-British, nor even always anti-Government. Old racial, religious and caste and social hatreds flared up, Hindus against Muslims, Untouchables against Brahmins, Burmans against Tamils, factory and mill hands and railway men against their employers, tenants against landlords at all the well-known friction points which generate heat when the machinery of government falters.

In order to appreciate the reason for this state of affairs, it is necessary to comprehend four things. The first is that nearly one-half of the area of India (excluding Burma) is not British territory. Hundreds of States and estates, some veritable kingdoms, retained their separate existence and identity after the boundaries of British rule had been settled, but all sooner or later rendered allegiance to the British Crown as Paramount Power. The British Government, under treaties and engagements, and through the slow development of custom and usage, has undertaken the duty of preserving peace and good order throughout India, of protecting the States against foreign foes or domestic anarchy, of preserving the dynasties of the Rulers, and of rendering them active support in the conduct of their administrations, so long as they are loyal to the Crown and faithful in the fulfilment of their obligations. The States have been drawn closer and closer to British India in economic and administrative ties, but the Princes and Rulers, both great and small, hold fast to their special relationship with the British Crown, and some years ago they asked for and obtained an assurance that they should not be transferred without their own

agreement to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to an India legislature. The fact that the States adjoin and are interlaced with British territory must seriously handicap the constitution builder for British India; especially as the scheme adopted in the latter is democratic, involving responsibility to an elected Assembly, while in the former benevolent monarchy is firmly established, and is furthermore buttressed by the British Government.

Secondly, when the two centuries of Muhammadan domination in India ended, there was left, not merely a state of political chaos, such as might be expected as the result of any empire's dissolution, but a formidable and long-enduring obstacle to the unification of India in the shape of many millions of Muslims (now 70 millions), not inhabiting one compact area, but scattered everywhere throughout the length and breadth of India, living and working with Hindus in every walk of life, in city, town, and village, yet separated from them by an impassable gulf of religion.

Under the Moghal Empire, Muslims held most of the responsible and lucrative posts, both in the army and in the civil administration, because they were not only the political but the intellectual power in India. Under British rule the Moghal system was carried on for about seventy years, but then, it must be realised, the very foundations of the administration were changed by the decision that English was to be the official language and that the doors of the public services were to be thrown open to Indians. Muslims, who despised secular education, soon found that Hindus, who had been their subjects and slaves, were swarming into Government service and assuming dominance over them. This created great bitterness of feeling among Muslims, but it was at first directed not so much against Hindus as against the British, and in fact it was one of the causes of the Indian Mutiny. After the Mutiny, Muslims began gallantly to make up for lost time, and their educational institutions eventually provided admirable candidates for every branch of the public service.

But educated Muslims perceived that the British regarded their rule in India as a trust, and that, since they had introduced Western political ideas and had set up the goal of democratic government, they would inevitably resign the reins to Indians in time. They became desperately afraid that the Hindus, with their larger population, greater wealth, and stronger political organization, would then capture all political power. Communal tension first manifested itself in rivalry for appointments, but mob passions were then aroused and fanaticism was inflamed and exploited for selfish ends. During recent years the tension has steadily grown, and many grave outbreaks of violence and bloodshed have occurred. Muslims have secured various pledges and assurances

from the British Government that their rights and interests will be protected under any new system of government, but they are still nervous and apprehensive.

The Hindus likewise fear that, unless they can predominate, they will be enslaved; that their religious practices will be interfered with, their sons barred from the public service, and their culture suppressed. They are convinced that British rule must give place to something new, and they are manœuvring for position with a view to the struggle for power. They are spurred on, partly by pride in their religion, their culture, and their splendid past, and partly by fear of what may happen if Muslims succeed in gaining the upper hand. They pin their hopes to their superiority in numbers, believing that a majority of votes will at least entrench their community in security to begin with, even if it does not assure domination.

Other communal rivalries also smouldered and threatened to break into flame wherever the special interests of Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indian and European communities seemed to be in jeopardy, and the problem was complicated by dissensions within the ranks of Hinduism and by the conflicting demands of various political parties. India is indeed a land of minorities.

Thirdly, in India's own interest, any new Constitution must ensure the defence of India's vulnerable frontier in the north-west, the financial stability of the country, and security of tenure for the British element, which must needs be retained in the administration during the transitional period until Indians are able to assume entire responsibility for local affairs.

It is hardly necessary to explain that, for many years to come, the presence of British troops and British officers serving in Indian regiments will be essential if the gateway of the North-West is to be safely held. It would be impossible to discuss the complicated question of finance within the limits of this paper, but the important points to remember are (1) that the success or failure of constitutional reform will depend largely on the extent to which those who have to conduct the experiment are provided with adequate revenues, and (2) that financial responsibility will not be developed, nor will there be willingness to vote the necessary taxes, unless there are constitutional safeguards to ensure that the proceeds cannot be withheld or diverted to other purposes.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the absolute need for the temporary continuance of a British element in the "security" services in India, but it may be noted that British recruitment has been greatly reduced in the past few years, so that by 1939 about half the superior posts will be manned by Indians, and the inferior posts are already in their hands.

Fourthly, India is a vital part of the British Empire. If the

defence of India were to fail on the North-West Frontier, the Empire would be involved because it is an international boundary of the highest importance, from the military point of view, for the whole Empire. The effective defence of India is, therefore, a matter in which other parts of Greater Britain are directly interested. Imperial foreign policy, Empire communications, Empire trade, and the general position of Britain in the East might be seriously endangered by a successful invasion of India from the north-west.

Similarly, it is of high importance that India should not, in the future, discriminate, either administratively or by legislation, against British commercial interests or against British imports into India, or generally against the basic rights of any peoples who are members of the British comity of nations. It is also essential that India should not, by the conduct of her relations with foreign powers, embroil the Empire in international disputes.

The Report of the Joint Select Committee and the resulting Bill have been framed with the fullest realization of the four difficulties discussed above. Within the settled lines of advance every possible effort has been made to guard against the particular dangers involved. The Bill will certainly be passed, and in all probability without substantial modification. The mists of doubt and dispute are clearing, as the edifice takes visible shape. No honest person will regret that a definite step forward is now to be taken. The scheme has been on the anvil for seven years, the best brains in India and England have been employed in considering it, and the time has come for Parliament to decide. Risks there are, no doubt, but with empires, as with individuals, it is no use being afraid of taking risks, especially when, as in the present case, the only choice is between risks. Delay would mean the continuance of communal dissensions and revolutionary agitation, growing ever more and more bitter. We have preached English institutions for 150 years; our national credit is involved, and we must honour the bill.

Let us consider what the risks are. The first is that the great political parties in India, abhorring the whole scheme, will refuse to work it. Recent summaries from India do not bear this out. After the publication of the Report the Indian Press allowed it to be understood that a wave of hysterical denunciation had swept over India. In spite of all the shouting and expressions of disappointment regarding the existence of so many safeguards and the absence of a definite affirmation in the Bill or a preamble of Dominion Status as the goal to be pursued, we may accept the considered judgment of the special correspondent of *The Times* that there are indications that sober Indian opinion is in favour of acceptance of the Constitution for what it is worth, to the end

that it may be expanded as opportunity presents itself in the future. The country is ready for the reforms, and economic conditions are not likely to be such as to obstruct them. The firmness of the present Government of India in the matter of seditious agitation has re-established to a great extent Indians' belief in British justice, and has renewed their confidence in the authority of the administration. Officials in India who are in the best position to estimate the trend of public feeling are convinced that the more important parties will co-operate when it comes to the point, and they are no doubt right. Even Congress must realize that the Act will certainly be passed, that one chapter of agitation is closed, and that they must play their hand constitutionally in the new game.

The next risk is that, if a Federal Government comes into being with three important Departments "reserved" from the Legislature's control, it will bear within it the seeds of its own disruption, and will fail to secure for the faded Central Executive the much-needed accession of strength. The argument is that the present Central Executive is weak because it has been worn down in contact with an irresponsible Assembly, eager, not to support the administration, but to force the pace of constitutional advance; that the Federal Assembly would similarly have a great opportunity of obstructing in matters in which their power to annoy was divorced from responsibility for the consequences of the annoyance; that the Assembly would be, in the words which Lord Wolmer used in the House of Commons, a sounding board for Indian Nationalism, proclaiming to the world the injustice of England's treatment of India; and, finally, that the lessons of history show that, if there is an elective Legislature, the Executive must, in all essentials, work in harmony with it. The Simon Commission, in part 165 of vol. ii. of its Report, said :

"First, we lay down without hesitation the proposition that dyarchy at the centre, or any system of divided responsibility resembling dyarchy, is quite impossible. Unity in the Central Executive must be preserved at all costs."

Is it not courting disaster to expel dyarchy with a flourish of trumpets from the Provinces, and usher it in again at the Centre?

It must be remembered, however, that when the Simon Report was written, the entry of the States into a Federation did not seem to be within the range of practical politics. Sir John Simon, in his speech in the House of Commons, in effect, said that he still rejects the idea of responsibility at the centre of British India for British India alone, and the Committee's Report takes the same view. The inclusion of the States in an All-India Federation alters the whole nature of the problem. The basis of the Central Government's responsibility will be widened because it will cover

Imperial subjects which could never come within the purview of a Legislature representing British India alone, and the forces which make for gravity and statesmanship in the Central Legislature will be materially strengthened by the admission of delegates from the States. The States will not come in unless there is some measure of responsibility at the Centre, and their entry makes it possible to take this much-needed step forward.

Great Britain has never at any time promised to give India a form of Government responsible in every respect to the democracy of India. As has been said above, since India is a vital part of the British Empire, there are certain departments of the Central Administration for the control of which the democracy of British India cannot be wholly responsible. They must be conducted by the Governor-General in his responsibility to the British Parliament, and although the Federal machinery will enable Indian needs and interests to receive most careful and sympathetic consideration in matters relating to defence, foreign policy, and ecclesiastical affairs, it is impossible to foretell the moment when Parliament will be able to hand over the whole, or even a part, of its responsibility in this respect to the Federal Legislature. This consideration, which is of immense importance, although British Indians appear to disregard it, perhaps accounts for the much criticized omission from the Report of any mention of Dominion Status as India's eventual goal, and of any preamble to that effect in the Bill. The matter has been discussed so fully that it need not detain us here.

There is undoubtedly a risk of trouble in the conjunction of Provincial Autonomy with a Federal Government which is only partly responsible to the Legislature, and it may be that the Central Executive will not secure the desired increase of strength, but the risk has got to be taken because there is no workable alternative. It is no use being afraid of political anomalies when we are conducting an entirely new constitutional experiment on lines which have no parallel in past history. Moreover, while the personal powers and authority of the Governor-General will be greatly strengthened under the new Constitution, the scope of the Assembly's intervention in Provincial affairs will be materially limited by the fact of the Provinces' autonomy. From the Provincial point of view, the strength of the Central Executive will no longer be a matter of such vital importance as at present, because the Provincial power will be the one that bulks large in people's eyes. The Provinces, within the sphere of their autonomy, will be in some respects upon a similar footing, politically, to the States, with the exception that, while the Governor derives his authority from the Crown and must share it, constitutionally, with the Legislature, the Prince's right to rule has descended to

him from his ancestors, and is conditioned only by the terms of his relationship with the Crown, unless he chooses to call a Constitution into being. In the States, communal and religious outbreaks rarely occur, because it is known that the Ruler will hold the balance even. There is good ground for hope that a similar happy state of things will be born in the Provinces under autonomy.

The third risk is that the States may not, after all, accede in sufficient numbers to enable the All-India Federation to be started in the near future, and that Provincial Autonomy will thus be left dependent on a totally irresponsible Central Government. Space will not permit of detailed examination of the delicate position of the Princes, *vis-à-vis* Federation, and it would be futile to speculate whether or no the required number will soon accede. It is sufficient to say that the Rulers of the States are the ablest and most experienced statesmen in India; they are keeping their own counsel, and they will not take a decision individually to enter a Federation until they are convinced that this step will be in the best interests of the Empire and of India as a whole, and that it will not imperil their sovereign rights and the interests of their States and peoples. They are particularly anxious as to the representation to be accorded to the States in the Federal Legislature; as to the apportionment of seats between the States; as to the settlement of special financial problems to which they have drawn attention; and as to the nature of the powers which they will be expected to cede to the Federal Government. They would like to secure some interpretation and definition of the Crown's paramount power of intervention to be exercised in matters outside the Federal field, and they desire, in particular, that some system may be devised whereby disputes arising in this field may be referred for settlement to an impartial tribunal. Such a tribunal would in effect be provided if the Committee's proposal as to the advisory jurisdiction of the Federal Court is adopted.

But supposing that the Princes hang back, is there any real risk of failure of the Constitution? The framers of the Report have realized that the establishment of Provincial Autonomy is likely to precede in time the inauguration of Federation, and they have therefore outlined certain transitory provisions. They contemplate that, during the interim, the Indian Legislature, constituted as at present, will continue in existence, but that all the Departments of the present Government (though deprived, of course, of much of their present range of authority in the Provinces) will be administered by the Governor-General, with the assistance of counsellors responsible to himself, as though they were reserved Departments under the Federation scheme.

The "transitory" proposals are of great importance, and it is somewhat surprising that they did not attract more attention during the parliamentary debates. If they are approved, the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy will become possible without danger of dislocating the machinery of the Central Government, and a useful breathing space will be gained, during which both Parliament and the Indian Princes will be able to note the results achieved by the transfer of law and order in the Provinces to responsible Ministers. From a practical point of view, this is the really momentous part of the change-over in the Provinces.

The fourth risk is that it may prove impossible for the Governor-General to play the part assigned to him under the new Constitution, because it may form a burden too great for any one man to bear, and because it will impose on him duties which it is undesirable that the Representative of the King should be called on to perform. Lord Zetland drew attention to this point in a letter which he wrote to *The Times* in March, 1933. It is true that, in his capacity as administrative head of the three "reserved" Departments, the Governor-General will occupy a position of great loneliness and isolation, since the three counsellors and the financial adviser, who are to assist his decisions, will not share his responsibility. In the exercise of his special powers he will have to grapple with new and arduous labours, since the Legislature will dislike the safeguards and will try to whittle them down by concentrated attacks. Indian opinion would not object to safeguards to be exercised, in the interests of India, by the head of the Government who is solely responsible to the will of the Indian people, but they will be galled by the thought that the Governor-General will be empowered to act in many matters at the bidding of the British Government, in disregard of the advice of his own Ministers.

Again, the separate set of duties and responsibilities which will attach to the Governor-General in relation to the States will undoubtedly be very burdensome, and may prove embarrassing to him as head of the Federal Government. The affairs of the States are likely to make increasing demands on his time and attention, while their interests may come into sharp conflict with those of the Central and Provincial Governments. Quite apart from the weight of the burden, will it be humanly possible for one man to maintain sufficient impartiality of mind to enable him to hold even the balance between his duties on the one hand as wielder of the paramount power, and on the other as head of the Federal Government?

The answer is that the risk has got to be taken, and in any case the form of the Constitution is not going to be stereotyped by the Act for all time. Experience may show that the Governor-

General's two offices cannot be combined in a single person, and in that case Parliament will have to consider the advisability of separating them and appointing a separate representative of the Crown in relation with the States.

The fifth risk is that representative institutions and responsible Government may fail in India, because the mainspring of the demand for them is at present the desire to get rid of foreign control, and not an inspiration drawn by India from her own traditions. Will not India, in the end, find that something in the nature of direct government, responsive to popular needs, as in the States, will suit her better than the parliamentary system, which is calculated to undermine caste and the whole fabric of Hinduism? Will not Provincial Autonomy have a centrifugal effect, and prevent the achievement of any uniformity to be imposed from the Centre? Is there any hope that a true nationalistic spirit can be born from the diversities of peoples, languages and creeds in India?

Time alone can provide the answers to these questions. The truth is that constitutional government, on a purely representative basis, can never succeed in India so long as the parties and races concerned pursue their own interests in an uncompromising and self-assertive spirit. Until they are welded together by a compelling desire for unity, overriding all other passions, India—a nation—cannot be brought to birth. But it is possible that Provincial Autonomy will have a quenching effect on Communalism. Meanwhile the experiment will go on.

THE INDIAN REPORT AND CONSTITUTION BILL

BY STANLEY RICE.

THE votes in both the Houses of Parliament on the Report of the Joint Select Committee, and in the Commons on the second reading of the resulting Bill, were no doubt influenced by cross-currents—by fear of the Socialists and their sinister programme, by loyalty to party, by a self-styled patriotism, and by a prudence in face of the unknown. When, however, allowance is made for these cross-currents, the weight of authority, as well as of numbers, was undoubtedly on the side of the Government. The Press received the Report with favour; those newspapers which supported the Government acclaimed it as a great State paper, those who opposed were bound to admit that there was something to answer. In short, no opponent who had made up his mind was convinced, but all agreed that the work was well done.

In India, after the first natural outburst of indignation regarding the Report, opinion hardened into hostility with reservations. The Congress party, who aimed at the impossible, were of course loudest, not so much in criticism as in rejection of the terms; blinded by their own enthusiasms, they could not, or would not, see that but for their own intransigence the terms might have been better. The Liberal Party were disappointed that the self-government for which they had hoped and worked had been so fenced round with reservations that it seemed to them, on paper at least, to be little more than a shadow.

It is not to be wondered at that they are sceptical. Real power is concentrated in the hands of the ultimate authority, and in appearance it may seem that that ultimate authority is the Viceroy or the Governor, as the case may be. India has had experience of the unreality of debates and resolutions when the arguments can be brushed aside and the decisions ignored by the irresponsible executive. That is what happened to the Morley-Minto Reforms, and that, too, is what happened under the Act of 1919. It can therefore be argued, not without plausibility, that that will also happen again under the Act of 1935.

For all that, the appearance is deceptive. The Morley-Minto Reforms did not, and hardly pretended to, transfer any real power. They gave an opportunity of practice and experience in parliamentary debate, and possibly an added, though not very obvious, weight to Indian opinion. Inconvenient resolutions were

ignored, and inconvenient motions were disallowed. In this sense there was no overriding because there was nothing to override. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms did give a measure of real power. The Viceroy's power of certification was seldom used, and though resolutions were sometimes rejected with the help of the official *bloc*, and others were carried as a tactical device for shifting the responsibility on to the Viceroy, the Assembly became for the first time something more than a debating society. Above all, the scheme introduced responsible Ministers to whom were entrusted a great many important departments, including local self-government, education and health, all vitally affecting the life of the masses.

The proposals of the Bill for the Better Government of India go much further, and it is because they do involve the transfer of real power and not the shadow of it that there has been so much opposition to them. English opponents, hitherto relatively apathetic, have realized that this time it is proposed to take the plunge, inevitable some day but, as they argue, not yet. For it is now proposed not only to transfer the reserved Provincial subjects to popular control, but to establish central responsibility except in defence, foreign affairs, and the relatively minor subject of ecclesiastical matters. The official *bloc* will disappear and Ministers, with exceptions which will be discussed in a few moments, will be free. It seems to an English observer absurd to say that such a scheme does not give a very large measure of real power. You might as well say that a lion in its cage has the same freedom as a dog which runs loose on the hills, because the dog's companion carries a leash in his hand.

On the other hand, English opponents say that the scheme goes much too far. It is a reckless gambling with the lives of the people, who know nothing about and care nothing for the vote—an attempt to introduce democracy which has never succeeded in Eastern countries such as Turkey or Egypt or China. Now it is a curious fact that the findings of the Lee Commission in 1924 passed almost without criticism; no storm was raised comparable to the tempest which has raged about these reforms. Yet that Commission proposed a large measure of Indianization in the services, and everyone knows that it is not the Government either in the Centre or in the Provinces that affects the life of the people nearly so much as the executive. For consider for a moment what the life of the people is. As boys and girls they go to school, but education is already a transferred subject; as human beings they need health, but medical and sanitary departments are in the hands of Indian Ministers. As farmers they want light taxation and plenty of water; as citizens they require protection; and as followers of a faith religious toleration. Roads and railways con-

tribute to the markets upon which they depend for their livelihood, and for the rest they live their own quiet lives with their little quarrels and their little joys, their marriages, their funerals and their festivities.

In most of those matters in which the Government impinges upon their lives it is not the Central nor even the Provincial Government that matters, but the local officials, and that is why Lord Curzon said that the real ruler of India was the district officer. In all, or nearly all, the avocations of daily life it is the district magistrate, the policeman, the tahsildar, the engineer, and their fellows that really count, and in very many cases these are already Indians. The district officer is no doubt bound by rules, regulations, and orders of the Government, and these do affect taxation and the control of and charge for water, the care of roads and railways, and the protection of person and property. It would be foolish to present a picture which suggests that the ordinary peasant would get on well enough if there were no Government but the local officer and no control from anyone but the district magistrate. But it is hardly less foolish to suggest that if this control be given to Indians the whole house will go up in flames and the structure come crashing down in ruins, under which the "helpless millions" will be buried. Lip service is paid to the ability of some Indians, but there is always a reservation that, if they had their way, their natural perverseness would show itself in the oppression of the people. Anyone who has worked entirely with Indians will indignantly repudiate any such suggestion.

Nor is it fair to cite as examples of democratic failure such countries as Turkey and China and Egypt. The failure of democracy is not governed by geography. It is due to a too violent swing from autocracy into its opposite, with the natural result that unfamiliarity and inexperience combine to mishandle popular institutions. India, though she has not herself practised democracy since very early pre-Mussulman times, has for many years been familiar with the idea of responsibility to popular representation. She has long been accustomed to exercise the vote both for municipal and for provincial legislative councils. If local self-government has too often fallen short of the required standard, that is mainly because her comparatively small towns have not thrown up men of the right calibre—a position that is not unknown in England. I do not wish, however, to press an apologia too far. It is sufficient to show that India does not stand at this crisis of her history where Turkey and China did when they rashly embarked on democracy.

What is the alternative to the scheme? It may be said at once that the Labour proposals to the Joint Select Committee, however

agreeable to Indian ideas, never had the slightest chance of acceptance either by Parliament or by the country. The Conservative minority put forward a scheme of provincial autonomy (but one, unlike that of the Simon Report, without transfer of law and order) and an irresponsible Centre, with the addition of an advisory council for Greater India. The weakness of the minority scheme lies in that word "advisory." You can force an advisory scheme (hazardously) upon a reluctant British India, but you cannot force it upon the Princes, and without their consent the majestic structure of the Council of Greater India must fall to the ground. An advisory council, forsooth! It is no use fooling India with specious phrases. When it is said that the Council "would be advisory, but it would be none the less weighty," it does not require any great intellect to see at once that this is not true, unless we are to ascribe the inaccuracy to a turn of phrase. India has had too much experience of "advisory powers" to be caught once more.

With characteristically English devotion to the practical, the Minority, while trying to meet the grievance of the Princes that they have no voice in the direction of policy, entirely ignores that other and more spiritual aspiration to make an effective contribution towards national unity. The Princes are not less patriotic than other Indians and they are prepared to make sacrifices, but they are surely right in considering first their own States and their own subjects, and if Federation itself cannot be had on terms which will satisfy them, they cannot be blamed if they refuse it. Advisory councils lead nowhere; it will be surprising, should it ever come to the test, if the Princes agree that this scheme "constitutes a long step in the direction of Federation." It is far more likely to make them abandon the whole idea in disgust.

"Responsibility with safeguards" is the formula, and controversy has raged as much over the safeguards as over the responsibility. In England it is declared roundly that the safeguards are so many "scraps of paper" to be blown away by the slightest puff of popular resistance. In India they are regarded as so many fetters shackling the free exercise of popular power, as turning the present semi-popular Government into a naked dictatorship in which the sham democracy is given a gilded toy to play with while all real power is vested in the Viceroy and the Governors. Both these views are extreme. The Conservative minority rely on the analogy of Ireland, but, as the Select Committee have pointed out, analogies are dangerous and it is wiser to look to the conditions of India herself and to recent history rather than to analogies elsewhere where conditions are not the same, and which, therefore, give rise to a barren controversy

without conclusion. Now the principal safeguard in the Act of 1919 was the power reserved to the Viceroy of intervention in certain specified cases—in technical terminology, of certification. This power was not meant to be, and was not, in fact, used except very sparingly, but the fact that it was used at all shows that it was a power in being and was not swept away by the breath of popular opinion. What good reason is there to suppose that the new safeguards, if used sparingly and with discrimination, will not be as effective?

Nor does Indian dissatisfaction seem to rest upon any firmer ground. The long fight which the Congress has made has not been wholly without results; but one of the more sinister effects of it has been to harden British opinion against Indian aspirations, or, if that is perhaps too harsh an expression, to create a distrust of Indian capacity, fostered by the imperfect news supplied by a large part of the British Press. It is not too much to say that to the excesses of the Congress party, always represented as the most powerful as well as the best organized, is due the strenuous opposition of the India Defence League to the proposals of the White Paper. One cannot but sympathize with the Indian attitude towards the safeguards. The aspiration of all Indians, of whatever complexion, does not fall short of Dominion Status. A scheme which at so many points seems to reserve power to the Governor-General or the Provincial Governor to override the Assemblies does fall very far short of Dominion Status and does leave the impression of mistrust in spite of soft words and well-turned phrases, in spite of arguments that they are not to be construed as all Indians will construe them, and of suggestions that they are only the statutory expression of invisible traditions inherent in the British Constitution.

Apart from the suspicion which the wild men of the Congress have created, and apart from analogies drawn from experiments in Europe where parliamentary usage is new, there surely must in ordinary prudence be some reserve of power in the heads of a State where the people have never until some fifteen years ago known what real responsibility in the greater affairs of State means. If even the ruler of an advanced Indian State hesitates to put power into the hands of inexperienced legislators, not for fear of a diminution of his own authority, but because of that very inexperience, all the more is it prudent to create a reserve of power when the destinies of India are to be entrusted to unknown hands. The art of government is an art in which an apprenticeship must be served; because the terminology of it is open to any educated person and because any "man in the street" can have what he calls an opinion upon it, it is supposed that anyone can administer or legislate, whereas the doctor or the chemist requires

a long technical training, and even the business man must be educated in business principles. It is a truism—but a truism that in practice is seldom recognized—that to act and to advise are two very different things. We shall do well to remember by what painful steps the British administration in India was built up, what enormous strides India has made during the last quarter of a century.

It is surely not too much to ask that Indians shall, now that they have for the first time a real opportunity, prove themselves as capable as their friends in England believe them to be but cannot on historical evidence show that they are. They have the opportunity as never before of showing that the safeguards can safely be left, like unconsidered books on a library shelf, to accumulate the dust of years of inattention, if indeed they are not, like the scaffolding of a house, removed altogether, when it is seen that they are no longer required. This to us who believe in India and the Indians is but a transitory period of probation. Although the proposals do not by any means represent the Indian ideal, that ideal is still present, and except for defence and foreign relations, which India is admittedly not ready to take over, there seems no good reason why the ideal should not be realized in the lifetime of the relatively young.

It is held to be a grievance that the suggestions of the British Indian delegation to the Joint Select Committee have been entirely set aside. It is one thing to assist in hearing the evidence and quite another to help to write the final judgment. Indians believe that they have learned enough to be able to carry on the administration on the lines on which it has developed, and that the country will be better governed by those who best understand the masses and in whose hands religious and social reform admittedly rests. The Englishman requires to be convinced of this claim by actual demonstration, and therefore tries to envisage a state of things which is possible though it may never come to pass and to provide against it. The Indian is spurred on by confidence in the future; the Englishman is restrained by fear of the unknown.

That is at bottom the difference which has given rise to the hostility in India towards the Report and the Bill, and it will be seen at once that (except for the maintenance of the British connection which the irreconcilables abhor) the difference is one of time alone. The Indian is apt to forget that while they have been striving after Dominion Status, the Dominions themselves have not been standing still. The situation is not unlike a race in which the Dominions have received a long start and India is the scratch runner; while she has been making up leeway, the others have been running on, and though the gap is very much smaller

it is not yet closed. There is indeed a clash of psychologies and a mutual misunderstanding. The Englishman, looking only to the substance of the Report and secure in the knowledge that Dominion Status has been declared by the highest authorities to be the ultimate goal, sees no object in making one more declaration in the Bill to the same effect. The Indian, who by genius and perhaps by training, is more inclined to attach importance to the written word, gives a sinister significance to the omission, which has not been entirely removed by the categorical confirmation of past pledges by Sir Samuel Hoare when moving the second reading of the Bill.

What then are these safeguards to which so much attention has been directed? For clarity it is preferable to mention only the more important. These are: (a) The prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the country; (b) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities; (c) the securing to the members of the Public Services of any rights provided for them by the Constitution; and (d) the prevention of commercial discrimination. To these must be added the special powers reserved in the sphere of law and order, and in the case of the Governor-General the safeguarding of the financial credit and stability of the Federation. Now these safeguards may perhaps be compared to the curb on an ordinarily quiet horse; it is hardly ever required and the reins will usually hang loose in the hands of a reasonable rider, but if something unusual happens—if, for example, the horse should take fright—the power is there in reserve, the complete absence of which might easily lead to disaster.

The peace and tranquillity of a Province or, in the case of the Governor-General, of all India are beyond the control of anyone, as they are in all countries, in the sense that no country can prevent sudden outbursts of passion, as we have only too good reason to observe in Europe. The question of minorities is, if not peculiar to, at least prominent in India, where the antagonisms of Mussulman and Hindu, looked upon as communities and not as the comparatively small families of their intellectual leaders, are so notorious that to the timid, or, if you will, the prudent, they have been a prominent obstacle in the way of advance towards self-government.

Commercial discrimination against British goods is, in the sense in which it is used by the Select Committee, purely vindictive; it would never be employed by any save fanatics blinded to the interests of their own country by political passion and by its offspring—racial hatred. For this kind of vindictive discrimination is a two-edged weapon—a boomerang which might injure the thrower as much as, or more than, the intended victim. The

grower of industrial crops depends for his prosperity upon the export of them, and India has (with one or two possible exceptions) no monopoly. It is perfectly possible to retaliate, and this is a fear which is always present whenever a commercial agreement is negotiated. Nor is retaliation by Government the only weapon. No Government can force a firm to obtain its raw material from any given market. And, in addition to all this, India, with her growing needs, is not industrially self-sufficient. To impose vindictive tariffs would therefore be incalculably to upset the economic equilibrium in a manner that might react disastrously upon the ryot, and most unfortunately upon the general consumer; it would in the end bring far more trouble upon India than upon Britain, though possibly not upon the individual.

This, no doubt, is clear enough to all sober Indians; we might never have heard of this particular safeguard had it not been for the vociferous outcries of fanatics, who, though they may be politicians, have no claim to be called statesmen. In this case, as in the case of minorities, Indians have it in their hands to prove, as I believe they will prove, that not only are the safeguards not needed, but that they were never required at all. If they betray a mistrust of Indian capacity, and not simply prudence in face of the unknown, are they not in some sort proof also, as Sir T. B. Saprú has said, of a mutual distrust in India itself?

With regard to the Public Services, the phrasing of the Report is not quite happy. After pointing out that security of tenure and of rights is essential, the Select Committee go on :

“ This does not imply any doubt or suspicion as to the treatment which they are likely to receive under the new Constitution; but, since in India the whole machinery of government depends so greatly on the efficiency and contentment of the Public Services as a whole, especially in a period of transition, it is a matter in which no room should be left for doubt.”

If there is no doubt implied, there is already no room for doubt, and the succeeding analogy of insurance against fire suggests that the Select Committee had some doubt, though a very remote one. For no one would insure against fire at all if there were not even a remote possibility of fire. The next paragraph does something to explain this rather obscure passage, but, being in a different context, a false impression may be created. I conceive that what was in the minds of the Select Committee was really two different kinds of doubt. They themselves had no doubts, but they could not be answerable for reactions upon the minds of potential candidates, and as long as these felt diffidence in a hitherto untried Government, so long would the cadre of the Services tend to fall below the required standard. For “ we are convinced that

India for a long time to come will not be able to dispense with a strong British element in the Services," and, indeed, until the limits laid down by the Lee Commission have been reached, it is not likely that there will be any expansion of them. What the Committee are really insuring against is not the possible incapacity of Indians, but the possible impressions of young men anxious for an Indian career.

It is obviously in the best interests of India that the standard should be maintained, and it is not in the power of either the British or the Indian Government to prevent impressions which others may have. If, then, it is conceded that a strong British element is required for some time to come, and if it be in the interests of India, as surely it is, that Britons now in the Service who have gained experience in India should not be driven away by their own apprehensions, there must be some safeguards of the kind proposed. But it cannot be denied that this reservation of authority is to that extent a diminution of full self-government. For this is a definite withdrawal of power and is operative whatever be the conduct of Indians. It differs from most, if not all, the others, inasmuch as they are merely held in reserve to guard against contingencies that may not, and very likely will not, happen.

Finally, there is the much canvassed question of law and order. The Select Committee has in more than one place pointed out how desirable it is to get rid of dyarchy. In paragraph 17 they say:

"Their [men's] sense of responsibility must be enormously weakened if the Government functions in watertight compartments partitioned off by the clauses of a Constitution. Hence the recommendation of the Statutory Commission, which we endorse, that the dyarchic system should be abolished and that Provincial Ministers should be made generally responsible over the whole field of government. . . . The truth is that in any Constitution, and above all in a Federal Constitution, there must be a division of responsibility at some point, and at that point there will always be a danger of friction."

They reject the proposal to reserve law and order and to deny responsibility at the Centre, on the ground that while this eliminates dyarchy at the Centre it perpetuates it in the Provinces. The objective of the elimination of dyarchy is also the main reason for rejecting a scheme of complete Provincial autonomy coupled with an entirely irresponsible Centre in a purely British Indian Federation. For "a line of division which withheld this whole range of policy—*i.e.*, economics and taxation—from the consideration of responsible Ministers could hardly fail to become the frontier across which the bitterest conflicts would be waged; and its existence would afford to Provincial Ministers a constant opportunity to disclaim responsibility for the non-fulfilment of their election

promises and programmes." The argument is not, nor ever was, that the reservation of law and order would spoil the look of a pretty picture, but that it would constitute a weakness—possibly a fatal weakness—in the Constitution.

It may be retorted that by reserving defence and foreign affairs to the Viceroy, a form of dyarchy is still being retained, and the Select Committee have frankly acknowledged as much. Their argument is that these subjects have "normally few contacts with other fields of Central administration under the new Constitution." They admit, however, that no department can be entirely self-contained, and the reservation of the Army involves to some extent control over the railways, military roads, and other subjects vital to the troops. The main argument may not be entirely convincing, especially to those who start with a prejudice against the Report. It amounts to this: You cannot altogether avoid dyarchy, whatever you propose, because it is obvious to any sane observer that India is not in a position to take over her own defence. But dyarchy is not a satisfactory form of government. Therefore it should be the object to get rid of it as far as may be. To reserve law and order is to perpetuate dyarchy in the Provinces as well as at the Centre, and that in a more objectionable form. For while there are large parts of India where the Army and its problems and the very fact of defence of the frontiers are practically unknown, unless in times of abnormal excitement, the police, the magistracy, and the general machinery of order are everywhere and are intimately bound up with the lives of the people.

On the other hand, it is common property that the attitude of the people towards the police is not what it is in England. They are regarded with some dislike and with a veiled, sometimes an open, hostility, and they often work in an atmosphere of passive, if not of active, resistance. In abnormal times they have been abused as the agents of an alien and oppressive Government, and are accused in the true Communist spirit of shooting down their brethren. Everyone, to whatever party they may belong, admits a certain amount of misgiving in handing over this unpopular but very necessary department to the uncontrolled hands of a Minister responsible to an unknown quantity. The Select Committee were therefore on the horns of a dilemma. They must either retain a dyarchy which would almost certainly lead to friction and would in any case be calculated to make the police more unpopular than ever, or they must take the risk just outlined. But there was a way out, and this they took. They are including law and order in the Provincial Autonomy of which it forms an integral part and they reserve control to the Governor in certain respects. It is a libel to say that such provisions shift responsibility for the

consequences on to the "helpless millions"; and it is ridiculous to foretell, by implication at any rate, that those consequences will be disastrous when nobody knows what they will be.

Compromises, however, please no one. It was only to be expected therefore that British opponents of the scheme would not be satisfied and would shake doleful heads over this shameful throwing of the wretched sheep to their compatriot wolves, and it was equally certain that indignant Indians would denounce this shameful tightening of the chains of slavery. But in much that is speculative, a reasoned forecast based on past history can be made. Two things are beyond gainsaying. A new Constitution such as this is something that has never been tried before, and there must be a period of transition. You cannot put off an old Constitution and put on a new one as a man changes his coat; even if you could do that, you cannot put on a ready-made coat and be sure of a perfect fit. "There are some things," says the Report, "that even an Act of Parliament cannot do. It is subdued to what it works in and spiritual values are beyond its scope." If critics, both British and Indian, would but accept this philosophy, there would be less exaggerated talk of "surrender" on the one side and of "dictatorships" on the other. It is the spiritual values in the hands of those who have to work the reforms that will determine the result.

For the whole controversy is at bottom a spiritual one, of which the Constitution itself is only a material manifestation. Apart from what may happen to trade and prestige (which to some seem to be the only things that matter), the moral responsibility for the welfare of the masses is always present to the English administrator. You can deny that it exists; you can assert that it is a figment of the English imagination; but you cannot eliminate the sense of it from the English mind, and you cannot alter the angle from which it views the approaching changes. Economic and financial stability, the feuds and the interests of minorities, a high standard of administration, the peace and tranquillity of the country—these are all things which must react upon the lives of the masses, and are therefore the object of the emergency powers. On the other hand, the question to Indians is a question of self-respect; they are weary of being told that they are not fit for self-government, that they must take a lowly seat at the board of the British society of nations. They assert that they are a nation, only to be told as dogmatically that they are not and never can be. But nationality is a spiritual thing, and for that reason it defies analysis. It is like a rose: you can dissect and label its component parts, but that which gives it life and beauty is beyond your power to define.

And so in the end we get the paradox that while each side pro-

fesses the same ideals and is working to that purpose, neither seems to be able to agree on the method of attaining the ideal. The Select Committee's Report and the resulting Bill represent, as they were meant to do, the greatest measure of common agreement.

SOME ASPECTS OF LABOUR CONDITIONS IN
PERSIAN AGRICULTURE
A STUDY OF THE NON-NOMADIC RURAL POPULATION
BY M. A. DJAMALZADEH

THE problems of labour in any country necessarily depend, above all, upon its social and economic structure, and Persia forms no exception to this rule. In order to ascertain the conditions of work in Persia it is essential, in the first place, to determine the situation which the worker occupies in this country. We are thus faced with the task of studying what is habitually called the social and economic structure.

We do not, of course, claim in so brief an account to paint a picture in any way complete of social and economic conditions in Persia; we shall merely be able to throw into relief, from a social and economic point of view, the structure in so far as it relates directly to labour conditions, and even here* we shall by no means exhaust a subject still so inadequately investigated and shall be able simply to draw attention to certain of the most striking facts bearing upon our subject.

SPECIAL FEATURES IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE
OF PERSIA

A close investigation of the most remarkable points in the social conditions of Persia reveals the co-existence in the heart of the nation, on the one hand, of phenomena which instinctively call to mind the old days of the Aryans' descent from the plains of Central Asia to seek a home in the Iranian plateau; and, on the other hand, of those evolutionary tendencies which are of the very nature of modern times. Here is a single example which illustrates very clearly the situation. An aeroplane of the latest form of construction brings the postbag of a tribal chief who rules, after the traditions of a thousand years ago, a numerous population for the most part utterly illiterate and among whom money is rarely employed in their transactions with one another. While hundreds of thousands of nomads pursue their way on foot, and often barefooted, in their winter and summer migrations, over hills and

* Most of the information in this article is derived from the reports on conditions of labour in Persia collected by the International Labour Bureau at Geneva.

valleys, carrying on their backs newly-born calves or dragging behind them stubborn goats, the dwellers in the large towns read the latest news of the great world which reaches them by wireless, while their sons are busy in scientific investigations of the most complicated description in laboratories fitted with instruments of the latest type.

In Persia, as in many other eastern countries, the social structure is essentially characterized by its extreme complexity. It is the result of the marked opposition of two modes of life, that of the nomads and of the settled population, and of the considerable differences existing between the institutions of the town dwellers and tribesmen. When it is considered that this structure, consisting of tenuous and ramified organisms and of concentric cores, is the result of the history of many thousands of years, it will be realized that it offers considerable resistance to unifying influences.

But in spite of all these deep-seated diversities there is one bond, mighty with the strength of ancient days, which unites the various elements of the population; it is the land. It has been said that if maritime expansion modelled the spirit of Greece, attachment to the soil has from the earliest days characterized the genius of Iran. The finest flower of Iranian culture springs from the condition of the man settled upon the land from which the Persian, who is, above all, a cultivator of the soil, draws his livelihood and, it may be said, his very soul. The *Avesta*, the sacred book of the old Persians, provides a faithful reflection of this truth. The earth is reckoned among the sacred elements. Its cultivation is one of the acts most pleasing to Ahura-Mazda. Even the kindly treatment of the dog, who guards the humble abode of the farmer and protects his crops, is prescribed.

The very composition of Persia's population today is a clear indication of the prime importance still attaching in this country to the worker on the land and to agriculture.

The principal elements which at present compose this population are the following:

1. A by no means numerous upper class of a certain capacity and education who at present are in charge of public administration.* It is constantly increasing in size with the rapid extension of modern methods of education of the young people of Persia either in their own country or abroad.

2. A middle class, relatively small in size, with whom the progress of evolution is slow, occupied for the most part in petty commerce and town trades, without financial resources and with a culture insufficient to allow them, under existing conditions, to

* The number of State employees in the various branches of civil administration was, in March, 1931, about 26,000.

take any active or important part in the social and economic evolution of the country.

3. Finally, there is the mass of the rural population, constituting 70 per cent. of the whole people, steady, illiterate to the extent of at least 90 per cent. of them, with a very low standard of living, quiet and long-suffering. This large body, an element of reaction in the social and political sphere, represents nevertheless a force from the point of view of the public economy, if an energetic and representative government, as is happily the case at present, is capable of affording protection and encouragement to an element which, worn down but still powerful, forms the very pivot of production.*

It is this third class which we propose to study on the lines which follow and as concisely as possible.

THE PERSIAN PEASANTRY AND ITS IMPORTANCE

The official agricultural statistics of Persia for the year 1931 show a rural population of 6,638,100 dwelling in 34,377 villages—that is, on the average, nearly 200 inhabitants per village.

If we add to this figure the nomadic population (2 to 3 millions), which also secures its livelihood from the breeding of cattle and from agriculture, we shall see that at least two-thirds of the population of Persia is agricultural.†

According to a work of reference published in Soviet Russia, there are in Persia 12,000 centres of population and 2 million families.

It is to be noted also that many small towns in Persia still preserve their quasi-rural character, and that a considerable number of their inhabitants get their livelihood from the fields and have not abandoned the cultivation of the soil. This remark even applies to the proprietary classes in the sense that capital in Persia consists for the most part of ground and landed property.

In order to obtain a better understanding of the primary importance of the part which the cultivator of the soil, the *ra'yat*, takes in the production of the wealth of Persia, it will be enough to glance at the statistics of Persia's export trade. We shall notice

* For further details, see *The Economic Structure of Persia*. B. Nikitine. (Brussels: Goemaerer, 1931.)

† Persia has today a population the exact figure of which is not known, no exact census having been taken, but it is generally agreed to be about 12 millions.

According to the investigation of Sir P. Sykes and the Statesman's Year Book, the population of Persia is 10 millions, $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions settled (5 millions in the country, $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions in the towns) and $2\frac{1}{2}$ million nomads.

Persian official figures make the population 15,055,115, of whom 2,870,115 are town dwellers and the remainder country dwellers and nomads.

that agricultural products form at least 70 per cent. of Persian exports. If we add the carpets which, in the main, are made from Persian wool, the proportion will be greater still.

These considerations will suffice, we think, to establish the incontestable fact that in Persia the country labourer is today, as he has always been, the chief, if not the only, element in production, and that, in spite of the rapid progress of modern industry in the country, he will for a long time yet occupy this position.

It will doubtless prove convenient to commence this survey with a few brief remarks on land tenure in Persia, on which mainly depend the conditions of life and work of the agricultural labourers.

Land Tenure.—Land tenure in Persia is feudal in character, though it is not based upon the mediæval conception of seisin and does not exhibit the characteristic methods of the European system. The land is, generally speaking, freehold; in other words, owned in absolute possession, and the lands belonging to the State are also held by the State as absolute property.

The basis or unit of tenure is the village in the case of settled communities, and the pasture land in the case of nomadic communities. The villages, with the cultivated fields surrounding them, cover areas varying from a few acres to several square miles, and the same applies to the population, which may consist of a few families or of several thousand. Some villages approach small towns in size, with their inns, mosques, bazaars, numerous traders' and artisans' shops and large gardens. The arable land round the village is divided up into strips or squares and shared among the peasants for the purpose of cultivation. The pasture land may be the field belonging to a village or the summer grazing ground of a tribe.

The village as a rule belongs to a proprietor (*mâlek* or *arbabe*), who as a rule does not live there; sometimes, however, the proprietor is a peasant living on the spot.

Large landed estates constitute the majority of the properties, and, in close proximity to them, a large number of small and very small properties (*khordé-mâlek*s), which mainly belong to peasants or to traders or officials of the cities. It is not rare for the ownership of a village to be shared by several proprietors.*

The State is the largest proprietor. It owns as demesne lands (*khâlesseh*) some 1,250 villages, covering an area of about 4,500 square kilometres. Next in order come the great personages, the lords, the clergy, wealthy individuals, and, for some time past,

* The unit of measure for landed property and ground in Persia is the "dongue." Each property is supposed to consist of six dongues. The "djérib," which consists of 1,000 square metres, is, on the other hand, the actual unit of measure employed.

traders on a large scale, who, in clear contradistinction to old-time custom, show a tendency to invest their money in landed property, though recently a change of attitude among the large merchants is to be noted. They are now beginning to invest their capital for preference in industrial enterprises, such as the erection of small and moderate-sized factories.

It often occurs that the same proprietor owns several villages in different provinces and situated at considerable distances from one another.

It may be remarked that among the most important landed properties are those belonging to religious or charitable bodies (*ouqâfs*), bequeathed or otherwise transmitted to mosques, tombs of the saints, *imâms* or *imâmzadehs*, or to religious communities, and these are often managed by the clergy. In these instances it is usually the case of land in mortmain which cannot be transferred or of pious endowments. The aim of the donor, when not purely benevolent, is sometimes to prevent his children after his death from wasting their share of the property after its division. The *ouqâfs* system (*waqf*, in the singular) permits of their enjoyment of the usufruct, or of a part of the usufruct, in the property without their being able to alienate it. It has been estimated that there are in Persia today a few £1,000,000 worth of *ouqâfs* properties. A law has been introduced in the Persian Parliament—(Majdless)—dated the 23rd August, 1933, the object of which is to ensure Government control in the administration of these properties.

A brief mention of the *toyoul*, a purely Persian system of land-holding which has existed since the time of Herodotus, concludes the examination, on broad lines, of land tenure in Persia in its most important aspects.

The *toyoul*, a most ancient institution, consisted in conferring, by royal decree, the revenue from a piece of land or from a village upon an individual without his having any right to possession of the property, this gift taking the place of a pension or salary. This system, which served as a ready means for the initiation of unlimited exactions from the peasants, was abolished after the revolution of 1905-6, which gave Persia a constitutional form of government.

We have described above the principal forms of landed property in Persia. We will now deal with the individual who works on these properties, the peasant.

The Peasant.—On all these properties, whatever form they may take and of whatever nature they may be, there works what may be truly described as an army of agricultural labourers, who as a rule possess no land of their own and who constitute, in fact, an agrarian proletariat.

Analogies existing in this connection between Persia and the

other Mussulman countries come particularly to mind when it is pointed out that most of these countries, like Persia, are countries where great landed properties are found side by side with those divided into very small parts. Though, in fact, it is not possible to make a comparison between the country Persian properly so-called, the *ra'yat*, and the small agricultural proprietor or farmer of the West or of the workman in the town, he presents many points of analogy with the fellah of other Mussulman countries and of the East.

As regards the Persian peasant's conditions of life and work, a distinction must be drawn between the settled peasant and the nomad. We will leave on one side for the moment the nomadic element, the study of which forms no doubt an important and interesting chapter in the survey of the Persian peasantry, and confine ourselves to the settled peasant only. But we may state at once that whether he be settled or a nomad, the lot of the Persian peasant is by no means enviable, though in recent times signs of improvement are happily to be noted. Welcome in certain wealthy regions like Ispahan, Guilan, and Azarbaïdjan, for example, he is unwanted and poverty-stricken in many others. In such a case food, accommodation, and clothing are reduced to the lowest scale. Even today, when Persia is undoubtedly entering upon a new phase in her existence, though the person of the *ra'yat* is better protected than it was only ten years ago, his general condition is often one of miserable anxiety. When it is considered not only that the slightest lack of rainfall destroys an entire harvest and leads to famine, but that there is the possibility of plagues of other kinds, such as locusts or insect pests of every description, which are capable of an annihilating descent upon the crops, one can form an idea of the misfortunes to which the Persian peasant is exposed. For the most part he can expect no favourable change in his lot. His daily living expenses may be roughly estimated (data are lacking) at two rials (sixpence) on the average; it is not only that he is unable to become one day the owner of the land which he cultivates; even if he were, irrigation is often artificial in Persia, and the upkeep of the subterranean canals (*qanâts*) in use is expensive and renders water very costly. In spite of this he is an excellent worker and puts up a brave resistance to the physical and moral degeneration which poverty and ignorance bring in their train. The Commission which was sent to Persia in 1926 by the League of Nations to enquire into the production of opium, in describing the Persian workman and peasant, wrote as follows: * "The Commission has been struck by the manual skill, the adaptability and, we might say, the remarkable versatility of the Persian labourer. Even among the peasants of what might be

* League of Nations: Report C. 580, n. 219. 1926. XI., p. 51.

termed the humblest class, the physiognomy of the individual shows no trace of inferiority. The face is long and oval, of the best European type, the nose aquiline, the eyes, chin and forehead well shaped."

It is generally recognized, however, that there is a class among Persian agricultural labourers, those who, as we shall see below, often come from a distance, who are taken on by the day or the season, and who work for a fixed wage (in kind or in coin) without any share in the crop, and these do not always work wholeheartedly and are indifferent to the losses in which their behaviour may involve the landowner.

These general details having been given, we will endeavour to sketch, within the limits laid down for this article, the conditions of life and work of the settled peasant in Persia.

The Settled Peasant.—Into the category of the settled peasants who live in villages falls, as we have seen, the greater part of the Persian rural class.

The situation of these peasants varies according to whether they are the possessors of some savings or landed property or whether, having no property, they are in the Persian expression *khané-bedouches*, which signifies that they carry their house (all their property) on their backs. In the former case, the peasant throws his savings (in the form of draught animals or seed), as well as his labour, into the balance, and then becomes to some extent a partner of the owner, while in the latter case the peasant remains an ordinary daily or seasonal worker, receiving, as we have mentioned, payment (in kind or in coin) for his work, and having no share in the harvest.

When the peasant works as a partner under the system which is called in Persian *Arbab-o-ra'yatix* (proprietor or peasant), the crops are generally shared between the peasant and the landowner, but with numerous variations, according to their respective contributions with regard to the following five constituent elements:

1. Land.
2. Water.
3. Seed.
4. Working capital (including tools, manure, draught animals).
5. Labour.

The landowner supplies as a rule the first three of these elements; he then apportions to himself three-fifths of the crops and leaves the remaining two-fifths to the peasant. These general conditions are liable to modification, to some extent, in each province. Unfortunately, the partner-peasant, who is called in Persian *gâw-band* (yoker of oxen), often works as a member of a team and has

to share his part with his companions, which enormously reduces his own share. He is not as a rule free to choose either his crops or his methods of work.

There are numerous cases in which the peasant works as a farmer. He then pays the landowner one-third to one-half of the harvest for the land and water. His legal status leaves much to be desired, so that cases are not infrequent of farmer cultivators becoming weary of their conditions and abandoning their ground in order to try elsewhere in the hope of finding a more accommodating landowner, or even of becoming ordinary day or seasonal workers.

Hence there is a certain "fluidity" of this rural population, its "proletarianization." Poor, and having little to lose, they take to the road under the goad of destruction of crops by the weather, drought, locusts, inadequate harvests, etc. There are regions which are notoriously sterile; Khalkhal, for instance, in the north-west of the country, whence the inhabitants regularly migrate every year, either to work as labourers in the industrial centres of neighbouring Caucasia,* as land-workers in the more fertile Persian provinces, or even as labourers on the construction of the railways or State roads. Villages abandoned in this manner line the roads taken by the traveller to the interior of the country. A. G. Millspaugh, the former American administrator of the Persian Finances (1921-1925), in his book on Persia,† states, speaking of these villages:

"There are, I dare say, few villages in Persia which do not show more or less the ravages of the last few years. Some are wholly ruined and deserted; the mud houses fallen down; the kamats (*qānats*) caved in and dry; the fields bare and baked. About six months after my arrival in Persia, the financial agent of Garrous, in North-Western Persia, reported that of two hundred and forty-one villages in his district, one hundred and six were ruined and without inhabitants, while the remainder were partly ruined and partly tenantless."

It may be said, however, without fear of exaggeration, that it is usury which is the most terrible curse for the Persian peasant. His general situation is such that he cannot avoid becoming, sooner or later, in the debt of his employer, who is often the landowner himself. Very frequently it is in the interest of the latter to induce the peasant attached to his land to ask for a loan. These loans usually carry interest at the rate of 24 per cent., in some cases

* This migration is steadily decreasing owing to the internal state of Soviet Russia.

† *The American Task in Persia*. (London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd.) P. 251.

amounting to 40 per cent. and even 50 per cent.; having contracted such a loan, the peasant can no longer think of abandoning the ground which he is cultivating, his labour becoming, in fact, a sort of surety for the debts which he has contracted to his master.

Further, the landowners do not readily admit to work on their land a peasant who is bound by debts to his former landowner. It follows, therefore, that these loans granted to the cultivators often involve a system of serfdom, by reason of the hold they assure the landowner, who is usually the lender, over the peasant.

There are two other facts which further aggravate this situation; in the first place, the dwelling which shelters the peasant and his family usually belongs to the landowner, so that it is not easy for him to change his master; secondly, since he is usually paid in kind, he has often great difficulty in converting his share of the harvest into ready cash which would allow him to clear himself of his debts.

When one considers this state of affairs and the fact that the greater part of the land in Persia belongs to big landowners (in the neighbourhood of Teheran 3 per cent. of the land only is in the hands of small landowners), an idea can be formed of the wretched position of the Persian peasantry in general.

We may add further that the master can turn off the peasant at any time without any notice, it only being necessary for him to give the peasant a slight compensation if he happens to be turned off while the crop is growing or at harvest-time.

So far we have been discussing the peasants who possess some capital and who are generally established with their families upon the land which they cultivate. They may sometimes end by becoming owners themselves of a small piece of land, and thus pass into the class of *khordé-malêks* (small landowners). Their land is then the best cultivated in all the country, and they may look to the future with a fair measure of confidence.

But, as we have already pointed out, side by side with this first category of peasants, there are a very large number of peasants who own nothing. They constitute the rural proletariat, a veritable army of wandering agricultural workers. They leave their villages and cover long distances in search of work. They may be subdivided in their turn into labourers paid from day to day, seasonal workers, and workers engaged by the month. They all lodge where they can and eat what they can find. Those employing them have as a rule no formal responsibilities towards them in this connection. There are also cases where the workers do not come from any great distance, and there are even some where they are, as it were, attached to certain villages, and thus assume the position of actual agricultural servants.

The working day is always the same everywhere: it runs from sunrise to sunset and sometimes even later. Irrigation work, for example, is often carried out at night.

Wages vary according to the nature of the work and the particular district. They are paid partly in money and partly in produce (wheat, barley, etc.). The payment made in money fluctuates as a rule between $\frac{1}{2}$ rial and 2 rials (1½d. and 6d.) per day. The part paid in kind consists generally of 20 to 30 mans (60 to 90 kilograms) of wheat or barley per month.

An agricultural co-operative movement, which would, perhaps, form the best remedy for the ills from which the peasant suffers, has not yet been introduced into the country. An Agricultural Credit Bank with a fairly large capital has recently been founded, but the peasant is still ignorant of the more or less complicated procedure of banking operations, and, apart from this, although the bank has already three branches in important provinces, it has not yet expanded to the extent of being within the reach of every peasant at a distance from an urban centre.

The state of advancement of both the *gâw-band* and worker peasant is restricted to the knowledge gained in the school of experience. Their tools are most primitive, their methods of work those of their ancestors. They have not the benefit of any form of insurance. The women and children help them to the full extent of their strength. The women are chiefly occupied with dairy work, shearing, and light work on the land. The children do what they can. When the peasant or landowner owns sheep or goats, it is the children who pasture them near the village on land lying fallow.*

The spare time, especially that of the women, is often devoted to weaving or to the preparation of bricks made of dung for providing heating in winter.

Contracts between the landowner and the peasant are usually verbal. Agents (*mobâchers*) appointed by the landowner assure their fulfilment as far as regards the undertakings made by the peasant to the landowner.

When differences arise, which is not infrequent, they are judged by the *hadk̄hodâ*, a kind of mayor of the village, upon whom the State has conferred by law of the 4 Zi-Kada 1325 H. (9th December, 1907) fairly extensive powers as concern the administration of the villages. He may, by his own authority, cause to be arrested "any person upon the territory within his sphere of jurisdiction for misdemeanours and punish him by a term of imprisonment of at maximum two days."

* As a rule the land in Persia is cultivated for one year and then left fallow for the next year in order to recover. In the latter case it serves as pasture land.

As regards taxes, it is the landowner who is responsible to the Public Treasury; but the peasant has to pay the landowner a part of the tax in proportion to the share of the harvest he receives.

The land taxes were, until recently, calculated according to the produce of the soil. Previously all agricultural produce was submitted, throughout the whole of the country, as a general rule to a tax of 10 per cent. of the net share received by the owner of the land. Besides this tax there was the poll-tax. This fell upon the family as a unity, but the assignment of it was established on the villages. Many other taxes, smaller and varying greatly according to the region, often exposed the peasant to exactions of every description. In order to put an end to this lamentable state of affairs the Law of the 10th January, 1926, instituted a fixed and single tax on landed property, forests, pasturages, mills, and subterranean canals (*qanâts*). Pursuant to this law the products of the soil, before being shared between the landowner and the peasant, are submitted to a tax of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.*

These are, on very broad lines, the conditions under which the settled peasant of Persia lives and works. But before concluding this article, it should be pointed out that since the institution of constitutional government in Persia (1906), and notably since the beginning of the reign of the present sovereign, founder of the Pahlavi dynasty (16th December, 1925), with a view to affording protection to and improving the lot of the Persian agricultural worker, several Acts have been passed, the most important of which are the following, given in chronological order:

1. Law of the 19th December, 1907, relative to the administrative organization of the provinces and districts, comprising numerous dispositions in favour of rural communities.
2. Law of the 27th January, 1925, permitting free importation of agricultural machinery over a period of ten years.
3. Law of the 10th January, 1926, instituting a fixed and single tax on landed property, forests, pasturages, mills and subterranean canals (*qanâts*).
4. Law of the 8th December, 1927, instituting freedom from taxation in favour of the growing of tea. Tea growing is steadily gaining in extent in Persia (particularly in the province of Guilan).
5. Law of the 8th May, 1928, dealing with the foundation of a National Bank with a view to the development of agriculture, commerce and industry.
6. Law of the 12th August, 1928, repealing all taxes on flocks and herds.

* $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is specified for serving for public education in the part of the country where the tax is raised.

7. Law of the 10th February, 1929, instituting the compulsory registration of landed property and real estate. Of the 82,000 cultivated properties existing in Persia, the greater part are already registered and the work of registration is proceeding steadily.

8. Law of the 28th August, 1930, relative to the irrigation system of the *qânats* (subterranean canals).

9. Law of the 6th June, 1933, dealing with the foundation of an Agricultural and Industrial Credit Bank. This bank, a share company with a capital of 20,000,000 rials,* has, among other functions, the duty of granting loans to small landowners and farmers. This law, the intention of which is to free the agricultural worker from the highly pernicious influence of the usurers, would appear destined to play a great part in ameliorating the lot of the Persian peasant. The bank, which has its headquarters at Teheran, already has several branches in the provinces.

10. Law of the 7th January, 1934, on the organization of agricultural credit. This supplements the Law of the 6th June, 1933, by authorizing the Government to sell a great part of the Crown lands so that the sums resulting up to the amount of 50,000,000 rials may be put at the disposal of the Agricultural Bank, with a view to forming a fund for loans to large and small landowners. Moreover, the Government, pursuant to this Law, is to put at the disposal of the said Bank by the end of the Persian year, 1314 (20th March, 1936), another sum of in all 35,000,000 rials, likewise intended to form a loan fund for those engaged in agriculture.

This Law contains provisions tending to introduce modern farming methods into Persia. The landowners must henceforth, pursuant to the Law, exploit their land in accordance with instructions from the Department of Agriculture. The Government even proposes to apply subsequently a law providing for penalties against those who persist in employing antiquated and out-of-date methods.

Conclusion.—The conditions of life and work in rural Persia are improving. The legal position of the peasant in particular has undergone favourable changes. The bad treatment, annoyances and abuses of every kind to which he was submitted, often without remedy, and of which we find some traces in the work of the British writer, James Morier, generally recognized as the best authority on things Persian, in his celebrated *The Adventures of Haji Baba of Ispahan* have almost entirely ceased. A well-organized system of justice, the sphere of which is steadily extending, even to regions remote from the capital, tends to protect the rural worker in his person and his rights.

Other factors are also contributing to improve the material

* A rial is at present worth one French franc, or about threepence.

well-being of the Persian peasant. Among the most important we may instance the development of the road system and of means of communication. At the present time Persia possesses more than 11,000 miles of good roads on which run several thousand motor-cars and lorries. Transport by lorries even in the lonely desert, hundreds of miles away from the fixed habitations of man, has almost completely replaced the slow caravans of former days. It has been calculated that an ordinary 2-ton lorry can carry more tons per mile and day than 100 camels together.

The extension of communications by the postal, telegraph and telephone services has also rendered great service to the rural population. In 1930 the length of postal lines was already nearly 25,000 kilometres and that of telegraph lines 15,207 kilometres, with 21,830 kilometres of wire. When the Trans-Persian Railway, of a length of more than 1,500 kilometres, and at present well on the road to construction, has joined the fertile provinces of North Persia with the ports of the Persian Gulf in the south, thus allowing the export to foreign markets of Persian agricultural produce, which at the present time has to be sold in great part in a few inland markets at a very low price, there is no doubt that the lot of the Persian cultivator will be materially improved, and that he will at last commence to attain a certain measure of comfort and perhaps even of prosperity. This is the more certain, since at the present time the public powers in Persia are showing praiseworthy efforts with a view to developing the standard of education, in part vocational, and hygiene and sanitation in rural areas. Moreover, considerable sums (about £20,000 for the current Persian year) are set aside each year for fighting insects harmful to agriculture, the locusts and the other pests which are nothing short of calamities for the Persian cultivators.

But the proper means, in our opinion, for radically remedying the evils from which the Persian peasant suffers would be:

1. The organization of agricultural credit in such a way as to benefit the ordinary peasant working for a wage and owning no land. (As we have seen above, agricultural credit is already being organized.)

2. The improvement and the development of the irrigation system, which plays a main part in the life of the Persian cultivator, and which at the present time, unfortunately, leaves much to be desired.

3. The development of the co-operative agricultural system in all its forms. In order to improve the economic and even the moral situation of the peasants, it is necessary for them to be organized, but their ignorance and their poverty render them incapable of doing this on their own initiative. In this regard

also the Government can contribute (and we are pleased to note that it has already commenced to do so by virtue of a recent Law, dated 4th April, 1934) both to educate and finance them from the start by the adoption of a policy of fostering co-operation.

(Translated.)

GENEVA,

November 28, 1934.

FIRDAUSI, THE PERSIAN EPIC POET

BORN A THOUSAND YEARS AGO, BUT REBORN EVERY
DAY IN HIS NATIVE LAND

By O. A. MERRITT-HAWKES

(Author of *Persia: Romance and Reality*.)

THE world is honouring the birth of this Persian poet, born long ago, dead long ago, but, in his own country, a living force, vital and real today.

"We are very content in our Community House," said an old Dervish, his hair grey and matted, his face calm and friendly, a fresh carnation in his hand.

"If we are two, we can talk, discuss, but if only one is left, he too can be content, for he has, as his companions, the poets: Firdausi, Hafiz, Rumi, Sadi. To us they are alive. Yesterday, today and tomorrow are one."

"And Omar Khayyám?" I asked.

"To us he is of less importance than the others. Today we love and respect Firdausi best. He is the poet of pre-Islamic Persia, the inspiration of the new nationalism."

A great house stood in the midst of a great Persian garden, where fruit trees had as important a place of honour as flowers, "For," said a politician, who, in his Tehran office, seemed merely an efficient man of affairs, "their blossoms are poems in the spring and their fruits are jewels in the fall."

On the second storey was a balcony that looked over the fertile plain of Ispahan to the glorious mountains. A late afternoon sun made the great dishes of fruit, which stood on the little tables, even more attractive. The talk began with a comparison of the English poor and the Persian peasant. But it soon passed to poetry.

"The West has baths, that is true, but we have poetry. Do not forget that when Persians cease to quote Firdausi, Persia will cease to be Persia." That man, powerful in the Persian Government, was very earnest. His wife, dressed like a European, his daughter, beautiful and dainty, both confirmed eagerly what he said.

One day I was lunching with a young Persian in a Tehran café. Shadows of willow leaves flickered over the table and the great

dishes of snowy rice. A shoal of goldfish swam across the pool, disturbing the quiet reflection of a fine house that time had turned into a restaurant. The soft sound of a tar, Persia's favourite stringed instrument, filled the air. The eyes of the Persian became moist.

"Can you understand what our music, our poetry means to us? Firdausi is not a poet long dead. He lives. He is a part of our life, his couplets tell us to be great Persians again, to cultivate the best ideas of Zoroaster, to cease to submit to Russia, to England, to know and love our own country. He gives us hope that once again Persia will be the home of famous artists, philosophers, writers."

That Persian let his kabob grow cold, the wine grow hot. He leant over the table and spoke eagerly.

"If only I could have lived when he lived, have sat at his feet." Thus spoke a man who had travelled in Europe, who was rich and very elegant in clothes made by a clever English tailor in Paris.

Many young men have his point of view, and, in changing Persia, some young women too. Children today are named after the heroes of Firdausi; there is even a group of enthusiasts who believe that all his epics are true.

In a little village of tumble-down houses there is one well-kept building, a school for boys. There are blackboards, a few books, and benches so crowded, that, in the lower classes, the young scholars nearly fall off. The principal is an untidy old man with a charming face, a gay smile. He was once a Mullah, but has put away the more conservative side of Muhammadanism and is now enthusiastic for modern learning, but, said he:

"We must never lose our poetry. They tell me that if I were in the great cities of London and New York, I would have to walk many miles and speak to hundreds of thousands before I found one who could say many lines of poetry. I am sorry for you. Your life cannot be beautiful."

He leant over and stroked the head of a small bright boy of eight.

"What poem will you say for the foreign Kharnum?"

In an instant the child was on his feet, and, in that lovely Persian way, was reciting a story of Firdausi. He finished, and half the class had their hands in the air, wanting their turn. Some of the older boys had come into the room to welcome the guest, and, forgetful of time, of the school schedule, the students, the principal, were having a discussion on a line of the poet Rumi, known to his admirers as "The Master," which one of the children had quoted.

All over Persia, wherever men can read and write, there are poetry clubs, not merely to study, to enjoy what has been done, but to create. Because I was interested in Persia and Persian poetry, I was invited to attend, although I was a woman. One man said pathetically:

"Our poetry is about love and women, but you are the first who has ever shared ideas with us, here in the light of flickering candles, to the sound of waving leaves, in the sight of stars moving across the sky. You do not bring ugliness from the West, so we are not afraid. We will tell our women, and hope that some day they, too, will be with us, as in the days of which Firdausi wrote, when women were free, comrades as well as lovers."

"But Rabia the Mystic was a woman, a poet and a philosopher," I said.

"That was long ago, when we were a people of a wider, nobler faith, before we had been spoilt by narrow ideas from Baghdad. Today we hope that the poems of Firdausi will create a genuine Persian revival, that Iran—please do not forget that is the real name of our country—will rise again, not as a land of great extent, but as a land of great thoughts, great inspiration. Firdausi alone of our poets combines action and thought, the one typical of the West, the other of the East. If he were alive today he would surely go to your great cities, take a gift from us to you, and ask in return that you send back some of your newer wisdom.

"Firdausi said he would never die. He was right. He is here tonight. He is a link between your people and mine; through him we may understand one another."

CRISIS IN THE FAR EAST

BY O. M. GREEN

THE recent conversations in Nanking and Tokyo on what is politely called "the settlement of outstanding questions" have once more brought the affairs of the Far East prominently before the world. Speculation is rife as to the exact nature of the discussions. By one account Japan is plotting to detach China from the West and get her completely under her own control, as she has got Manchuria. By others she seeks only peace, amity and the welfare of her huge, still rather dishevelled, neighbour. As one looks into the state of both countries, it is conjectural that either of these explanations might prove the correct one, according to the events of the next few weeks. One thing is certain—namely, that never since Geneva's failure in the Manchurian contest was sealed by Japan's resignation from the League has the Far East called so urgently for close study and the wisest diplomacy as it does today.

Briefly, the outstanding features of the situation are the breakdown of the naval discussions between Great Britain, America and Japan, and the latter's denunciation of the Washington Treaty; China's haunting fear of Japan and the loss of her seat on the League Council; and in the background, scarcely noticed as yet by the world at large, but none the less charged with grave danger for the peace of Asia, the nationalist awakening of the Mongols.

Reduced to a common factor, these jarring elements mean that a new world is growing up out of a very old one, imbued with a new spirit and already possessing an uncomfortable mastery over the modes and mechanisms in which the West was formerly its condescending instructor. Here is a situation from which the West cannot afford to stand aloof, and at the same time it will need all the tact it can command—a quality hitherto conspicuously absent in its dealings with the Far East—if it is not to drive this new spirit into open antagonism. Already the Far East is in a position to confer rather than ask for favours.

In the *Asiatic Review* of last October I described the progress that China has made in the past three years—thousands of miles of new roads, railways repaired and under construction, public works of several kinds, above all the absence of any major civil war and the growth of better feeling between Nanking and the provinces. Since that article was written, General Chiang Kai-shek's long, undaunted campaign against the Communists has, with the aid of Canton (a particularly good omen), been crowned

with success in the overthrow of the Red State in South Kiangsi. The Communist menace is still far from being exterminated, as will be shown. But the material and moral value of the achievement is none the less very great.

Another notable event is to be recorded. It may be remembered that in May, 1932, Nanking publicly abjured the policy of "unification by force," declaring that it would fight no more civil wars, but concentrate upon the resuscitation of its own sphere of influence, leaving the more distant provinces to manage theirs. So effectually has this policy been pursued that we now find Nanking speaking of, and thinking for, "the Nine Provinces" almost as if they were a separate state (there are, of course, eighteen provinces in China), and extensive telegraphic and telephonic equipment is now being completed in England for "the Nine Provinces." Nanking, however, remains the Central Government, speaking for China in international affairs; and if the different parts of the country are to rub along without too much jangling, some working arrangement is necessary in respect of finance, appointment of officials, etc. Hence the importance of the scheme adopted at the Kuomintang conference in Nanking last December, which defines the respective powers and rights of Central and Provincial Governments in these matters, with satisfaction for the *amour propre* of both.

It may be that this agreement marks the first real advance towards a Federated States of China, which many believe must be the ultimate solution of her problems of government. At present she has no Constitution, and there is no word exactly to describe what she is. A committee was appointed last year to draft a Constitution, but one may well pray that its labours will be long and unhurried. Such attempts, of which there have been several in the past, have always ended in fresh discord. The first requisite is to restore order, cut down taxes, solidify the better feeling among the provinces. With these desiderata accomplished, constitutional questions would solve themselves.

While recognizing the bright lights in the Chinese picture, we must assuredly not overlook the shadows. No effective approach can be made to the question of the Far East unless we face the fact that China is still in a very half-and-half stage, immeasurably advanced from what she was five or six years ago, yet continually weighed down by enormous burdens. Whatever Japan's ideas may be regarding China, the foundation of her argument has always been that she cannot yet stand alone, as the Chinese themselves admit; and now the question is whether China shall lean to the West or to the East or whether, more happily, the two might combine in helping her up the hill.

Some of China's misfortunes are of her own making, some

beyond her control. Among the latter the most conspicuous is the American Silver Purchase Act, which, by driving up the price of silver from about 1s. 1d. per ounce two years ago to nearly 2s. 3d. at the moment of writing, has not only hit China's exports, but has caused an outflow of silver from her coffers which has most seriously damaged her trade all round. A hurried attempt on China's part to keep down the value of the dollar, and thus lower the cost abroad of her exports, by means of a prohibitive export tax on silver, has only aggravated the evil by creating an artificial difference between the internal and the world value of her currency, which has resulted in millions of ounces weekly being smuggled abroad. No more disastrous New Year, the traditional Chinese settlement day, can be recalled than that of last February, with money almost unobtainable, cargo that could not be taken up, and bankruptcies galore. An Advisory Committee on Currency has been appointed and measures adopted to tempt silver back to China. But it is too soon to say how these will succeed, and the financial situation remains very serious.

High silver, however, is not the only cause of declining exports, and the balance of trade is not to be achieved by manipulating currency. The heavy duties levied upon all exports is partly, perhaps, a relic of the days when China had no interest in foreign trade, but much more of the deep-rooted official conviction that merchants exist merely to provide their betters with a comfortable living. At any rate, the export duties are a suicidal anomaly which ought to be swept away. Combined with the crushing internal taxation, they constitute a drag on China's progress for which neither world depression nor the expedients of foreign politicians can be blamed. By all tradition, and in simple fact, the peasantry are the backbone of China. Nanking certainly is well aware of it; but all her efforts and admonitions have not yet succeeded in relieving the farmer of the swarms of harpies who prey upon him in every province.

The Communists, too, it is to be feared, will remain an obstacle to all ordered government for some time yet. Driven from their former stronghold in Kiangsi, they have been harrying Central and Southern China in scattered bands most difficult to round up, thus perpetuating the need of the military operations, which the peasant dreads as much as he does the outlaws, and draining national finances. The bright side of the picture here is the active co-operation of provincial governments with Nanking against the common foe. But there is a real danger that the Reds may set up a new state in north-eastern Szechuan—the worst-governed, most distracted province in all China—where it would not be difficult for Russian agents, who now begin to permeate the north-western province of Sinkiang in increasing numbers, to join hands with

them. It may be remembered that Mr. Hirota, the Japanese Foreign Minister, in his speech in the Diet on January 22, pointedly alluded to "the Sovietization of Sinkiang." There is, of course, nothing that Japan so much fears as Communist propaganda, and Mr. Hirota's remark is particularly to be remembered in connection with the present discussion between Tokyo and Nanking.

It is possible, however, to believe that China would find a way through even these troubles if her mind were not distracted by other anxieties. The Communists are not very different for practical purposes from the Taipings, who ravaged China for fourteen years in the middle of last century, since only a nucleus of them are inspired by the real Russian ideology, and it is impossible to believe that a nation with the traditions and instincts of the Chinese could be converted to Communism. This is in no sense to underrate the Red menace, but only to put it in its right proportions. The downfall of every dynasty has been followed by decades, even centuries, of disorganization. And in the present instance the Government has the assistance of the League of Nations' advisers, and of the British Boxer Indemnity millions, in carrying out its schemes of economic improvement which cannot fail in the long run to result in popular betterment. Moreover, China watches what goes on abroad as never before, and is keenly alive to foreign reactions; and it is not too much to say that her leaders are inspired by a real desire to "make good."

In studying the relations of China and Japan, one must try to see each country as the other sees it. Both are adepts in pretty speeches, which, whomever else they may confuse, do not in the least deceive the other. China's suspicions of Japan go much deeper than the loss of Manchuria can explain. China has been defeated by and lost territory to foreign nations again and again in the past hundred years; and if such misfortunes have not increased her affection for her conquerors, they have not left that abiding mistrust and hatred for them which she feels for Japan. As regards Manchukuo, "time, the great healer," has to some extent been at work. Through running of passenger and mail trains between China and Manchukuo has been restored, collection of Customs and guardianship of the passes in the Great Wall have been compromised. But China is as far from recognizing the new State as ever, and it seems not too much to say that any Chinese Government which recognized Manchukuo would bring on a civil war at once.

The truth is that Manchukuo is less important to the Chinese as a fact in itself than as an emblem. Rightly or wrongly, they are convinced that the Japanese have always intrigued to keep China in a state of turmoil, and the seizure of Manchukuo was

for them but a stage in the accomplishment of their neighbour's much vaster designs on their own independence. This conviction is intensified by all the events of the past two years: by Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations; by that ominous, vaguely defined, but to the Chinese perfectly comprehensible declaration, a year ago, of a Monroe doctrine for China; by the uncompromising Japanese temper during the naval conversations in London; by Japan's denunciation of the Washington Treaty. All this, for the Chinese, is irrefutable proof of Japan's determination to drive out Western influence from Eastern Asia and replace it by her own hegemony. The famous Tanaka memorial is, for such Westerners as have studied it, a concoction about as much worth consideration as Mother Shipton's prophecies. For the Chinese it is a perfectly genuine definition of policy, confirmed by all recent events.

From Japan's point of view, one dominant factor is the pernicious result, as it seems to her, of Western influence in all the Far East. As Lord Lytton pointed out in his report on Manchuria, Japan is necessarily and poignantly affected by the internal condition of China; and the sight of the humiliating British surrender of Hankow to the Communists in 1927 and tame acceptance of the Nanking outrage—in the guise of conciliation, about as useful as to offer biscuits to a mad dog—made a deep and unfavourable impression at Tokyo. For the Japanese, as their newspapers plainly said throughout 1931, Great Britain and America were directly responsible for the arrogant Kuomintang temper which led to the dispute over Manchuria; and all through Japan's communications with Geneva, Western misunderstanding of the true facts of the Far East was repeatedly emphasized.

Equally, it is to be observed, are Western influences mistrusted in Japan itself by her chief ruling class. Jazz, the cinema, the affectations of the "moga" (modern girl), disaffection in the student class, industrialism and the schemings of the *narikin*, or capitalists, the futile wranglings in the Diet and its failure to give effective help to the bankrupt peasantry were clear indications to the old Samurai class of Army and Navy that the traditional spirit of Japan, corrupted by effeminate poisons from overseas, was dying. In *The Times* of last February 15, its able correspondent in Tokyo wrote:

"The Japanese Government's policy in the past three years can only be understood when it is realized that the foreign crisis coincided with a domestic crisis. As the Manchurian campaign developed alarming movements were discovered at home. A Cabinet Minister and a prominent capitalist were assassinated by country youths, the instruments of mysterious patriotic organizations working for what they called a second restoration. This was to set up an ideal State of farmers and soldiers from which the capitalist and his 'docile clerk,' the

politician, had been eliminated. Those patriotic fanatics had made converts in the Army. . . . Whispers were heard of a plot by subalterns to conduct a Pride's Purge of the Diet with bombs. . . . Concessions had to be made and the situation at home was the explanation of the unbending attitude at Geneva. Without the League to play the part of Jonah the ship of State might have been wrecked. . . . Japan's policy is still governed by what may be called the General Staff mind."

To that mind the sight of China relying more and more upon Western assistance, engaging tribes of advisers from the League of Nations and with their help achieving a conspicuous measure of economic development, would naturally be displeasing. The tendency must be increasingly to draw China from Japan, if not to set her in open antagonism; and it seems more than mere coincidence that the declaration of the Monroe doctrine for China followed closely upon reports of a big Chinese loan in America, and came just before the presentation of Dr. Rajchmann's report to Geneva on what its lieutenants had been doing in China.

That the nationalist agitation in Mongolia, combined with the now formidable strength of the Russian army, particularly in aeroplanes, in the Amur and Maritime provinces (that is, all along the north and east of Manchukuo) is giving Japan much anxiety, there can be no doubt. The danger of a direct conflict between Japan and Russia has very greatly decreased since 1933; the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan, or nominally to Manchukuo, for roughly £10,000,000 has helped to clear the air; if the Russian forces are strong, the strategic roads and railways which Japan has thrown out, with almost incredible speed, to the Manchurian borders are a retort on her part by no means to be ignored; neither side has anything to gain by fighting the other, as both are well aware. The occasional sword-rattling at Moscow is for internal edification. Japan at least is not disturbed by it. But as events appear to be moving in Mongolia, the danger of Japan and Russia being drawn into a clash between their respective *protégés* cannot be overlooked. This undoubtedly is the true significance of the Japanese attack on Chinese advance forces in Chahar last January, and of the speed with which Japanese troops were hurled against the raiders from Outer Mongolia at Boir Nor. The real aim was, not the Chinese, but the security of Inner Mongolia; and although the usual assertions have been made by Tokyo that, the Chahar-Jehol frontier having been rectified, Japanese troops will advance no further, no one would be surprised if the generals in Manchukuo presently found that "military necessity" compelled them to occupy all the provinces of Inner Mongolia along the Great Wall, Chahar, Suiyuan and Ninghsia.

It must be remembered that the Mongols never acknowledged any allegiance to China as such. Their loyalty was always to the

Manchus, on whom indeed they always looked, with a good deal of historical justification, as allies rather than masters. When the Manchu emperors fell in 1912, the Mongols declared their independence. Inner Mongolia was not strong enough to stand against the Chinese, who reconquered it. But Outer Mongolia, separated from Inner by the Gobi Desert, was beyond the Chinese reach, and, after various vicissitudes, passed entirely under Soviet Russian influence. The People's Republic of Mongolia is not actually a part of the U.S.S.R., but for practical purposes the result is the same. It is only fair to add (and an important part of the story) that the Russians have treated their *protégé* very well, and the Young Mongols look entirely to them with admiration and gratitude.

Contrariwise, it has to be said that the Chinese treated the Inner Mongols very badly, ousting them from their grazing lands, which were given to Chinese colonists, and seeking continually to obliterate Mongol individuality and "Sinaize" their race. Many sporadic revolts have occurred, always to end in failure. But with Manchukuo's declaration of independence and the restoration of a Manchu emperor, new hopes have stirred the Mongol princes to activity. They are the more drawn towards Manchukuo because the Japanese, quickly realizing the importance of the Mongol community in Manchuria (which numbers about half the entire Mongol population), have secured to it its own province, known as Hsingan, from the mountains which it adjoins, wherein the Mongols are free to live their traditional life and manage their own affairs with but the slightest visible assistance from a few Japanese officials.

It is easily imagined how all recent events in the Far East, together with the universal slogan of "self-determination," have awakened thoughts in all the Mongols of reviving their ancient independence and culture. But they realize that any such attempt must commence with a movement towards the protection either of Russia or Japan. And there's the rub. To link themselves with Manchukuo and its emperor, as past history would enjoin, means the sacrifice of all the Young Mongol ideology. To follow the lead of the People's Republic means that the princes of Inner Mongolia would lose all their ancient privileges and ascendancy. The dispute is already so sharp that it may not impossibly lead to civil war from which it would be very difficult, to say the least, for Japan and Russia to stand aside. In such an eventuality it needs no saying that Japan would desire to have the differences between herself and China so adjusted that the latter would have no excuse—may it even be suggested, no ability?—to come to Russia's help.

One further consideration must be mentioned. It is inevitable

that, when the Naval Conference between Great Britain, America and Japan takes place, if not before, politics of the Pacific will be included in the discussions. The two questions were regarded as inseparable at Washington, and they are not less closely connected than in 1922. But many people affirm that the conference on political issues will take place very much sooner, in fact, it is believed, in the coming summer, and it is suggested that Japan is particularly anxious to have her differences with China disposed of before the conference meets, for reasons too obvious to need stating.

Such is the background of events and emotions leading to the conversations which began in Nanking late in January, and have more recently been continued in Tokyo between the Japanese Foreign Minister and the learned Chinese jurist, Dr. Wang Chung-hui, acting apparently as a sort of unofficial agent. Circumstantial reports have been published that Japan has invited China to send away her German military advisers and take Japanese instead, together with several hundred Japanese non-commissioned officers to be used in training the Chinese army; also that the League of Nations advisers be dismissed and their work be undertaken by Japanese; also that China must once and for all put a stop to anti-Japanese boycotts and propaganda. In return Japan would find money to help China through her silver troubles and would assist her in crushing the Communists.

These details are quoted to indicate the general trend of thought and rumour in the Far East. Actually it appears probable that no definite proposals have been put forward at the moment of writing. One cannot but think that Japan would reflect very carefully before suggesting such a bargain as that described, the effect of which would plainly make her the dominating power in China.

The outlook is complicated by the existence of two parties in China. Ever since the beginning of the Manchurian crisis General Chiang Kai-shek has been accused by his opponents of being pro-Japanese. In fact, no Chinese is that. But General Chiang is above all things a realist; he has repeatedly said that China can never face foreign adversaries until she has conquered her internal difficulties; and it is quite likely that he believes that China must come to terms with Japan because she cannot help herself. Many Chinese do hold that view. China's failure to be re-elected to a seat on the Council of the League of Nations last September was a severe blow to the men in Nanking who preach co-operation with the League as the pivot of Chinese policy. Nothing could be more calculated to create the impression that Europe was indifferent to the Far East and to drive China into Japan's arms.

The extremely conciliatory attitude of Mr. Hirota is another argument for those Chinese who advocate agreement with Japan. His speech in the Diet on January 22, when referring to China, breathed nothing but reasonableness and goodwill. More recently he has declared, also in the Diet, that "it is more important at present to convince Russia and China that Japan's policy is not aggressive than to discuss navies with the United States" (*Times*, March 1, cable from Tokyo). It would appear that, for the time being at any rate, diplomacy has got the upper hand of the military in Tokyo. And undoubtedly many Japanese are seriously alarmed at the enormous figure of the national budget, a total of yen 2,100,644,938, of which no less than yen 1,021,470,000 goes to the army and navy. An agreement with China would certainly be of great value to Japan.

Withal one cannot get away from that suspicion of Japanese motives which clouds all the Chinese outlook. Thus the *Ta Tung Pao*, a leading Chinese paper, commenting in its issue of January 26 on supposed offers by Japan of a particularly conciliatory nature, says:

"The very fact that these proposals are so reassuring leads us, after mature consideration, to suspect hidden traps and pitfalls. . . . When a country is ruled by its army, and allows the army to present it with *faits accomplis* in a relatively weaker country, or harbours the thought of making use of its might to coerce this country into a non-coercion and non-aggression pact, it savours of bringing peace in one hand and a sword in the other."

Et dona ferentes: these are the thoughts of the overwhelming mass of Chinese. And the same issue of *The Times* just quoted contains a message from its Hongkong correspondent that opposition to Nanking's "pro-Japanese policy" is rising in Canton, and that the veteran Kuomintang leader, Mr. Hu Han-min—still a power in the land in spite of his retirement in Hongkong—has "strongly denounced Nanking's policy as tantamount to making China a Japanese protectorate and ruining China."

In plain fact, it seems impossible for Tokyo and Nanking to come to terms in any manner by themselves without exciting an outcry throughout China that Japan has used force to gratify her ambitions. The more innocent the published terms may appear, the more it will be declared that there are secret and malignant clauses. And it must frankly be added that any number of people abroad will say the same thing. The outcome may very easily be renewed civil war in China and, in other countries, renewed abuse of Japan, which can have no other effect than to infuriate the whole Japanese people, enable the least restrained elements to seize power, and do an infinity of harm to China and all who have dealings with her.

Surely there is not only room now, but an urgent call for tact-

ful and friendly intervention by some outside agency. The word may have a suspicious sound, but the intention would be above reproach. In the case of Manchuria, Japan returned an obstinate *non possumus* to all Geneva's suggestions, partly because she felt that her position was misunderstood, partly because she could see no other way of securing her vital interests. Neither of these difficulties need arise at the present juncture. What Japan needs in China is cessation of propaganda against herself, trade, raw materials. There is not the slightest doubt that China would readily give her all these if she could be relieved of that fear of ulterior designs on Japan's side. Furthermore, there is ample room in China's spacious markets for the customers of Japan and all nations without detriment to each other. No one could reasonably deny Japan's predominant position in the Far East, while the imperious necessities of her huge and ever-increasing population are evident to all. But Tokyo can hardly be blind to the misgivings that exist, both in China and other countries, as to the means by which she seeks to satisfy those necessities, and the extent to which the interests of others might be affected.

And no Power appears better qualified than Great Britain to play the part of mediator. It has been a matter of deep regret to the Chinese, we may well believe, hardly less than to all who know the Far East (not only British), to see how in recent years Great Britain's policy has declined into a mere waiting on events, a hand-to-mouth staving off of difficulties as they arose, an acquiescence in anyone taking the lead so long, it seemed, as she was not bothered. Yet it is the fact that British interests in China still vastly exceed those of any other nation, not even excepting Japan's. She has an intimate acquaintance with China and an unrivalled knowledge of how to approach her, born of two centuries of intimate association. Her unsurpassed Consular Service in China supplies her with an understanding of Chinese needs and susceptibilities which might be turned to the greatest use. She has friends in China and in Japan, and, in diplomacy, the greatest advantage of all, that her word is believed. To convince the Chinese that Japan has no ulterior aims on her freedom; to convince the Japanese that no one seeks to deprive her of the advantages in Far Eastern markets that she justly desires—surely that is a worthy task and well within Great Britain's capability.

CHINA: THE GREAT NORTH-WEST

By E. H. ANSTICE

(The author, who is in the teaching profession, has been resident in the Far East for the last eight years.)

THE economic possibilities of the North-West, an area comprising roughly the six provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Suiyuan, Ningsia, Kokonor and Sinkiang, have always had a strong attraction for Chinese apostles of reconstruction. Plans for its development have figured prominently in every scheme from that of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in 1919 on, and the optimistic pronouncements of Mr. T. V. Soong on his return from his tour there in the early months of last year (1934) have brought it once more into the news.

In the first place, one may ask, exactly what is looked for? The tenth item in the six-year plan passed by the National People's Convention in 1931 reads "in the development of the N.E. and the N.W. the construction of communications, the opening up of lands and mines, immigration and colonization shall be emphasized." It is on the last two that the greatest stress is laid. By redistribution the pressure of the population on the more densely inhabited parts of the country is to be lightened, and at the same time increased agricultural production will render China less dependent on foreign imports.

After its possibilities in these respects it is on the mineral resources of the North-West that hope is chiefly pinned. Very rosy reports are current of the mineral wealth of these provinces, in particular of Sinkiang, which is popularly reputed to be extremely rich in coal, gold and oil. Finally, there are the commercial and industrial developments which should follow on an increased population, the opening up of mines and the provision of better means of communication.

There is no question that if a redistribution of population to this area were possible it would be a tremendous boon. Distributed equally over her whole area China's 450 millions would give an average density of 105 persons to the square mile—but they are far from being so distributed. The people are concentrated in five thickly populated areas, 83 per cent. occupying only 17 per cent. of the land. The economic pressure on the rural population is, in consequence, often appalling. 65 per cent. are in dire need of land, the cultivable land averaging out at a bare two to three acres per family of six, a figure which, small though it is, is misleadingly high, when the large proportion of big land-owners is taken into account. A small percentage of the people

occupy a very large percentage of the land, as the following figures for two typical areas exemplify. In the first, 6 per cent. of the people own 47 per cent. of the land; in the second, 2 per cent. own 71 per cent.

From such a situation the historical road of escape was calamity—famine, earthquake, civil war, drought, pestilence, flood. Even in the stoic East, however, man is no longer content to wait upon such events; he strives more and more to be master of his fate. Instead, therefore, of waiting for wholesale death to redress the balance between the land and its teeming denizens, he plans to move where for the moment at least there is land enough and to spare.

But, though the land may be there, it may not be suitable. Climatic conditions, topography, the nature of the soil, all have to be taken into account. After all, if the areas at present open to colonization were very attractive, the probability is that they would have been taken up long ago. Most of the land, indeed, which is rendered suitable by the nature of its soil suffers from lack of water, though this, it is true, is a lack which in many cases could be fairly easily remedied. But this being so it is obvious that any schemes of settlement must go hand in hand with irrigation measures. When this is taken into consideration, the area available is considerably reduced. Mongolia and Manchuria being excluded, as under present political conditions they must be, it will be found that there are six areas which lend themselves to development. These are:

	<i>Area in Square Miles.</i>
1. The Weiho Plain in Shensi	4,500
2. The Hotao Plain in the great bend of the Yellow River	4,000
3. The Suiyuan-Patao Plain	3,000
4. The Ningsia Plain	4,000
5. The West Kansu Plain	12,000
6. Parts of Sinkiang, amounting to	20,000

Thus there are in all some 48,000 square miles in which colonization is a feasible proposition. Allowing 300, or, at the most, 400 persons to the square mile, these would support a population of from 14 to 19 million. Thus, when allowance is made for the people already in these regions, the total possible increase can hardly be much more than 12 million, a figure which, in comparison with the need, is not so very large. Industrial development may, of course, ultimately allow of a further increase, but that is to look very far ahead indeed.

The chief hopes in regard to mineral wealth centre round Sinkiang. Here the coal deposits are said to be second only to those of Shansi, the coal itself being of exceptional quality. Coal fields are at present being worked at Kitai, Urumchi, Sinlai, Ili,

Hami and Turfan, and the output, in spite of primitive methods, is quite considerable, most of it being sold in the streets of the neighbouring towns. Lack of transport facilities make large scale development out of the question.

Gold has been mined in the Altai mountains for a long period. At the moment 60,000 workers are employed. Methods are very crude, and there is general agreement that with more modern methods the output could be considerably increased, but whether to the extent alleged in the more optimistic Chinese quarters is doubtful. At the moment in any case the bulk goes to Russia, and, unless Sinkiang is brought into closer touch with Nanking by the provision of speedier means of transport and the establishment of stricter central control, will continue to do so.

Other mineral resources ascribed to this province include oil, jade and copper. Rich oil deposits are said to exist at Wusakuchi, Sinlai, Urumchi and round Kuchgar and Aksu. Despite this, however, much oil is at the moment being imported from Russia, owing, it is alleged, to the primitive methods employed by the Chinese engaged in working the oil fields. The copper deposits are undoubtedly valuable. The mines are mere surface scratchings, yet they produce upwards of 40,000 lbs. annually; so plentiful, in fact, is the metal that the natives use copper household utensils rather than earthenware.

But apart from Sinkiang the mineral wealth of the North-West is not great. Coal and iron are found in Kansu, but not in any extraordinary quantities. Suiyuan has some rich coal fields; the deposits are estimated to amount to 75 million tons. At the moment some 190,000 tons are being taken out annually from forty odd mines. Asbestos is also found in this province.

Industry and commerce are practically negligible, and will continue to be so until the schemes for colonization and mineral development can be made effective. These again depend upon the establishment of the better means of communication which are the crux of the whole question. Tungkwan, Taiyuan and Paotow, the western termini of the Lunghai, Chengtai and Pei-Sui lines, form three detached rail-heads separated by intervals of approximately 250 miles. There is no rail communication north and south west of the Peiping-Hankow line 250 miles behind Tungkwan and Paotow and 150 miles behind Taiyuan. The Lunghai line is in the course of extension to Sian, and should have reached that town last year (1934); a start has been made on a line to connect Tungkwan via Taiyuan with the Pei-Sui line, and there is talk of another new line from Paotow to Ningsia. Beyond this there is nothing.

The North-West is almost equally as badly served with roads. Highways capable of taking modern traffic in any quantity extend

little further west than the railways. Within the six provinces themselves the mileage works out according to the latest figures at one per 200 square miles, and much of this, it has to be remembered, consists of dirt tracks or old caravan routes, which in wet weather become practically impassable. Conditions in the Hotao region illustrate very vividly what this means. Here a good harvest is far from a blessing to farmers. Plenty brings about low prices, for transportation difficulties make it impossible to dispose of a surplus elsewhere. It takes at least five days to get a cartload to Paotow, the nearest rail-head, and this adds something like \$3.00 per picul (133 lbs.) to the price of wheat and other cereals, an increase which makes competition in the Yangtse valley with American imports impossible.

The position, however, is slowly improving. New roads have been or are being constructed, among which may be mentioned a motor highway of sorts between Sinkiang and Suiyuan, over which a motor-bus service is now operating, the Kansu-Sinkiang highway of which the Urumchi-Hami section has been opened, and the Paotow-Ningsia and Lanchow-Ningsia highways completed in 1933. This year the National Economic Council has allocated \$800,000 for improving and constructing motor roads in Shensi and Kansu, in particular one connecting Sian, Lanchow and Pingfan. This last extends in the form of an old caravan route through Kansu to Sinkiang. It was in bygone days the great road to Europe, and from Lanchow on is to form the foundation of the Kansu-Sinkiang highway already mentioned.

But once the railway is left behind travel is inevitably slow and tedious. "On this road (the Sian-Lanchow road)" says Mr. Okecki, League of Nations expert, who accompanied Mr. T. V. Soong on his recent trip, "there are many difficult mountain ranges, deep valleys in the loess terraces, sandy and dusty hills along the Yellow River, and many rivers and streams to cross, but very few bridges. Last year floods washed out most of the old bridges. The surface of the road is only mud, and after rain this road is impassable to motor traffic for days. . . . Each car must now provide for itself some means of getting through the streams." The only means of reaching the North-West quickly are, in fact, the planes of the Eurasia Aviation Corporation. This now maintains a weekly service between Shanghai and Lanchow via Loyang and Sian, and fortnightly services between Peiping and Loyang and Lanchow and Urumchi.

After roads come irrigation works. Here, too, a start has been made. In the Weiho plain the Famine Relief Committee has completed the Ching Wei canal which provides water for 125 square miles. At the same time the provincial authorities are assisting the farmers to dig wells. In the Suiyuan-Paotow plain

the Famine Relief Committee in 1930 constructed the Saratsi irrigation scheme, utilizing the waters of the Yellow River. This provides water for some 600 square miles, and makes colonization here an immediately practicable proposition. In the Hotao plain military labour has been responsible for two small canals. This year the National Economic Council has allocated \$1,300,000 for the completion of two projects in Shensi and one in Suiyuan.

In addition to its grants for these purposes and for road building the National Economic Council has allotted further sums amounting to over \$1,000,000 to the North-West. These are to be spent primarily on measures to improve the type of animal bred in what is largely a pastoral area, and in the prevention of animal disease. Agricultural co-operative societies are also to be organized, for which purpose \$400,000 is set aside.

In one area, the Hotao plain in Suiyuan, colonization plans have already been put into effect. Large areas have been taken over from the original nomad Mongol inhabitants—due regard, however, being paid to their pastoral needs—and Chinese farmers are being settled on them by two bodies, the Shantung Colonization and Reclamation Office, which settled 2,000 families in this region between 1925 and 1928, and the Directorate General of Military Reclamation of Western Suiyuan, which, as its name implies, aims at placing disbanded troops on the land.

The work of this body provides a very interesting experiment. Three bodies of soldier farmers have so far been settled, an officer corps of 500 discharged officers, an Experimental Corps composed of three companies, and a Reclamation Corps made up of one battalion and one brigade. The first holds about 12,000 acres in Linho, of which area about one-seventh has been developed by Shantung immigrants who pay rent in kind to the soldier owners, the latter extending to their tenants credit facilities in the form of loans of seed. The other two bodies hold between them 50,000 odd acres, and, while some of this land is let out to tenants on terms similar to those granted by the officer corps, the holders are doing a considerable amount of reclamation work themselves. These soldier immigrants are much better equipped and housed than the civilians, being provided with implements and furniture. They also receive their pay for five months of the year, being liable to be recalled to the colours at any moment.

That the North-West has economic possibilities which it would be foolish for China's rulers to neglect is undoubtedly true; whether they are as great as they are sometimes made out to be is another matter. One is inclined to suspect that behind the economic argument there is a political motive. China's hold on this region, never strong, has not been growing stronger. Very dangerous centrifugal forces are at work, especially in Sin-

kiang and Suiyuan. Outer Mongolia is already part of the Soviet system. Inner Mongolia, of which Suiyuan forms a part, is going that way, almost certainly will go, unless the attempts being made to come to terms with the Mongol princes are successful. Manchukuo, too, is an uneasy neighbour.

In Sinkiang, Chinese Turkestan, the position is even worse. The population is racially very mixed; ten different groups can be distinguished, with the Chinese as an intruding minority of officials, merchants and soldiers. The religion of the bulk of the people, Mohammedanism, is also an important factor. Communication with China proper is long and difficult. The overland route through Kansu takes from two to three months. The quickest route, that via the Trans-Siberian railway from Mukden, then along the Turk-Sib line to the Sinkiang border, and so by motor road to Urumchi, takes thirteen days and is out of the question these days, as is the third route from Kalgan to Urga and thence south-west to Urumchi, and for the same reason. Both lie almost entirely outside China proper, and are for the greater part of their distance under the control of foreign and not too friendly powers. The new roads mentioned are doing a little to improve matters, the air services provide a speedy route for emergencies which individuals can deal with, but apart from this it is as true today as it was one hundred years ago to say that Sinkiang is practically cut off from the rest of the country. The inhabitants find communication with the South-West and the North-West far easier than with China, and in consequence such outside relations as they do have are with British India, Afghanistan and Russia. Not more than 5 per cent. of their trade is with China proper; the remainder is with these three countries. It is little wonder, therefore, that China's hold over this area remains weak. Several times in the past it has rebelled, and been with great difficulty reconquered. At the moment Nanking is engaged in trying, not too successfully, to put an end to the latest rising. There is, indeed, no little danger of Sinkiang being lost, and with it, possibly, Kansu. In that province, too, there is a large Muhammedan population, which is quite as likely to side with its co-religionists today as it did in 1864.

Altogether, therefore, a speeding up of the work of development in the North-West is of vital importance, not so much because of the intrinsic economic benefits which will accrue, but for the political results which should follow in the train of those economic benefits.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SO-CALLED PARENTAL SYSTEM IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

BY DR. H. TH. FISCHER

THE ethnological terminology relating to the social organization of primitive peoples and the system of kinship often closely connected with it, excels in vagueness and confusion. For example, what are we to understand by conceptions such as clan, Sippe, tribe, caste, age classes, marriage classes, or by matriarchy, patriarchy, exogamy, etc? All sorts of heterogeneous elements are associated under fine-sounding names, and this again gives rise to many different hypotheses, all of them intended to make clear to us the origin or the gradual development of the now existing forms of society, but often being in flat contradiction with each other.

The confusion is alarming and makes interchange of thoughts on this subject almost impossible. One cannot understand each other any longer, everyone giving a different meaning to the terms he uses. "As a member of the inner ring," writes Malinowski, "I may say that whenever I meet Mrs. Seligman or Dr. Lowie, or discuss matters with Radcliffe-Brown or Kroeber, I become at once aware that my partner does not understand anything in the matter, and I end usually with the feeling that this also applies to myself. This refers also to all our writings on kinship and is fully reciprocal."* We could speak of scientific sardonic humour here.

From the not, or only partly, initiated, this chaos with which we are confronted in ethnology still remains entirely hidden, and with calm assurance we see them using all kinds of terms, apparently without realizing for a moment how meaningless these have become. However, as several ethnographers are among these non- and partly-initiated, this certainty born of ignorance contributes towards enlarging the confusion more and more. They mention the occurrence of either matriarchy or totem group, etc., without its being even in the least evident what is meant by these terms.† Later, this may give rise to every possible confusion when their writings are used as sources.

* *Kinship*: Man, 1930, No. 17.

† One is often amazed at the meaning given to these terms. A very striking example is the following: "On the Schouten Islands matriarchy prevails, or rather we find a transition from matriarchy into patriarchy; thus, e.g., a man will not sell anything without first having obtained permission from his wife" (Joh. Jens, "Het Insos en K'Borfeest op Biak en Soepiori," *Bijdr. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk.*, LXXII, 1916, Blz. 406).

This being so, we must overcome some diffidence if we desire to hazard a closer examination of the social organization or the systems of relationship of the primitives, and we can only do so realizing that in spite of these obstacles it is necessary always to try to gain a better insight into this matter.

In the ethnological literature and that of customary law concerning the Netherlands East Indies, we always find distinguished three kinds of systems of relationship: the maternal, the paternal, and the parental kind. This last term is less known in English literature. Therefore I propose to write about this one more especially, in the course of which we shall see how unfit for use it really is.

In the first place, however, let us consider briefly the maternal and the paternal systems. When we use these terms here we only wish to indicate the custom according to which the child, born of the marriage of two parents belonging to different clans, is reckoned as belonging either to the clan of the mother or of the father respectively.* These regulations of kinship, of course, have certain consequences; for instance, in the law of succession and certain marriage ceremonies, the relations between blood relatives, and those by marriage, etc.

I can only enter a little into this subject, as it is not my intention to analyze the ideas of matriarchy and patriarchy. It must be admitted, however, that in many cases one has gone much too far by regarding certain phenomena in social domains as a consequence of a certain form of relationship, and as belonging to it. So *e.g.* the avunculate is called typical for matriarchy, the bride-price marriage for patriarchy; the matrilocal marriage typical for the former, the patrilocal marriage for the latter. Expressions like maternal marriages or paternal marriages are used, then, as if really marriages contracted in this way should be characteristic of either maternal or paternal peoples.

A theoretic ideal type of community, based on either maternal or paternal relationship, once having been designed, one can go on using the characteristic of these two forms of community as a kind of guide-fossils. These are specially important if in matriarchy

* The paternal and maternal system are also taken in a much wider sense. Thus we read, *e.g.*, that "Bali is one of the areas of Indonesia, where father right exists" (Korn: *Adatrecht van Bali*, 1932, p. 443). It is clear, however, that this father right has very little in common with what we find, *e.g.*, among the Bataks on Sumatra. In course of time all kinds of influences, and not the least the religious ones, have asserted themselves in the systems of relationship. If without more ado we call what we find on Bali a paternal system, and in the mapping out of the systems of relationship (see v. Eerde, *Inleiding tot de Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië*, Map III.) we should indicate Bali and, *e.g.*, Nias and the Batak regions by a similar hatching as paternal, we should present an entirely wrong picture of the actual state of things.

or patriarchy one does not exclusively see two distinct systems of relationships, but rather phases which succeed each other in course of time in the history of the development of human society. The maternal system is then always said to be older than the paternal system,* and one speaks of matriarchy with paternal innovations or of patriarchy with maternal relics. When e.g. one finds the avunculate, an index of matriarchy, among a paternal people, it is called a relic; when one finds a patrilocal marriage in a maternal region, one speaks of innovations. The right view of the value of such phenomena as the avunculate, patrilocal or matrilocal marriage, the bride-price, etc., becomes impossible, because one never sees them in a connection with the society in which they occur, but can only exclusively value them as survivals or as foreign new formations.†

What is of the greatest importance in connection with the term "parental system" is the fact that in the case of mother-right as well as of father-right, we may speak of a unilateral relationship. This must not, as is often done, be misunderstood, as if there were no question about a relation between the children and the relatives of the other parent. Of course, in matriarchal regions, too, the child feels itself related to its father and his brothers and sisters. Of course, the relatives of the mother will have a certain influence in paternal regions. In Indonesia it is very great indeed. Even with the Bataks, who otherwise are always taken for the show-boys of the paternal system, the influences of the relatives of the wife are distinctly noticeable.

A people where relationship is exclusively unilateral is unknown to me. Malinowski expresses this as follows: "Or, again, there is no such thing as pure mother-right or father-right, only a legal over-emphasis on one side of kinship, accompanied often by a strong emotional, at times even customary, reaction against over-emphasis" (*Man*, 1930, No. 17, p. 22).

Indeed, we have to do here with a customary "over-emphasis" on one side of kinship, and here mother-right as well as father-right only means that in inheritance, succession, compulsory

* Whereas promiscuity used to be put forward as a proof of the necessary priority of the maternal system, it being the most original way of living, we now find it defended on the strength of the idea that the original man did not know the connection between *coïtus* and *conceptio*. This hypothesis, finally disproved by J. H. Ronhaar (*Het Vaderschap bij de Primitieven*, 1933), we find, e.g., in v. Ossenbruggen: "Verwantschaps en huwelijksvormen in den Indischen Archipel" (*Tijdschrift Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 1930, p. 217), and by S. R. Boomgaard: *De rechtstoestand van de getrouwde Vrouw volgens het Adatrecht van Ned. Indië*, 1926, pp. 2 and 3.

† This had been written before I found almost the same ideas in Malinowski's Introduction to Hogbin's book, *Law and Order in Polynesia*, 1934, p. lv.

services, and contributions, one of the sides of kinship takes precedence. In other words, between each individual and one of the clan of his own tribe, there exist legal relations not existing between him and any other clan. As a rule we express this as follows: In maternal (paternal) regions the children belong to the clan of the mother (father). We only find mother-right and father-right so, according to the definitions, where the people have a grouping into clans, and *exogamy*, in the sense of a prohibition to marry within the clan, occurs.

Beside these two systems of relationship, as said before, a third kind, the parental system, is mentioned. This denomination is fatal in a way. It namely suggests the existence of a system in which the *clan* of the father, as well as that of the mother, is being continued. As in the paternal system the children are of the clan of the father, and in the maternal system of that of the mother, so with the parental system the children should be of both clans. Occasionally we find the parental system defined as such. Yet it is clear that such a state of things cannot exist anywhere; it is simply impossible. Let us just try to realize such a case. A man of clan A is married to a woman of clan B; the children would be of clan A as well as of clan B. Another man of clan C is married to a woman of clan D, so the children are both of clan C and of D. A son of the marriage first mentioned is married to a daughter of that mentioned in the second place, and their children will have to be reckoned as being of clan A, B, C, as well as D. Just realize the further complications when more clans exist.

By the parental system we cannot possibly understand a system of relationship in which the clan of the father as well as that of the mother is being continued. What does this term denote then? On this point we quote the definition of parental right to be found in the *Encyclopædia of the Netherlands East Indies* (second edition, third volume, p. 189): "The term 'parental right' indicates that system of kinship from which relationship arises and is continued between children and their father with his relations, as well as between the children and their mother with her relations; in this parental, cognatic, system of relationship, husband and wife are also on a par in rights and authority in marriage.

"The parental system is the one widest spread in our archipelago; it is found among the backward tribes like the Dayaks and the Torajas as well as among the cultured Bugis and Javanese."

So the children are *related* to the father as well as to the mother. Other definitions speak of being both of the *family* of the father and of that of the mother. Of clan *relationship* we hear no longer in such definitions. Now the words "family" and "related to" are extremely vague. For indeed also the members

of the clan are conscious to some extent as being of one family. What, we may ask, does clan relationship mean, then, in parental regions, or is it unknown there?

Above I have mentioned that sometimes mother-right and father-right are taken to be two successive phases in the history of the development of relationship. Those who do this want to acknowledge the parental system as a third phase. But others also, who will have nothing to do with an evolution of mother-right towards father-right, see the parental system as a later development. Let us read in van Ossenbruggen how we have to conceive this:

"Only gradually together with the weakening of the clan* and the coming to the fore of the family relationship, and with number of intermediate forms, we see *the parental system* developing, according to which the children are acknowledged by the relations of the mother as well as by those of the father; they equally continue the clan of the mother and that of the father."

Father-right and mother-right, van Ossenbruggen goes on, are attended by exogamy. "Where the clan is growing too large, we see clan-exogamy gradually passing into family-exogamy, finally disappearing altogether parallel with the transition into the parental system. Then we have *eleutherogamy*, liberty to choose a marriage within or without the clan, and then retain systems of prohibitions of marriage only based on blood relationship, but often bearing the mark of former systems."†

As it is sketched here, it may have taken place in some cases, though I object to the expression that *parallel* with the transition to the parental system clan and family exogamy disappear. Where we meet with exogamy, thus where father and mother are of different clans, automatically either the *clan* of the father or that of the mother will take precedence in the descent for the children. As we saw, another state of things is not possible. Does this exogamy disappear or *has a people never known it*—this possibility Wilken has already pointed out—of itself there is no matriarchy or patriarchy then. We can, however, name many causes why a people do not contract exogamic marriages; increasing of the clan, like van Ossenbruggen indicates, is only one of them.

If we want to understand these causes, it is necessary to introduce another and seemingly very distant subject—namely, the density of population. The problems connected with it, principally dealt with by sciences as social geography, sociology, and

* Here and in the following quotations of Dutch ethnologists I translate the word "stam" by "clan." The translation "tribe," which we find in the Dutch-English dictionaries for the word "stam," is less exact according to the current English ethnological terminology.

† v. Ossenbruggen, *l.c.*, p. 218.

statistics, are also of the highest importance to ethnology. Undoubtedly the ethnologists have occupied themselves too little with it, just as they have also kept aloof from all kinds of questions concerning the influence of the geographic, social, and historic surroundings of the peoples studied by them. Among other things we can explain by this why a great deal of the ethnological theories and constructions have something floating, unreal, that leaves those unsatisfied who, because of their profession, come into contact with the primitives. They philosophize too readily on "the original man," "the *homo ethnologicus*," alias "the primitive," etc., while the contact with reality is lost.

Without wishing to plead for a return to a superficial historical and geographical materialism, it is, in my opinion, necessary to use the results of social geography when explaining several ethnological problems. Indeed, also to the ethnologist it is important whether a people lives in a fertile valley or in a rocky, barren, mountainous region, whether it lives under a tropical or a polar climate, whether it finds navigable rivers or not in its dwelling-place, whether it has a good or bad or no sort of wood at all at its disposal, whether it lives far away in the interior of a large continent or on an island, etc. It has been the great merit of Ratzel for ethnology that he has pointed out the necessity of what I should like to call geographical ethnology. The so-called historical school in ethnology, which is often taken for the bearer of Ratzel's ideas, has undoubtedly done very important work in this respect. When, as a school in ethnology, it leaves so many people dissatisfied, we can explain this by a, very soon afterwards following, dogmatic standardizing of the relations between surroundings and societies, which is unacceptable as such.

The parental system in the Netherlands East Indies is found both among those people who do know of a clan-relationship and those who do not. These two cases we have already found in our quotations from the *Encyclopædia of the Dutch East Indies*, where it is said that the parental system occurs both among the *backward peoples* like the Dayaks and the Torajas and the *cultured* Bugis and Javanese.

These Dayaks and Torajas do know clan-relationship. The community feeling is very strong in the clan; Kruyt* says of the Torajas: "Outside their clan they do not feel at their ease. They are among strangers then, and neither by the Torajas nor by the Dayaks is a stranger held in respect. They distrust a stranger, and on the other hand killing him is not of much account. However, this strong clan-relationship is not accompanied by exogamy among either of the two peoples. A marriage within the clan is not considered incest here. To marry a woman of another clan

* Adriani-Kruij: *De Bare 'e sprekende Toradja's*, vol. I., 1912, p. 124.

is not prohibited, but it seldom occurs. So Dayaks and Torajas are eleutherogamic, and yet we cannot say that this eleutherogamy, as van Ossenbruggen will have it, is a consequence of the weakening of the clan-relation.

The inner country of Borneo and of Central Celebes is very thinly populated. The survey map added to the second volume *Buitengewesten* of the provisional issue of the census of 1930 for both the territories gives a density of population of 0—10 souls per kilometre. It is self-evident that these average figures give us no idea of the real state of things. "Dünnere Bevölkerung," Ratzel* says, "wohnt immer ungleichmässig," and this is corroborated here by ethnography.

The latter tells us of clans each living in their own area, within which they either wander about or have settled down in widely scattered villages. There is no question about an interliving of several clans in the same area, such as we find in other, more densely populated, territories of the archipelago. Here there is still room enough and large districts are uninhabited. The clans come very little into touch with each other, and for that reason we can explain why they remain strangers and hostile to each other. Only between clans of which it is still known that they formed one whole in former times there sometimes exist better relations.

The density of population is so small that it is experienced as a disadvantage, and all kinds of measures are taken either to prevent the decrease of the number of inhabitants or to increase it. Marriage is very often matrilocal, and the group of the bride thus profits by the labour of the in-marrying man, as it will do later on by that of the children born of the marriage. For the same reason they will try to prevent a man from marrying a woman outside the tribe, and so we see that most Dayak and Toraja marriages are endogamic. † On the other hand, among the young men themselves there is little inclination to find a wife in another clan, as this marriage would compel him to live amidst strangers.

As they as a rule marry within the clan, the family relations arising from these marriages, of course, will be of quite another nature than where exogamy is the rule. Father and mother are of the same clan, and so there is no question to which clan the children shall belong. *So the parental system is here the consequence of endogamic marriage.* The distinction we are used to make for endogamic peoples between relatives by blood and by affinity assume a different character here, and all kinds of questions concerning succession rights are much less intricate. This comes

* Ratzel: *Anthropogeographie*, 113, 1922, p. 154.

† Not only clan endogamic, but often even, locally endogamic. When the villages, as is the case with the Torajas, are widely scattered, one village grudges the other village the labourer.

out especially where marriage is not only clan endogamic, but is also contracted preferably within the village, and so within a still narrower group of relatives.

However, if a Toraja or a Dayak chooses a wife *outside* his own clan, then we see that there is no question about parental right. The wife goes on living with her relatives, and the husband is to some extent taken up into her group of relations. The children born of such a marriage are then reckoned to be of the clan of their mother. The system of kinship is *maternal* then.

In this case it seems to me altogether inaccurate to speak of a parental system, only because the relationship on the side of the father is "fully acknowledged."* For we saw that neither in paternal nor in maternal regions is the relationship to the other party ever denied,† but that unilateral membership of one of the clans, either of that of the father or of that of the mother, gives another character to the relationship of this parent.

So while with the Torajas and the Dayaks the parental system exists side by side with a clan-relationship, we also find this system where clan-relationship does not exist. The latter is always found in the Netherlands East Indies among peoples that have undergone all kinds of foreign influences and whose system of relationship has suffered from them. However, it is then very difficult to say which was the original state, and, should we do so, we must be aware that only presumptions, more or less strong, are being pronounced.

Let us restrict ourselves to Java. If we accept the view that formerly clan-kinship existed here too, then here we have to do with a case such as is sketched by van Ossenbruggen. As the clans were increasing and concurrently tribal relationship was weakening, the distinction between fellow-clansman and stranger became blurred, as the dense population made the boundaries disappear. Probably here, as van Ossenbruggen tells us, and as we see it happen elsewhere in the archipelago, the clans were formerly divided, and the "subclan" was the group one felt connected with in the first place. For marriages outside these groups one will then have reckoned the children born of them either to the paternal side or to the maternal side until these last relics of the tribe, as a genealogical unity, also disappeared.

In what manner the history of this development may have taken place, clans have now entirely disappeared in Java. The consequence is that we cannot speak of exogamy, endogamy, or eleutherogamy here. In the system of relationship the tribe plays no part. When we read that the Javanese know the parental

* C. van Vollenhoven: *Het Adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië*, I., 1925, pp. 313 and 355.

† See above, p. 4.

system, this does not mean that the children are reckoned to belong to the *clan* of the father and mother, but only that they are as much part of the *family circle* of the father as of that of the mother.* In this respect there is a resemblance between the system of relationship of the Javanese and that of the Torajas and Dayaks, in so far as among the latter the children are born of endogamic marriages.

Apart from the growth of the clans, the disappearance of the clan-relationship may also be caused in quite a different way. Thus Islam and Christianity have a weakening influence on clan relationship, although this is not always clearly noticeable. We learn *e.g.* that several Christian Bataks no longer wish to respect exogamy and that marriages within the clan already occur there. Among the Minangkabau the old maternal system fights a severe battle against Islamic influences. What we see beginning here has been completed elsewhere, and afterwards it is almost impossible to reconstruct the course of things.

Thus we see that the parental system can be "primitive" as well as the result of a long development. For a good understanding of the Indonesian forms of relationship it seems necessary to me to distinguish between these two kinds.† In other words, when using the term "parental system," it is desirable always to mention the kind of parental system one is speaking about, it being either a parental system as a consequence of endogamic marriages, or a parental system among peoples without any clan-relationship. When mapping out the forms of relationship, it will also be necessary to make this distinction. Such a map will give an intricate image if we also discriminate kinds of father- and mother-right. The most different systems of relationship will appear side by side, and it will not always be possible to explain this variety. On the other hand, besides indicating present-day conditions, such a map will also give an idea of the historical growth of these forms of relationships.

* How large the "family circle" is it is difficult to tell. Besides, according to place and time, it is different in every particular case. Thus the family circle, a marriage in which is considered to be incest, is much narrower than in relation to the division of property, etc.

† See also p. 2, note 2.

AN ALL-INDIA ALPHABET

BY PROFESSOR ERNEST P. HORRWITZ

THE vast Indian continent cannot possibly learn to think in a common language, be it English or Hindustani, but an All-India alphabet might help to clarify political and social divergences. The Latin script is a natural link between East and West; even Devanagari with its subtle sound-physiology can be romanized in a simple manner.

Turkey prints the Koran in Roman letters. Indignant mullahs in Ankara and Istanbul murmured at the impious innovation, but the popularity of the reform-alphabet squashed their angry protests. By this time virtually the whole nation has forgotten the Semitic way of reading from right to left. The Turkish dictionary, based on the French *Larousse*, has about 20,000 words; countless technical and scientific terms are derived from Latin. The linguistic equipment of Turkish pundits may be 20,000 words, but a man with an average education can manage nicely with 2,000; a peasant with 900 and even less. Persia also desires cultural links with Europe, and has introduced the Latin script.

The many Chinese dialects are a barrier to political unity. A Cantonese workman is hardly understood in Shanghai; again the peasantry along the Yellow River has a different turn and twist of the tongue. The official language in which mandarins—*i.e.*, mantrins (councillors of state)—make learned statements is only known to the educated. The Board of Education in the National Government proposes to popularize Mandarin as the All-China commercial tongue. To the masses Mandarin is a new language, but the time-hallowed pictorial signs convey the self-same idea to millions of different speech—that is, to their eyes and not to their ears. Every Chinese kuli can decipher and comprehend those hieroglyphic symbols which look so strange to us. But though the Chinese script is the same everywhere, on practical grounds the Reform Schools have adopted the Latin alphabet, which proves a great success even among the Chinese residents in the Soviet Far East. They were hopeless illiterates until they learned to read and write romanized Chinese.

Poles, Czechs, and Croats employ the Latin script, but Cyrillic, a Slavic modification of the old Greek letters, is still in use in Russia and Yugo-Slavia. Latin spelling will save the Soviet Government ten million dollars a year. English-speaking officers of average intelligence will find it no harder to learn romanized Russian than French or German.

Yugo-Slavs too favour a change and spite tradition. For a thousand years the archaic Cyrillic letters have been current in Sofia, Belgrade, and Cetinje. Albania abandoned Arabic for Latin characters 1930.

Greek in Latin lettering looks queer at first sight. But no reactionary opposition on the part of classical scholars will prevent progressive Greece from following in the Turkish trail.

“Metron men, Kleobulos ho Lindios eipen, ariston!”
(The golden mean is best, said Kleobul from Lindos.)

If a few diacritical signs are added to mark vowel-quantity and accent, latinization will be perfectly phonetic and dignified, in Greek as in Sanskrit.

“Sarva-dharma-swarupine ramakrishnaya te namah!”
(Hail, Ramakrishna, champion of universal religion.)

Germany has virtually abandoned the cumbersome Gothic hand-writing; she plans close co-operation with the English-speaking world.

Ben Yehuda in Palestine inspired the colloquial revival of Bible-Hebrew. His son Ben Avi wished to force the dynamic Judæan current into the broader waters of Western thought, and started 1929 in Jerusalem the first Hebrew paper in a Latin transliteration. Hebrew books in Latin transcription can be found in the New York Public Library.

Ever since the Upanishad age Mother India fostered and fomented the international spirit. By the adoption of the Latin alphabet Sanskrit studies will not lose, but gain. The discomfort to be expected from the revolutionary reform is negligible, since educated Hindus are familiar with Latin letters. And what difference can it make to the crores of illiterates who neither know the native nor Latin script, whether they learn Nagari or Roman symbols? If primary education be made compulsory in every village the next generation of Untouchables and sweepers, peasants and artisans, will all be able to read and write their particular dialect in romanized print.

None of the various attempts to romanize the Sanskrit script has been a popular success. The subjoined reform alphabet is by no means conclusive, but only tentative.

The vowel length of “a i u r” might be indicated by a dash above; the lingual pronunciation “d t n” and the visarga-h by a dot below. The labial semi-vowel which has two sounds may be transcribed “v” and “w” respectively (veda, swami). The three sibilants should be kept distinct; I suggest cabda, rshi, sat. The ch-sound generally precedes its aspiration; nobody with a sprinkling of Sanskrit phonology could possibly mispronounce

ichha (wish) which is preferable to heavy-armoured ichchha. Omitting all dots and dashes in this popular article, the beginning of the Bhagavad Gita would read :

“dharmakshetre, kurukshetre, samaveta yuyutsavah,
mamacah pandavacchaiva; kim akurvata, sanjaya.”

The customary diacritical signs are dispensable in nasal transcriptions, since adjoining “g” (ganga), “j” (sanjaya, jnana) or “dotted d” (pandava) sufficiently determine the palatal or lingual nature of each nasal. Nobody will ever rhyme “singer” to “finger”; why should we complicate the spelling of words like “ganga”?

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SOME RECENT ENGLISH POETS

BY RANJEE G. SHAHANI

To some Swinburne is the last of the great English poets. Much as I sympathize with this attitude, it seems to me exaggerated; though, to my mind, Swinburne is a much more significant figure than the critics have supposed. But I need not linger over this as I have argued the point sufficiently elsewhere.* Enough to say that the English Parnassus has been by no means deserted by the Muses. Some new strains have reached us from the summit.

For sheer bardic gift pride of place must be given to Mr. W. B. Yeats. He is crowned with bays by the Celtic singers. But his poetic fortunes are somewhat instructive. They show how feebly eminence depends upon applause. Early in his career Mr. Yeats was "accepted"—became a "prophet"; and then, no one knows why, he came to be looked upon as a "back number"; today once again he has reached a pinnacle. Even Mr. T. S. Eliot has given him his benediction. For his present uprise Mr. Yeats has perhaps to thank the passing of Thomas Hardy. The younger generation has decided that it must have a leader; and it so happens that Mr. Yeats fills the place.

We have, however, nothing to do with these fashions in valuation. Mr. Yeats must be judged by his intrinsic worth. His personality is curiously mixed. As a poet he is a romantic visionary; in the world he is a man of affairs. He has a knack of combining astuteness with far-reaching circumspection. He is a poet and a politician at the same time. The interesting fact is that he has found no impasse between these varying vocations. On the contrary, each seems to have been ancillary to the other. He has written some of the finest poetry of our generation. It is not mere verbal felicity that delights us in him, but a direct translation into melody and music. He might be called the Harp of the Emerald Isle. Everything he touches turns into the cadences of Ariel's song. Take, for instance, *To a Child Dancing in the Wind*:

Dance there upon the shore;
What need have you to care
For wind or water's roar?
And tumble out your hair
That the salt drops have wet;
Being young you have not known
The fool's triumph, nor yet
Love lost as soon as won,

* See my article, "The Asiatic Element in Swinburne," *The Aryan Path*, November, 1933.

Nor the best labourer dead
 And all the sheaves to bind.
 What need have you to dread
 The monstrous crying of the wind?

This is lovely. For sheer magic it is superb. Take, again,
Memory:

One had a lovely face,
 And two or three had charm,
 But charm and face were in vain
 Because the mountain grass
 Cannot but keep the form
 Where the mountain hare has lain.

Or the closing lines of *The Lake Isle of Innisfree*:

I will rise and go now, for always night and day
 I hear lake water lapping with low sounds on the shore;
 While I stand on the roadway, or on the pavements grey,
 I hear it in the deep heart's core.

Such witchery, can the lute claim?

But I cannot continue to quote. I will content myself with saying that the following pieces, including those already cited, are, by my estimate, perhaps his finest efforts: *Friends*, *A Coat*, *Friendship*, *Adam's Curse*, *The Folly of Being Wise*, *Baile and Aillinn* (a fine example of narrative poetry), *The Fiddler of Dooney*, *The Balloon of the Mind*, *A Prayer for my Daughter*, *Praise for Dancers* (an extract from a play), *Into the Twilight* (the opening stanza is a marvel of rhythmic felicity), *The Countess Cathleen* (a poem in dialogue).

It will be noticed that Mr. Yeats is at his best when he writes about things connected with his life. What he has seen, touched and heard—these factors possess us. They communicate a genuine and generous emotion. His purely imaginative efforts are apt to appear thinner and more unconvincing. His peculiar excellence lies in his evocative power; but, by some trick of imagination, or by some pass of magic, what he recollects in tranquillity phantasmagorizes into "vast and shadowy activities" and into "great impersonal emotions." His world is not the world of everyday life, but a realm of vague figures and diaphanous backgrounds. A golden haze hangs over all his creations. Through this enchanted air there floats towards us now a lovely mouth, now a pair of starry eyes, now a figure half-seen, now a wild wailing cry. Once these sights and sounds come to our ken, they cannot be forgotten: they haunt us for evermore.

While Mr. Yeats is describing these dream-pictures from the storehouse of memory, the spell has power; but when he begins to invent them the Muse deceives him. Seldom is he able to

distinguish between inspiration and misleading. The line between the poetically true and the imaginatively false in his work is so thin that it sometimes becomes evanescent. In the bulk of his poetry he tends to be merely misty. There is too much self-conscious Celtic glamour about him. All his art (and Mr. Yeats is a consummate artist) cannot save him from sometimes palling on us.

If we seek a reason for this, we shall discover it, I think, in the make-up of his personality. There has always been in him a tendency to mystify. He rejoices in legerdemain. Of late he has fathered two books purporting to be written by Indian *sadhus*. His enthusiasm for these is confined to himself and to those who look up to him as a *guru*. No better evidence can be adduced to show his lack of critical faculty. He likes large, ill-defined outlines that we may assimilate to Brocken spectres. This is a personal idiosyncrasy—and we must leave the matter at that. But closely connected with this trait is his persistent desire to appear different from others. Hence he has always carried, as a mutual friend puts it, “the bags of other men.” Now these “bags” have not always had contents. Latterly he has been trying to fill them with “wisdom” and life’s experience, not, in every case, alas, with success. In fine, his vision has always been unsteady. He seems to have lived in a perpetual twilight of the spirit.

* * * * *

No contrast can be greater than between Mr. Yeats and A.E. in their respective spiritual outlooks. It is true that both are claimed for the Celtic movement and that both are attached to their native land; but that is all that they have in common. In style as in vision they are poles apart. A.E. is a seer, a prophet, a revealer of the Divine. He is the nearest approach among the poets of the English-speaking world to a sage of the Upanishads. He has left the valley of shadows, in which Mr. Yeats still lingers, for the shining heights where the Everlasting speaks in the music of silence. A Voice from beyond the bourn of the European consciousness makes itself heard through his incantations. He has drunk of the *soma*. Little wonder that he is God-intoxicated.

This is not to say that he is indifferent to the bright Olympus of appearance. He sings the bridal song of earth and sky. He is one of those spirits who know how to combine vision with what a French writer has deliciously called *le métier d'insecte d'une journée*. But whatever he is engaged on, whether it be painting, or public speaking, or social work, or agriculture, his master passion, that which actuates all his other activities, is the search for spiritual reality. And in quest of this he has journeyed far, until

he finds his home on the higher grounds of Hindustan. In any estimate of his work this must never be forgotten.

His poetry, though cast against a background of Irish landscape, in its vision of a unity of sentient life in man and the universe, derives from the intuitive experience of the Hindu seers and the mystics of all ages. One can almost identify the very authors and volumes by whom his spirit has been shaped. He has brooded in fiery meditation (his own favourite phrase) over the words of the Upanishads, the Bhagvad Gita, the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali, the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata. Among writers, those that have meant most to him are Plotinus, Sankara, Emerson, Whitman, Thoreau, and a few other choice spirits.

Although, with his customary indulgence, A.E. read to me the poems in which he had been helped by Hindu thought, I must confess my inability to discern any direct borrowing. What he had read had been transformed, by a subtle poetic alchemy, into something rich and strange. Only in the vision could I detect a singular likeness. Hence it would be extremely difficult, though I think not altogether impossible, to establish a linkage between A.E.'s meditations and Hindu thought. In any case, this is hardly the place for such an undertaking. The point I am labouring is this: that A.E. does not borrow but assimilates.

In this respect he differs by a whole heaven from both Mr. Yeats and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Mr. Yeats uses Hindu thought for poetic embellishment—for decorative effects. With its inwardness he has no concern—indeed, is unfitted to grapple. Dr. Tagore, on the other hand, echoes what is, so to speak, in the air. He is a passivist, moulded by not moulding what he has received. Perhaps this is why his profundity is no more than popular wisdom. It lacks the note of personal victory. Dr. Tagore, like Mr. Yeats, is not one of the *combattants d'idées*. To some he appears a mere bewailer.

A.E. is first and foremost a meditative spirit. He has a far more profound acquaintance with Hindu thought than many an Orientalist of repute. When I met him I remarked on this fact with some surprise, for I called to mind the dilettantism of Mr. T. S. Eliot. "There is nothing to be surprised at," he said. "I've had to sweat for it. . . . What you struggle for, you make your own." Then, after a pause: "Yeats used to laugh at me for my interest in Hindu thought. . . . I've been under the spell of your country from the age of twenty. . . . It is at the breast of Mother India that I have been nurtured. . . ."

In his latest volume, *The House of Titans, and Other Poems*, we still see the paramouncy of Hindu vision. The poem entitled *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* gives us a perfect example of his method. He takes a thought from Hindu seers and broods over

it for months until it has arrived at its maturity. Then it blossoms forth as naturally as a flower. In the Bhagvad Gita, that diamond-field of thought, Krishna says to Arjuna: "Thou shalt see the world first in thyself and then in me." A.E. is the first to apply this to an interpretation of Shakespeare. The astonishing fact is that no one had perceived this before. It is the only way of understanding Shakespeare. Through spirit alone can spirit be known. Our methods of external approach, so dear to academics, take us very little way. It is for this reason that A.E. professes to despise the dialect of dialectics. His thought dispenses with the categories. Like ice over a flame, it melts and boils and steams and becomes one with the atmosphere.

The finest mystical lyrics of A.E., in their blend of utter simplicity with thought reaching its acme, have not been rivalled by any modern poet. They grow like the throbbing pellets in an exhausted tube—

Far up the dim twilight fluttered
Moth-wings of vapour and flame :
The lights danced over the mountains,
Star after star they came.

The lights grew thicker unheeded,
For silent still were we;
Our hearts were drunk with a beauty
That our eyes could never see.

A.E., like Kabir, has but one theme. Some critics have blamed him for this. But there is no monotony in his work. The sameness that we encounter is that of an infinite expanse. He who understands white light has potentially command of all the colours. The Many are but the prismatic representatives of the One. Such is the credo of A.E. In stone and stick, in star and angel, in man and fish, he finds the self-same principle at work :

The children were shouting together
And racing along the sands,
A glimmer of dancing shadows,
A dove-like flutter of hands.

The stars were shouting in heaven,
The sun was chasing the moon :
The game was the same as the children's,
They danced to the self-same tune.

The whole of the world was merry,
One joy from the vale to the height,
Where the blue woods of twilight encircled
The lovely lawns of the light.

A.E. sings of the One under many names. God is the *leitmotif* of all his poems. Union with the Deity is his aim and end—

Some for beauty follow long
 Flying trace; some there be
 Seek thee only for a song :
 I to lose myself in thee.

This organ music sounds in all the poems of A.E. What one hears in them is the fiery fervour of the great religious poets—poets for whom divine love is a devouring and universal flame. In this respect the poetry of A.E. is even more far-reaching than that of Claudel. To my mind it can only be compared with the canticles of Kabir. It is a poetry of exultation, of fearless confidence, of goodwill to mankind . . .

But A.E., although he is a seer, is not a conscious artist. He himself confesses as much in the Preface to his *Collected Poems* : *

“I have omitted what in colder hours seemed to me to have failed to preserve some heat of the imagination; but in that colder mood I have made but slight revision of those retained. However imperfect they seemed, I did not feel that I could in after hours melt and remould and make perfect the form if I was unable to do so in the intensity of conception, when I was in those heavens we breathe for a moment and then find they are not for our clay.”

This method has its perils. Sometimes A.E. is loose; sometimes he descends to pathetic depths of bathos, as, for instance, in the closing section of the poem entitled *Night* :

There too for ever in twilight
 Time slips away,
 Closing in darkness and rapture
 Its awful day.

Surely this last line is truly “awful.” Often A.E. is disconcertingly repetitive. His language, when it is not touched to finer issues, can be most unimaginative. The same words and phrases occur again and again. His metrical devices are of the simplest. He makes no use of the file. He writes as the gods dictate.

It would be an excellent discipline when finding fault with an author to be required to re-write what one disapproves. That might be the most helpful form of criticism. Only, I fear, it would make critics as scarce as unicorns or Assyrian bulls. In the present case, however, I am extraordinarily fortunate. The points I have been making about A.E. are best realized when we compare his poem on the *Sibyl* with the version of the same poem by Mr. Thomas Sturge Moore. I have not the space to quote parallel passages; but the reader will find a comparison and contrast of the two pieces illuminating. No impartial critic can deny that in the version of Mr. Sturge Moore the poem had gained.

* Macmillan, 10s. 6d.

The tension has increased; the emotion is more controlled; the æsthetic appeal is more potent.

But these are, after all, insignificant blemishes in the work of our author. Mere craftsmanship is a minor grace. Were it not so, Milton would be a larger figure than Shakespeare, and George Moore than Thomas Hardy. As a matter of fact, the pairing of these names is evidence of mental imbecility. It is only polyphemic criticism of the Sitwell type* that seeks to equate poetry with what is called "technique." If by technique is meant divine skill (the classical example must be the work of the Creator) then there is much to be said for this misuse of the term by Miss Sitwell. But if by technique she understands mere verbal tinkering, then her demand is easily satisfied by any poetaster. It would appear that her feeling for beauty has a very limited range. There are many writers who can turn out graceful verses; but that by itself does not suffice to entitle them to be called poets. Beauty of texture is not enough; there must also be beauty of thought. And it is here that the majority of modern poets are found lacking.

It is little realized that thinking is not a gift of Nature. It is a difficult technical process. It is an art. Feeling, on the other hand, is common to all men. "To think deeply is to think musically," said A.E. to me on a certain occasion. Our modern poets are too apt to ignore this. They mistake barren intellectuality for profundity. A.E., at his best, is both musical and profound. If the final and supreme test of all poetry is the power of relating the Particular to the Creative Whole of existence, then A.E. is unsurpassed by any contemporary poet. His words, though simple and effortless in themselves, are seen to be ranged in a magical order, and to convey an emotion that is beyond their intellectual import. A power, a conscious might seems to co-operate with him in his efforts and creates life under the very ribs of death.

* * * * *

In total contrast to Mr. Yeats and A.E. stands Mr. Thomas Sturge Moore. In the field of poetry he is a solitary figure, obeying no laws but those of his own being. No school claims him as his own; he cannot be affiliated to this or that movement. He follows his own bent regardless of the eddies and whirlpools of fashion. One is hardly surprised that the younger generation, ever avid of new things, finds him slightly *passé*. In the hurry and rush of our civilization, when everything must move at a

* See *Aspects of Modern Poetry*, by Miss Edith Sitwell.

gallop, a worshipper of beauty excites little more than curiosity. People are apt to pass him by.

Most critics,* led away by our facile levity and love for garish effect, have done Mr. Sturge Moore less than justice. He has been accused of being "too literary," "too cloistered," "altogether out of touch with contemporary life." By this is meant that he is not in any "movement" that claims a clique; that he is not a realist; that he is not a painter of "actuality." To my mind, all these are inverted compliments! Mr. Sturge Moore's serene and exquisitely chiselled art excludes all that fills our newspapers and titillates or drugs, as the case may be, the housemaid and the young lady who hammers away all day at the typewriter. He knows that to be *à la mode* is to be all the sooner *démodée*. His concern is with beauty itself: nothing else is any affair of his.

It is "realistic" art that is on its trial. I am inclined to believe that *this* is the only decadent art. It ignores the deeper impulses of man, to whom not only the sensible world but the intelligible and spiritual worlds are accessible. Supposing it were possible to create a lily that satisfied every demand of a botanist: what we have done is to produce something that might deceive an insect. What we have accomplished is to make clear that our objective is a natural species and not an idea; our "work of art" is not creative, but a mere substitute appealing to the senses. If insects can be deceived by painted flowers, why is it that they do not linger over the frauds? The more an image is "true to nature," the more it bewrays the artist. We do not ask of him truth to reality, but truth to *his* reality—which is a very different matter. That it turns out to be our old friend idealism in a new garb need hardly surprise us.†

Mr. Sturge Moore has never confused the two issues. He has always been true to *his* reality. He knows that Art is a form of Life. Hence his work is of permanent value.

To appreciate fully his poetry, it will be expedient to spend a moment over his spiritual parentage. He is a child, on the one hand, of Matthew Arnold; and, on the other, of Flaubert. This pedigree throws much light on the growth of his spirit. He is a meticulous craftsman like his French predecessor—his ink waiting to drop from his pen; and he has the high seriousness of his English precursor—treating all things like a vision of the Holy Grail. Marmoreal perfection and a touch of consecration dis-

* Since the above passage was written, I have noted with pleasure Mr. Desmond MacCarthy's sympathetic article on Mr. Sturge Moore in the *Sunday Times*.

† In the writing of the above paragraph I am indebted to Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's finely suggestive book, *The Transformation of Nature in Art*. I take this opportunity of drawing the reader's attention to this work.

tinguishes all that comes from his pen. He has not written a line that is trite in thought or ignoble in sentiment.

If I were called upon to characterize his art in a few words, I could not do better than adopt the following sentiment of Maurice Barrès in his last *Cahier*:

“Qu’était pour moi un Leconte de Lisle? Une école de volonté. Il se faisait, ou se faisait chez lui une idée de l’artiste; on y apprenait à dédaigner le succès vulgaire; à rechercher une belle exécution, et lui voulait en outre une idée élevée, de belle qualité.”

This is exactly what one finds in Mr. Sturge Moore: much of his best work will be found in his *Selected Poems**—a book that is a delight to read. After the hectic and falsely brilliant lucubrations of the younger folk, it is a refreshment to turn to these pages.

There is not a single piece in the present collection that is cheap or shallow or banal. Of course, everyone will exercise his own taste in selecting particular poems to suit his needs. For my part, as I have little space to quote, I shall confine myself to a single poem. *The Gazelles*, to my mind, crystallizes his abounding poetic gifts. Mr. Sturge Moore can create a scene or picture with the delicate artistry of a skilled engraver. *The Gazelles* is a poem full of such exquisite touches. Let the reader judge:

They come, and their dainty pavilions pitch
In some valley, beside a sinuous pool,
Where a grove of cedars towers in which
Herons have built, where the shade is cool;

Or again:

Delicious ladies with long dark hair,
And soft dark eyes, and brows arched wide,
In quilted jacket, embroidered sash,
And tent-like skirts of pleated lawn;
While their silk-lined jewelled slippers flash
Round bare feet bedded like pools at dawn:

These lines are worthy to rank with some of the finest pen-pictures of Keats or Browning. They are composed with a rare feeling for beauty, devoutly finished, simple and truly just. There are single lines of extreme beauty: they linger in the memory. Take, for instance:

Where the eye feeds long like a lover’s gaze:

or

A crescent moon on the violet night,

or

Round bare feet bedded like pools at dawn:

These are dainty tracings in ivory.

* Macmillan, 5s.

The entire diction of the poem is superlative. The closing line—

Ineffectual herds of vanished delights—

not only charms the ear, but is the *finale* of a finished work of art. The outstanding merit of Mr. Sturge Moore, however, lies not in his verbal beauties, but in the felicitous union of æsthetic sensibility with brilliance of intellection. The following passage is illuminating :

Yet why are they born to roam and die?
Can their beauty answer thy query, O soul?
Nay, nor that of hopes which were born to fly,
But whose pinions the common and coarse day stole.

Like that region of grassy hills outspread,
A realm of our thoughts knows days and nights
And summers and winters, and has fed
Ineffectual herds of vanished delights.

A lesser thinker would have given us cheap moralizings. Not so Mr. Sturge Moore. He leaves us with an unsatisfied sense of mystery that heightens the interest of the lines. Life, Mr. Sturge Moore seems to be saying, is saturated with the inexplicable. Is any doubt possible? To discern the fineness of his mind one need only turn to his notes, each one of which is a cameo of crystal thought. One example will suffice :

“ . . . As art only belongs to those who enjoy it, so also it belongs in a still higher degree to those whose joy can create with it. For in spiritual things there can be no exclusive ownership.”

The entire passage should be pondered by those who attempt to think. It is worthy in itself of a lengthy dissertation.

The poem entitled *Danaë* is from a certain point of view his most striking effort. It may be enjoyed for its purely æsthetic charm, but to those who, like Mr. Ernest Newman, seek to delve deeper it will yield an abundant harvest. It shows how the poet's mind works. Mr. Sturge Moore admits that it contains implicitly his entire æsthetic outlook. At the time he wrote it he was unaware of this. And when by this means he knows that poems are forms of life, I for one entirely agree. Words we may think are living things; if you cut them they bleed.

Mr. Sturge Moore is probably one of the finest intelligences that expresses itself in the medium of verse. There is more elemental brain-work in one of his pieces than in many a massive tome. He is a constitutional sceptic. He has said himself: “I have a horror of closing the door on anything. I prefer the unknown to a false known.” In other words, he would rather possess a total uncertainty than a false surmise. He believes in

the charmed power of ignorance. (The child has it.) Ignorance, according to him, is even more far-reaching than knowledge, for it opens out infinite possibilities. As soon as a thing becomes known, he says, it becomes dead. It is a paradox that when a truth becomes a fact it loses all its intellectual value.

From this it will be seen that Mr. Sturge Moore's is a powerful and original mind. His critical studies such as *Armour for Aphrodite* and *Art and Life*, are, in the opinion of some, among the best things in our language. He is, in no sense of the word, a mystic. Some may think this a limitation. It is sufficient to say that he belongs entirely to the European consciousness. Assuredly he has his limitations. His sense of rhythm is manifestly unequal. A line like

Swift cheetahs cooped up in light-wheeled carts,

or

For king who, though with all else enriched,

jars upon the ear. Again, although his sense of words is so supreme, perhaps it is his very anxiety for perfection that now and again leads him astray. For instance, the phrase "daylight bland" conveys nothing to me; and I fail to understand what "trance-like distances" and "sinuous pools" may mean.

These are, I believe, legitimate criticisms. But it is profitless to dwell on them further. A man ought to be judged by his best; and the best of Mr. Sturge Moore is as good as that of any poet I know.

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Professor A. E. Housman, Mr. Laurence Binyon, Professor Lascelles Abercrombie, Mr. Walter de la Mare, Mr. Clifford Bax, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and Manmohan Ghosh—one and all have produced lovely things. But as their work speaks for itself there is no need for me to linger over it.

The names of Mr. Stephen Spender and Mr. T. S. Eliot invite an inquiry into the entire problem of the so-called New Poetry. But this is not a topic that can be dismissed in a few sentences. It calls for a separate essay. It may be that at some future date I shall return to this task.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

FAR EAST

TIBETAN TREK. By Ronald Kaulback. (*Hodder and Stoughton.*)

(*Reviewed by* BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE.)

This book is a light-hearted account of a seven months' trek beyond the Tibet-Burmah Frontier. The author of it had not long been down from Cambridge. The trek was begun under the auspices of that well-known explorer-botanist, Mr. Kingdon Ward. The south-east corner of Tibet until fairly lately has been a wild inhospitable region, like most borderlands, difficult of access and not too safe when penetrated. Both the Abors and the Nishmi, who dwell in the vicinity, are far from sociable people. Their outlook towards a stranger has always savoured of the "'eave 'arf a brick at 'im" attitude. At various times several minor military expeditions have endeavoured to tame their fiery spirits. The expeditions invariably had to retire in the end: the fiery spirits usually survived.

Mr. Kingdon Ward's little party of three Englishmen was made up in order to accompany one of his periodical botanical expeditions into this—to him—interesting corner of Tibet. Mr. Ronald Kaulback and Mr. B. R. Brooks Carrington were the other two members. Mr. Kingdon Ward was, of course, fully occupied in securing new plant specimens. Mr. Brooks Carrington was busy with natural colour films when the somewhat doubtful weather conditions made photography possible. On the other hand, the author's position by his own showing seemed at times rather like that of one of the unemployed. Mapping was his chief occupation when the party were on the move, but Mr. Kaulback was also engaged in looking after the stores and coolie transport. As days at a time were sometimes spent at various hamlets while the party was kept there by the weather or waiting for mails or porters, the author had plenty of time to take stock of his novel surroundings. He used it to the reader's advantage.

The tale of the dog offered him by the headman's wife at Shigatang is an amusing instance (p. 78).

It was not until the party were over the Tibet border that Mr. Kingdon Ward was informed that Mr. Kaulback had not been granted a passport to go more than a short way into Tibet. Special local permission allowed of the latter accompanying Mr. Kingdon Ward as far as Chutong and the Ata Kang Pass (16,000 feet), under a hundred miles from Rima (map to face p. 76), then he and Mr. Brooks Carrington had reluctantly to turn back again down the Rongto Valley to Rima.

Advised by Kingdon Ward not to try and return along the valley of the Lohit River, they decided to strike south-east over the Diphak Pass (14,350 feet) for some 140 miles to Fort Hertz on the Burmah frontier. Fort Hertz is about 300 miles from Myitkyina on the Irawaddy River. From there the author made for Mandalay and Calcutta and home across India from Bombay.

Tibetan Trek is an interesting account of a first attempt at exploration on a small scale and offers amusing and easy reading. The illustrations are excellent. Youth in this kaleidoscopic world of today is sometimes accused of irresponsibility, selfishness, and various other sins to which all flesh is heir—age just as much as youth. Exploration is an amusement for the young and not for greybeards. In spite of the besetting sins it is often accused of, the younger generation today do not shirk exploration, whether in Tibet, the Arctic or Antarctic. Like Ronald Kaulback, youth is still out for adventure.

As an esquire in the ranks of explorers, the author of this book has made good. There can be little doubt that in due course Mr. Ronald Kaulback should win the golden spurs of a full fledged knight.

A HOUSE DIVIDED. By Pearl Buck. (Methuen.) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

With this volume the trilogy that began with *The Good Earth* is finished, for the rest of the story of the Wangs lies in the future of China, which remains a matter of much speculation for herself and all the world. For different tastes to choose between the three: yet, in its enthralling interest and its equal beauty of imagination and depiction, *A House Divided* would surely be difficult to beat. The theme is the same as in that other exquisite story by the same author, *East Wind, West Wind*—namely, the continual conflict in modern China between old things and new; but here it is worked out much more deeply. All through the book Yuan is seen equally at odds with the world of his warlord father, the old Tiger, with that of his frivolous little half-sister Ai-lan and her Westernized friends, and with himself. The deepest strain in him is his love of the good earth, inherited from his peasant forebears. Yet even this results only in fresh perplexity between ideals and realities. So Yuan moves through the unkempt halls of the Tiger, the dances and cocktail parties of Shanghai, the revolutionary underworld, the American university, the feverish intolerant capital of the Kuomintang—which cannot spare time to mend a schoolroom roof to keep the pupils from freezing, because it is not worth wasting time on anything old when everything is immediately to be new and perfect—a prey to his own austerity, reserve, and fastidiousness. It would be interesting to know what Mei-ling, with whom he ultimately falls in love, will make of him. There is excellent material in him, but he will never make anything of himself unaided—which is the problem of a good part of Young China.

Among the subordinate characters, all admirably drawn, the revolutionary cousin Meng is particularly good, hating the common people for their dumb submissiveness even while he champions their cause:

“The chief hindrance against all we do is these very poor for whom we do it,” he exclaims passionately. “There are too many. There

is no hope for them. So I say, let famine take them, and flood, and war. Let us keep only their children and shape them in the ways of revolution."

In contrast, how well one knows Ai-lan and her foppish little set, *dernier cri* in their own esteem, mere useless evanescent froth on the tide of change in that of others. Between these two extremes lies the whole tragedy of the Chinese revolution. It is a wonderful book.

THE MONGOLS OF MANCHURIA. By Owen Lattimore. (*Allen and Unwin*.)
8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

This is a most timely and valuable book coming precisely at the moment when Mongolia promises (or threatens) to become the centre of the next great conflict of the world. For most of the world Mongolia is merely a geographical expression, suggestive of vast empty spaces and uninhabitable deserts, wandered over by scattered handfuls of negligible nomads. From Mr. Lattimore's profound and judicial study one may obtain a very different and urgently important picture.

The initial fact to bear in mind about the Mongols is that, having regarded themselves, with justice, as partners of the Manchus in their conquest of China three centuries ago, they have never owed any allegiance to the Chinese. Outer Mongolia broke away completely after the Manchu downfall in 1912, and under the fostering care of the Russians has formed itself into an independent Republic; not, indeed, a part of the U.S.S.R., but dependent on, and looking to, it in all things, while still inspired by increasingly vigorous aims. Inner Mongolia could not stand out against the Chinese. Her Princes surrendered to them for the sake of preserving their own rights, but, in return, have been continually obliged to yield up more and more of their grazing grounds to Chinese colonization. It is an interesting reflection, in passing, that when a Mongol "settles down" and becomes a farmer instead of a nomad, by the standards of his own culture he has degenerated. Mr. Lattimore draws an attractive picture of the superiority of the herdsman's life over that of farmer and townsman. But one feels one must have been born to it to appreciate its blessings.

With the reappearance of a Manchu Emperor on the throne of a Manchuria that has cast off the Chinese connection, the Inner Mongols have been fired to resist Chinese encroachments, which were threatening their very existence, especially as the Japanese have allotted them their own province, the largest in all Manchukuo, within which they are all but autonomous. A strong Nationalist revival now runs through both Inner and Outer Mongolia. But it is obvious that there must be a sharp division between the Russianized Mongols of the one and the hereditary Princes of the other, as to the form the new Mongolia shall take. Always, Mr. Lattimore says, movements among the Mongols have begun with a fierce fight among rival chieftains to decide which shall impose his will upon the others; and that is precisely the danger we are facing now, with the

imminent risk of Russia and Japan being drawn into the quarrel. The book concludes with a minute study and description of the Mongol Leagues, or Banners. One hopes it may not, in the next year or so, become the indispensable reference book in every newspaper office.

NEAR EAST

COOK'S TRAVELLER'S HANDBOOK TO PALESTINE, SYRIA AND 'IRAQ. (*Simpkin Marshall.*) 10s. 6d. net.

This comprehensive, well-arranged, and low-priced guidebook is now in its sixth edition, and has been revised and partially rewritten by Mr. Christopher Lumby. In the case of each of the three countries there is a separate introduction, giving, in addition to the usual information for the convenience of travellers, some account of the political status and the administration. And very interesting it is to see working side by side the English and French political ideas. The French are making great efforts in "le tourisme" in Syria, reminiscent of what has been achieved by them in North Africa. Palestine will probably remain a greater attraction to travellers, who, however, will in many cases combine a visit to both countries; and 'Iraq, thanks to the development of air and motor communications, will come increasingly into the picture.

The volume gives ample information for those already interested in archæology, but it is of a kind that can also be understood by the novice, whose interest in the subject may be aroused for the first time by being brought face to face with the monuments. There is an Appendix on the historical interest and associations of the monuments and sites of Palestine by Prof. John Garstang, and a map of the principal excavated sites compiled by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The other folding maps and plans have been newly prepared by Messrs. John Bartholomew and Son.

THE RETURN TO ZION. By Max Shulman. (Tel Aviv: *The Azriel Press.*)

These poems, mostly devotional in character, have been written by an ardent Zionist, and display fervour and poetic feeling. Mr. Shulman is undoubtedly most successful with that theme, and "The Return to Zion" and "Our Fatherland" may be singled out for special mention.

INDIA

THE FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH JUSTICE IN INDIA. By Sir Charles Fawcett. (*Oxford: Clarendon Press.*) 15s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM FOSTER.)

The contents of this volume are more closely defined in its sub-title as giving "an account of the Court of Judicature at Bombay, established in

1672, and of other Courts of Justice in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, from 1661 to the latter part of the eighteenth century." It is a subject of great importance, and no better exponent could be desired. Sir Charles Fawcett served for nearly forty years in the Bombay Presidency, mainly in judicial posts, and was for over nine years a judge of the High Court. He is thus thoroughly equipped with a knowledge of the country and of its present legal system; and this knowledge he has supplemented since his retirement by a close study of the literature of his subject and of the records, mostly unpublished, in the India Office. The fact that the publication of the results of his investigations has been made possible by the grant of a subvention from Indian revenues is in itself a testimony to their value.

He begins with an account of the judicial arrangements at Bombay from its transfer in 1665 to its handing over to the East India Company in 1668—a transitional period, extending in fact to 1672, during which the island was administered by the English officials under the Portuguese laws in force at their arrival. The charter of 1668 empowered the Company to make laws "consonant to reason, and not repugnant or contrary to" the laws of England, and to establish courts similar to those at home. Directions for this purpose were accordingly sent out in 1669; but it was not until three years later that a court of judicature was formally inaugurated. In 1684 a court of admiralty was instituted under a trained lawyer (Dr. St. John) sent out from England. An interesting account is given of the proceedings of the two courts, and also of the confused period (1690-1718) when they were in abeyance and the judicial work of the settlement was discharged by the Deputy-Governor and his Council. The court of judicature was restarted in 1718, with the Deputy-Governor as president; and its "rough and ready" administration of justice continued until 1728, when a Mayor's Court, established under a royal charter of 1726, took its place. Under the same charter similar courts were constituted at Madras and Calcutta, and at this point Sir Charles turns aside to review the previous judicial arrangements at both those places. A final chapter narrates briefly the history of the three Mayor's Courts. These lasted at Madras and Bombay until 1778, when Recorder's Courts were substituted; while at Calcutta the Supreme Court put an end to the Mayor's Court in 1774.

This brief summary will show the importance of the subject with which the volume deals. It only remains to add that the manner in which it is treated is fully equal to its importance. The author's mastery of his sources is evident on every page; while the care he takes to illustrate the actual working of the courts by giving details of cases brought before them provides picturesque detail which will interest even the most casual of readers.

THE MYSORE MODEL

MYSORE ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1933-34

(Reviewed by M. C. B. SAYER.)

Whatever form the future Constitution of India may take, the protracted discussions have served one eminently useful purpose. The British public, and merchants and manufacturers in particular, have begun to learn something for the first time of the economic potentialities, as well as the political ambitions, of the Indian States no less than of British India. There are, on the other hand, some parts of Indian India of which it may truthfully be said that no such introduction was necessary.

One of the best administered and most progressive of all the Indian States, with an area about equal to that of Scotland and some 6½ million inhabitants, Mysore, under the wise and farsighted direction of the present ruler and his able coadjutors, during the past quarter of a century has worthily sustained its proud designation of a "Model" State. The standard of administration, in the words of Lord Sankey, is a pattern "not only to India but to the world."

Sir George Birdwood was wont to declare that we, as a race, are inclined to place too high a value on mere material benefit, and do not sufficiently distinguish between the prosperity of a country and the felicity of its inhabitants. Although sovereign ruler of the second largest of all the Indian principalities, the Maharajah of Mysore has always recognized that material wealth is not what matters most. The up-to-date Constitution with which he has provided his country may not connote representative government as it is ordinarily understood. That it is well suited to the character of the State and its people is evident from the record of steady and sustained progress, undiscouraged though hampered by economic depression and falling revenues, shown by the administration report for the year ended June 30, 1934.

There are many who would like to see the new Indian Constitution conform more closely to the Mysore model. The small Legislative Council passes the Budget and legislation, discusses policy and frames resolutions, but Mysore statesmen have wisely refused to place the destinies of the countryside in the hands of a body in which the urban intelligentsia inevitably predominates. The Representative Assembly is still the real power, for the reason that it reflects the opinion of the small landowners and peasantry, who not only constitute the bulk of the population, but are, in fact, the economic backbone of the State. In spite of the fact that, as we have said, Mysore is very largely agricultural, the State is rich in natural resources. The largest silk-producing area in India also contains the only gold-mining tract and is a pioneer of hydro-electric development. In fact, as Sir Mirza Ismail reminded the Assembly in his last Budget speech, the State is to a very large extent self-supporting, owing to the thought and energy which His Highness's Government has expended on its economic

development. The people can generate all the power they need without going outside its limits to buy coal, and they are rapidly arriving at a stage when they shall be able to supply their own transformers and insulators, as well as their own poles, whether of wood or iron. They can make their own pipes and other iron materials; their own clothes, whether of cotton, wool or silk. They can wash themselves with Mysore soap, perfume themselves with Mysore scents, and ride on Mysore-bred horses.

The worldwide economic depression has put a severe brake on industrial progress in Mysore as elsewhere. Silk and iron and steel have been the industries most affected, the former by reason of the abnormal competition of cheap foreign, mainly Japanese, raw silk and yarn. Revision of the leases of the Kolar gold-mining companies and imposition of excise duties on locally-produced sugar and matches corresponding to the similar imposts in British India have helped to restore budgetary equilibrium after three years of deficits. In spite of the necessity of drastic retrenchment and consequent postponement of reproductive capital expenditure, essential public works and social welfare activities have not been suspended. Special measures of relief sanctioned by Government from time to time have gone some way to help the ryots who have been deprived of the benefit of the good crops and generally favourable agricultural conditions during the period under review by the abnormal and sudden fall in commodity prices which began in 1930 and still continues. The elements of the larger problem of rural indebtedness, which bristles with difficulties and is by no means peculiar to Mysore, are admirably set out in the report.

Statistics proving the wealth of a country as a whole do not necessarily demonstrate the well-being of the masses of its population. The future of the State in Mysore depends as elsewhere on the quality of the people. Hence education and medical relief continue to receive close attention. The percentage of revenue allocated to those two purposes alone is higher than in any other Indian State, and there was a further increase last year in the number of middle and primary schools—where no fees are charged—and pupils. During the recent debate in Parliament on the Labour Amendment to include industrial legislation and welfare among the subjects in respect of which the Princes should accept the jurisdiction of the Federal Legislature, severe strictures were passed on labour conditions in the Indian States. Mysore has its own factory, workmen's compensation, and boiler inspection regulations which are efficiently administered by a competent inspectorate, and was rightly regarded by all speakers as a notable exception.

THE INDIAN STRUGGLE. By Subhas C. Bose. (*Wishart.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR ALBION BANERJI.)

The author of *The Indian Struggle* is a product of the more unyielding and passionate side of that struggle, and represents in a remarkable degree within himself, and also in his associations with the nationalist movements of India, its spirit. When reading through its pages one is not surprised

that the Government of India have prohibited the book, which is a passionate plea for extreme Indian nationalism.

To a reader partly conversant with Indian history and Indian conditions, the introduction appears lacking in perspective. It alleges that India for the first time in her history has been labouring under the stigma of a conquered nation. India is not, under British rule, a conquered country. Except for the battle of Plassey, the Carnatic and Mahratta wars, there has been no trial of military strength as between an invader and the invaded territories. For many centuries India has been the playground of diverse invading forces, some from within and others from without, and India gradually evolved as a British dependency, through the constructive genius of British administrators.

Indian nationalism has been traced to the "fundamental unity underlying the diversity" amongst the Indian peoples. Nationalism, as I have stated in my book *The Indian Tangle*, is partly the outcome of British rule. There was no extreme nationalism half a century ago, while the political consciousness of the people was growing in a constitutional manner, merely to give vent to a general spirit of discontent prevailing against the bureaucratic system of government. The attempt to trace nationalism in India to the underlying spirit of Hindu solidarity is not historically correct. Though there are shrines to multitudes of Hindu deities throughout the subcontinent, it does not follow that India is united as one nation. The same could in that case be said of the prevalent faiths of China today; and by comparison the difference in languages, customs, mental outlook, and ethnological characteristics can be found in sharper outlines in India than in China. If the Hindu culture succeeded in absorbing diverse elements among the peoples of Hindustan before the advent of Moslem rule, it also, under a rigid system of caste, perpetuated sharp distinctions amongst the people—a system which was socially tyrannical and unjust, judging from the economic standards. Furthermore, if there was nationalism in India, and real unity underlying diversity previous to the advent of British rule, it is not easy to explain how a country so small as England could secure without much bloodshed the political conquest of India. In short, the introduction to *The Indian Struggle* appears to be based on premises and assumptions which cannot be historically justified.

The early chapters of the book, giving an account of the political convulsions in India, various changes of leadership, the formation of groups of parties in the National Congress, have little or no permanent value as historical narrative, since they are concerned for the most part with episodes and personalities which can be forgotten in retrospect. A careful perusal of these chapters will convince any unbiased and unprejudiced reader that there are gaps in the march of events that led to the situation in India just on the eve of the summoning of the Round-Table Conference. It is too early in the day to give in true perspective a history of events which have brought India to the threshold of vast constitutional changes.

The writer's attitude towards Mahatma Gandhi is most interesting, and the detailed narrative of events connected with the assumption of political power by C. R. Das is illuminating. It goes far to justify the impression

now gaining strength, that as a political leader Mr. Gandhi has failed to contribute anything constructive or positive towards the settlement of the Indian problem. It is difficult to believe that many of Mr. Gandhi's followers would subscribe to the statement that if providence had spared Das for a few years more the history of India would have taken a different turn. The implication of such a statement is that Mr. Gandhi's political power would have been crushed by the success of Das's propaganda and the adoption of his general policy, which was quite opposed to Mr. Gandhi's principles. The author very correctly says: "Consciously or unconsciously the Mahatma fully exploited the mass psychology of the people, just as Lenin did the same thing in Russia, Mussolini in Italy, and Hitler in Germany, but in doing so the Mahatma was using a weapon which was sure to recoil on his head."

He adds that Mr. Gandhi's simple life, his vegetarian diet, his adherence to truth and his consequent fearlessness, all combine to give him a halo of saintliness, but the author does not hesitate to point out the shortcomings both of Mr. Gandhi's methods and his creeds. On the occasion of Mr. Gandhi's visit to London for the second Round-Table Conference, there was, we are told, "a lack of co-ordination and unity of purpose in all his activities." And again: "During his stay in England he had to play two rôles in one person, the rôle of a political leader, and that of a world teacher"; and, "He has failed, because why? He has understood the character of his own people, but he has not understood the character of his opponents"; and in the concluding chapter the author says: "The party that will win the political freedom in India will be also the party that will win social and economic freedom for the masses. Mahatma Gandhi has rendered and will continue to render phenomenal service to his country, but India's salvation will not be achieved under his leadership."

The author's views regarding Communism and Fascism ought also to open the eyes of the firebrand members of the Nationalist party, the so-called left wing. He is in disagreement with the young Nationalist leader Pandit Jawarilal Nehru, for he holds that Communism has no future in India. It is hoped that the very pregnant sentence at the end on the subject of Communism and Fascism will appeal to all sober-minded young Indians. Mr. Bose's conclusion is that the future of India "lies with a party with an ideology, programme and plan of action, and a party that will break the isolation that has been India's curse and bring her into the comity of nations."

STEPS TOWARDS INDIAN HOME RULE. By the Marquis of Zetland. (*Hutchinson.*) 5s. net.

(Reviewed by the HON. E. CADOGAN, C.B., M.P.)

In publishing this monograph *Steps towards Indian Home Rule* Lord Zetland explains that it is intended for the man in the street. The average English elector has no appetite for voluminous State papers, but he is conscious of

his responsibilities in the matter and anxious to learn something of the Indian constitutional problem which is now engaging the attention of Parliament. This volume admirably answers the purpose of supplying to him essential information in a compendious and digestible form. The distinguished author wisely devotes his opening paragraphs to an account of the amazing achievement of the British Raj in giving to the ryot security of tenure and irrigation for his crops, in addition to transport facilities, justice, health and education—an excellent answer to the critics who little appreciate the formidable difficulties which have faced our administration in India and the success with which they have been overcome. The subsequent chapters deal with the genesis of the reforms, a lucid explanation of how those whose unenviable task it has been to solve the constitutional problem have arrived at the conclusions embodied in the text of the Bill now before Parliament.

Obviously the report of the "Simon Commission" could not be omitted from the story. Lord Zetland not only pays a high tribute to its signatories, but where he criticizes its recommendations he does so with fairness and, let it be said, with justification. The Statutory Commission, it should be remembered, was confined by its terms of reference to making suggestions that concerned British India alone, and incidentally outlined a scheme of finance which is no longer practicable. The authors of the Report are therefore not likely to resent Lord Zetland's modestly worded strictures.

In the chapters which are devoted to the varying fortunes of the Round-Table Conference, Lord Zetland points the moral of the incompatibility between Hindu and Moslem, revealed in the Council Chamber of St. James's Palace for the first time to those Englishmen who were ignorant of Indian social conditions, and brings out into sharp outline its reactions upon the task of the constitution makers. The final chapter contains a most instructive summary of the radical alterations effected by the Joint Select Committee in the application of the principles which governed the recommendations of the Round-Table Conference. The amendments to which the author draws attention furnish definite proof that the Committee was not exclusively composed, as Mr. Winston Churchill seems to suggest, of servile adherents of Government nodding assent to every decision of the Secretary of State. But the paragraphs which will prove most instructive to the average reader are those in which Lord Zetland decides in favour of safeguarded responsibility at the Centre and the arguments he adduces which lead him to the decision. The anxiety of those who have hitherto doubted the wisdom of introducing any element of responsibility into the Central Legislature should be allayed by this clear exposition of its necessity.

This is a book which should be widely read, not only because its author possesses the gift of concise and lucid expression, but because, having to his credit a splendid record of administration in India, he is well qualified to influence opinion upon one of the most complex and difficult problems with which the English Parliament has ever been called upon to deal.

DISTANT DRUMS. By R. J. Minney. (*Chapman and Hall.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by MRS. G. H. BELL.)

The co-author of the successful play *Clive in India* is sure of a big public eager to read *Distant Drums*. The novelist has a dramatic tale to tell. Nicholas Perrybooth, a young clerk, loved Judy Whipple, whose mother, a belligerent woman, successfully opposed the marriage. Judy became the wife of prosperous Tom Mopleigh and bore him a son, John. The disconsolate Nicholas joined a big business firm in Calcutta, living first in a chummery and later in a cheap boarding-house in the Eurasian quarter. After a quarrel with his firm he borrowed sufficient capital to embark upon the enterprise of selling cheap trifles in the bazaars of India. The English commercial houses entered into competition with him, and he changed his plans and made a fortune out of skins. He became one of the richest men in Calcutta, with vast enterprises in the *muffassil*. Meanwhile Judy was widowed and supported herself as companion to an old lady. Nicholas educated her son and took him into his business as his heir. Judy decided to join the Salvation Army and, after training in Paris and working in Egypt, was sent to Baghwal in India.

The Great War swept her son to France and Mesopotamia. The slump after the Armistice ruined the firm of Nicholas Perrybooth, and John shot himself. At the end of the final chapter Judy hurries to Calcutta, where she finds Nicholas ill and miserable. We are told briefly that "she took him with her to Baghwal. He worked with her." Mr. Minney must be applauded for embarking his hero on a career of exceptional interest, and for giving his heroine so striking a part to play as a worker in the Salvation Army, but *Distant Drums* is not a noteworthy addition to fiction about India. The author fails to bring Calcutta before the eyes of his readers, and he never gives the events he relates any real significance. Great merchants, a maharajah, a nawab, a swami are all drawn as uninteresting, without a vestige of human strength. The sudden loss of prosperity which overtook a proud and historic community was a dramatic theme which in *Distant Drums* is reduced to a feeble shadow show.

There are, however, certain passages in the novel which create an atmosphere and hold one's attention; they deal with Judy's life at Baghwal with the Salvation Army. Though her character is never developed, her surroundings there can be vividly realized. If discriminatingly adapted this novel might make a good film.

LIVING INDIA. By Lady Hartog. (*Blackie.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by VERONIQUE COLDSTREAM.)

Among even the educated classes of this country there is a surprising and, especially at this time, a discouraging ignorance of the most elementary facts about India; and this unpretentious book, written at the request of the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Empire Society, tries to give an outline of knowledge for those who wish to have some understanding of

India and her problems. It is, in fact, a simple handbook on India. Its scope is large in that it touches upon climate, geography, history, and culture; education and public health; agriculture, irrigation, and forestry; administration and the Indian States; and gives, besides, a general sketch of the life of the people in country and town. All this within 200 pages. The task of selection and compression must have been a formidable one, and Lady Hartog is to be congratulated on her success. Within the limitations of her space she has packed an extraordinary number of facts, but the book is nevertheless lucid. It is of necessity superficial, and since all fine writing has had to be rigidly excluded it reads a little like a textbook, but it does achieve its purpose of giving a satisfactory bird's-eye view of the whole subject.

The chapters on Indian history and on administration are particularly skilful. Some knowledge, however sketchy, of India's chequered past is essential to an understanding of her as she is to-day, and Lady Hartog has shown an admirable power of selection in her précis of Indian history, in the course of which she contrives to touch on almost every important landmark from the invasion of Alexander the Great up to the present day. Her exposition of the religions of India, bound up as they are in great measure with her history and her culture, is also well-balanced and sympathetic. To the uninformed English mind the Hindu faith, especially, appears very complicated and very alien by reason of the multiplicity of minor gods and goddesses with their peculiar attributes and forms of worship; and this clear explanation of its basic tenets should dispel much of the prejudice of ignorance. Again, the chapter on administration should explain the present political situation and the general causes and developments which have led up to it to all those who have not studied it and who are confused by party controversy. Like the rest of the book, it is quite unbiassed and confines itself entirely to facts. The chapter on Industry is not quite so successful. In an effort to be comprehensive, it degenerates almost into a list of the relative numbers employed in each occupation or craft, which leaves no very clear impression on the reader's mind. On the other hand, the account of life in an Indian village is vivid and instructive.

It is not only those who know nothing of India who may profitably read this book. Those who have lived there know, generally, only a small part, and are apt to judge all India by their limited experience. For them, too, the book will clear up many misconceptions and fill many little gaps in their knowledge. Knowledge begets sympathy, and Lady Hartog has done more in this small volume towards a friendly appreciation in this country of India and her problems than she could have done in many pages of special pleading.

INDIA: MORAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS, 1932-33. (*H.M. Stationery Office.*)
3s. net.

The present volume, which follows the abbreviated form adopted for the 1931-32 Report, is, like its predecessors, an invaluable book of reference on activities in India in diverse fields during the period indicated. In the chapter on Politics and Administration, which covers the calendar year 1933,

whereas the others deal with the financial year 1932-1933, the compiler notes that the period he describes contained few natural chronological landmarks such as existed for previous reports, but marks the fasts performed by Mr. Gandhi in May and August as being to some extent definite stages in the year's political history. Matters dealt with in this section include: the anti-Untouchability movement, the decline of civil disobedience, the Meerut Conspiracy case, and Burma and the constitutional issue. This is the longest chapter in the book and serves to recall to mind the developments under these headings during that particular year. It is followed by a briefer study of the problems of Defence and Indians Overseas. Then come the equally vital factors in a nation's life of agriculture, industry, communications, commerce, finance, health and education.

The work is rounded off with a chapter on the Scientific Surveys which include archæology. It is stated that, although the grant for this survey stood at the same low figure as in previous years, such excavations as had been undertaken had yielded an unexpectedly rich harvest. These refer specially to Taxila, Nalanda, Delhi, and the discovery of old cave temples at Kyaukse in Burma. Reference is also made to the work of the Government Epigraphist and Archæological Chemist. There is a useful appendix of Official Reports in which the enquirer can obtain more detailed information on the many subjects dealt with in the book under review.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT—VOL. I. BENGAL. By B. Majumdar.
(*University of Calcutta.*)

It is natural enough that one of the consequences of an English education was to turn the thoughts of Young Bengal to political speculation. It was natural enough that introduction to Western ideas and to Western political philosophy should determine the direction of that speculation. Accordingly, we find in this book an attempt to trace the political thought of Bengal, and we need hardly be surprised that the thinkers were almost entirely absorbed in their own country in general and their own province in particular. There is not very much that is original; there is, in fact, very little of political philosophy in the abstract, as we understand it in the West. Nor is it easy to trace any continuous development. It would be unfair to criticize the method of the author, in dividing his subject into what are practically monographs of the various men, since he himself has explained why he has traced "the ultimate growth of abstract political ideas in India through . . . the changing critical attitudes of Indian public men towards the Indo-British administration." The result, however, is rather bewildering. One does not get the gradual transition from one line of thought to another, nor even the foundation of a particular school, but in the main the isolated views of politicians who base themselves upon one or other of the political philosophers and their schools in the West. The most original among these Bengali thinkers were Ram Mohun Roy and Bankimchandra, the well-known novelist. Sirir Kumar Ghosh,

who claims nearly 70 pages, can hardly be called a political thinker. He was rather an eminent journalist with political views of a calibre which might be predicated of any English editor of a reputable paper. A certain tolerance for, and even admiration of, the British administration, a certain insistence on more generous recognition of Indian capacity, a certain plea for better protection for the poor, and various criticisms of the Government run through the whole. But the book cannot expect to make much appeal outside India, or, indeed, outside Bengal. With the exception of the two mentioned, there is no name of outstanding merit, nor any outstanding achievement.

IN THE WORLD'S ATTIC. By Henrietta S. Merrick. With 66 illustrations from photographs and coloured plates. (*Putnam.*) 21s. net.

The Roof of the World—the Land of the Pamirs—is an expression well known to the travellers in the north of India. It is a sign of the times that women undertake these lonely journeys into far-off countries, such as Ladakh, and credit is due to the author for her great courage. The present volume is an enthralling account of this lady's wanderings, to which Sir Francis Younghusband has paid generous tribute.

Her style is light and entertaining. Into Leh she rides, and her descriptions of the country and people are full of interest. One chapter deals with the devil dances, a fine picture of a mystery play.

Mrs. Merrick is a born entertainer, and readers will enjoy the perusal of this beautiful volume, which is adorned with fine, clear photographs, excellent coloured plates of landscape, and a good map.

BANKS AND THE MONEY MARKET. By Basavarasu Ramachandra Rau. (Calcutta: *Lal Chand and Sons.*)

The book consists of four lectures given before the Institute of Bankers, Calcutta, to which several appendices have now been added. The first lecture deals with the ideal money market and its organization, in which the author concludes that greater efficiency in the market can only be brought about by increased resources. The second lecture deals with expansion and contraction of present-day currency, and herein he properly asserts that the currency ills of India must be remedied by an improved credit system. In the third lecture Dr. Rau discusses the monetary markets, and in the last the ideal monetary and banking system. The chief lesson is given by a greater unity in the fields of economic activity and in the improvement of the administration of smaller banking concerns. The appendices, half of the volume, hardly deserve this designation; they form part and parcel of it, and contain some very valuable contributions on silver and the gold standard.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA AND THE KING-EMPEROR

BY PROFESSOR H. H. DODWELL

It is in a special degree fitting that, when all parts of the Empire are preparing to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the King-Emperor's accession, we should consider the part which has been played by His Majesty and his two predecessors in regard to Indian affairs, for in India the influence of the Crown has been peculiarly great and beneficent. It might be argued that in the legal sense the Act of 1858 made small difference. The East India Company had long been recognized as the Queen's agent. Though the Governor-General was henceforth more commonly known as Viceroy, this addition made no alteration in his powers, and was accompanied by no alteration in the method of his choice, which before, as afterwards, was determined on the advice of the Queen's confidential servants. The ultimate control of Indian policy had long been vested in a Cabinet Minister, and it seemed but a minor change to raise that Minister from the Presidency of a Board to a Secretaryship of State, or to transform the Court of Directors into a council with extraordinary powers. And yet it is certain that the assumption of direct rule was a measure of great importance.

Probably the most remarkable feature of the English monarchy is the ease with which it keeps abreast of the times, its refusal to lapse into a gorgeous relic of the past, and the way in which it preserves the sense of balance and proportion. In India, therefore, government by the Crown has meant the steady application of modern ideas and modern influences; and since the outstanding aspect of Indian development since 1858 is undoubtedly the growing modernization of the country and its peoples, the assumption of government has, in fact, proved to be a matter of great moment. No one can read Queen Victoria's letters of 1858 and the following years without perceiving the interest which she

took and the influence which she exercised. In Indian eyes the proclamation by which the change of Government was announced seems a weightier, more important document than any of the subsequent Acts of Parliament. The care taken to determine the relations of the new minister with his royal mistress is most characteristic. The new Secretary of State was to conform to the practice of the Foreign Office in keeping Her Majesty informed of foreign affairs; and though it was soon found that Indian administration involved many points of highly technical character and only moderate importance, and the Foreign Office practice could not therefore be copied in all its detail, yet the Sovereign, despite his many onerous duties, has never failed to maintain a close touch with Indian policy in its broader aspects.

THE PRINCES AND THE CROWN

The change of 1858 was peculiarly influential in the development of relations with the Indian princes. So long as the Governor-General spoke and acted in the name of the East India Company, the princes, if subordinate allies, were still allies only; when he spoke and acted in the name of the Queen, a new, subtle element had been brought into action. The Company's Governor-General had never, and could never have, claimed more than that the princes should be faithful to their treaties; the Queen's Viceroy made at once a larger claim. He demanded allegiance. It formed one of the conditions under which the famous *sannads* of adoption retained their validity. It was outstanding among the conditions under which Mysore was restored to the Maharajah. It was expected of every ruling chief, no matter whether he had a salute of twenty-one guns or only nine, no matter whether he had entered into treaties with the Company or whether his relations with it were determined merely by custom and precedent. There is little to show whether Canning or Stanley or Wood recognized the profound importance of this change or the consequences which were destined to flow from it. But today no man can doubt that the political unity of India was brought into existence, not by the conquests, annexations, and treaties of the East India Company, but in virtue of that common

allegiance which Queen Victoria claimed and which no man dreamt of refusing. A new and most powerful conception had been brought back into the Indian world. There is something strikingly English in the inconsistency with which all existing treaties were solemnly confirmed at the moment when Queen Victoria was standing forward, in fact though not yet in name, as Empress of India.

Some have seized on that inconsistency and written of British treaties with Indian princes as "scraps of paper." Such men profoundly, deliberately misread the facts. Treaties in 1858 were a poor safeguard, not because British policy had been a policy of grab, but because their terms were specific, because administration in the Indian states loudly demanded reform, and many princes had been unable to fulfil all their obligations. Dalhousie, the Governor-General who annexed more territory than any other, was also the Governor-General who was the greatest champion of treaty-rights. The formal abandonment of annexation was a boon incomparably greater than any other that could have been bestowed—incomparably greater than even the most complete renunciation of paramountcy, for that would have left every state at the mercy of its great neighbour, British India. Which was the fairer course? To observe the letter of the treaties, in order as soon as opportunity arose to absorb the states, or to assert and develop for the benefit of all India the powers of paramountcy which had grown up under the Company's government? Queen Victoria could not, and did not, hesitate. She was the suzerain of every Indian prince; but she was a suzerain as conscious of responsibilities as of powers. She disliked the traditional methods. When differences arose between the Government of India and the Indian princes, she observed, the former had been accustomed to act too much as plaintiff and as judge. She wished that changed for a more judicial method of procedure; and it is impossible to doubt that when, nearly twenty years later, serious difficulties arose with the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, it was the Queen's influence which led to a remarkable change in customary procedure, namely, the appointment of a tribunal to consider and report—a method similar to that which the Government of India formally adopted some ten years ago.

THE PROCLAMATION DURBAR

The fact of the Queen's suzerainty was at last formally declared when in 1877 she assumed the title of Empress of India. At the first great Delhi Durbar to be held under British rule Lord Lytton gathered together the ruling princes, and there, when the proclamation had been read, the Maharaja Sindia stood forward to salute the Queen by a title long disused. "Shahin Shah Padshah," he cried, acclaiming the Queen as the successor of those Mughal emperors who had demanded and received the allegiance of three-quarters of India, "the princes of India bless you and pray that your sovereignty and power may remain steadfast for ever."

Just before this Durbar was held India had been visited for the first time by a member of the Royal Family. In 1876 Edward Prince of Wales arrived at Bombay, where he was welcomed by a remarkable and representative gathering of Indian princes. It was said with pointed truth that many chiefs whose ancestors had never met but on the field of battle then met for the first time in friendship. The visit was a great political success. It manifested the deep interest which the Queen took in India. It gave to the future King-Emperor a knowledge of the land, an acquaintance with the conditions of life, a familiarity with leading personalities, which he could not otherwise have secured. And it sent from England to India a representative of outstanding tact and charm.

When Queen Victoria died the occasion was marked by extraordinary scenes in India. Though personally unknown, though but a trifling number of Indians had ever set eyes upon her, the country mourned her loss with a vehemence that showed not only how deeply the trust in her benevolence had sunk into Indian hearts, but also the strong need which all feel of a personal object for their loyalty. Men prostrated themselves before her statues. Obeisance to living power is natural, unremarkable, commonplace; but obeisance to a dead Queen, who can never again reward or punish, benefit or injure, is an act rarely accorded, and still more rarely deserved. The first Empress of India had set a standard difficult to equal.

THE 1906-7 TOUR

King Edward's accession was the occasion of the second great Delhi Durbar. It was a great ceremony, like the first addressed specially to the ruling princes, unlike the first because they or their fathers had seen and met the monarch whose accession they were celebrating. It was at once more real and more Indian. Lord Curzon knew what he was about far better than to reproduce the somewhat theatrical air of the Durbar of 1877; and though the Viceroy had to ride a borrowed elephant, he and it looked no less majestic for that misfortune. And just as Lytton's Durbar had been preceded, Curzon's was swiftly succeeded by a visit to India of the new Prince of Wales. In 1906 Prince George, whose Jubilee as King-Emperor we are about to celebrate in a few weeks' time, went to India, as his father had gone, as the ambassador of empire. Arriving at Bombay, he was greeted with a warmth even more remarkable than that with which Prince Edward had been welcomed.

The Shahzada, from the moment he stepped ashore at Apollo Bandar, gave constant evidence of that keen interest and understanding sympathy which we have come to associate with him in a peculiar degree. His first care had been so to time his arrival as not to interfere with the arrangements for receiving Lord Minto, the new Governor-General. On his arrival at Calcutta the Prince showed the same strong consciousness of the proprieties of his position. A significant trifle was his insistence that, when at a large dinner party the ladies left the room, he should move round to Minto, not Minto to him. "Surely I am the first person," he said to Lady Minto, "who should show consideration to my father's representative."

The royal tour of 1906 was extensive and various. It embraced ancient Rajput capitals, famous fortresses like Gwalior and Golconda, jungle-shooting in the Terai, elephant-catching in Mysore, the wonderful river-journey up to Mandalay and the great cities of British India, and the borderlands of the North-West and the most famous mountain-pass in the world. Luckily we have a first-hand account of the impressions which the Prince carried

away with him. Shortly after his return to London he had a long talk with Morley, who next day reported it to Minto. In the forefront of his mind was

"a picture of your room, full and over full of boxes, files, and papers, with red labels, blue labels, and other signs of urgency in various degrees. He pronounced you to be the most overworked man in the whole empire. . . . On the other hand he spoke of what must be a very considerable reward for all your toil—namely, the popularity and confidence that are rapidly surrounding your position—nor did he leave out Lady Minto's share in the good work. He has come home with a good many very clear and, as I should judge, correct and sound notions, all looking in what to my eyes seemed emphatically the right direction. . . . He spoke with very simple and unaffected enthusiasm of all he had seen, of the reception he had met with in every quarter, and of the splendour of the task that we have in hand. Most of all was I delighted with his watchword. If we can show 'sympathy' as well as justice, all may go well . . ."

THE KING'S ACCESSION

Four years later the Prince himself ascended the throne of his ancestors. Minto, who was still Viceroy, was called upon at once to mourn the departed and greet the new King. Many Indians had declared that the comet then blazing in the heavens foretold calamity; and King Edward's death was mourned by a Hindu demonstration in Calcutta, headed by great zamindars like the Maharaja of Burdwan and political leaders like Surendra Nath Banerji, while the Muslims at the same time held a mass meeting. All the gods of India were petitioned on behalf of the dead King, the first of his family to visit India. At the same time Minto received what must be one of the oddest congratulatory telegrams on record. The sender must, I suppose, have been a Buddhist, inspired by the belief that the spirit of supreme power passes from the dying ruler into a child just born. "Please convey my heartfelt congratulations," he said, "to His Majesty the King-Emperor George V. on his incarnation."

One of King George's first resolves was to be crowned Emperor of India in India itself. This was in all respects a remarkable decision. His Majesty had, on his return from his tour as Prince of Wales, declared publicly in his speech at Guildhall, as privately

in his conversation with Morley, that sympathy was the prime need of Indian administration. That sympathy he had resolved to show in his own imperial person. As King of his English subjects, he was to be crowned at Westminster. As Emperor of his Indian subjects, he would be crowned at Delhi. India was not to be regarded as a mere adjunct to the British Empire. That detestable habit of regarding Indians, not as subjects in common with the rest of the empire to their King-Emperor, but as "our subjects," was to be abandoned. Indians were not a subject race—that was the significance of King George's decision—but equal with other citizens of the empire. Nothing could have better displayed the degree in which the new monarch had inherited the ideals and sentiments of Queen Victoria. No single act could have more explicitly confirmed her famous proclamation. Our Chairman of today [Lord Crewe] may well feel proud of his association with that act, and with the policy announced on that great occasion.

THE CORONATION DURBAR

For the second time, therefore, King George landed in India. But this time the occasion was unique. He was no longer, as his father had been before him, the ambassador of empire, but the personification of empire. He was the Emperor. At Delhi was gathered the greatest assembly of princes and governors that India had ever seen. From Cashmere to Travancore, from the Indus to the Bramaputra, had come heads of states, rulers of provinces, councillors of all ranks. Men who could speak for every part of the country had come together for the first time in the long history of India. No Mughal durbar can ever have exhibited an equal comprehensiveness. No Hindu Chakravartin had ever sent his sacrificial horse through all the territories which acknowledged the sovereignty of King George.

In this respect the Delhi Durbar of 1911 was not merely a great pageant. It was also a political event of the first importance. No Englishman could help marking the specially Asiatic character of the coronation at Delhi. It was performed, not in the Cathedral at Calcutta, amidst a city created by British blood and energy, but

at the capital of ancient Indian tradition, with a history passing back far beyond even the earliest Muslim inroads into India and of established fame even in the far-off days of the Mahabharata. Over the King-Emperor's head was borne the great golden umbrella, no mere protection from the fierce rays of an Eastern sun, but itself an emblem of the sun-god who bestows power.

And when the coronation was completed, the King, like a true Indian monarch, showed himself to the people from the Samman Burj of the Delhi fort, not merely attesting the fact and reality of his coming, but, according to Hindu belief, bestowing on all who looked upon him prosperity and good fortune. These Indian ceremonies sank deep into the heart of the people. It had been definitely announced that no gifts were to be offered to the King. But one Indian chief, at a private audience, suddenly overcome with a sense of the impropriety of appearing empty-handed before the King, stripped off his gold-embroidered shawl and left it at the King's feet. What was perhaps a yet more striking manifestation of Indian feeling occurred just after the coronation itself, when the crowd of people on the Spectators' Mound moved forward and prostrated themselves before the thrones which the King and Queen had just quitted.

It would be easy to exaggerate the importance of the popular sentiment thus displayed. Sentiment flows and ebbs. But of the policy with which His Majesty chose specially to associate himself by announcing it in person, no two opinions are possible. It flowed naturally, logically, and yet (so blind are men) unexpectedly from the King's decision to be crowned at Delhi. I have already suggested how significant that decision was. The announcements made at the coronation confirmed, amplified, interpreted its significance. First came certain boons, more or less common form on such occasions, such as the release of a number of imprisoned debtors. Then there was the abolition of nazaranas, special tributes payable by ruling chiefs on successions. But besides these, the Viceroy had been commissioned to proclaim grants in which we know that His Majesty has always shown a strong personal interest. Among these must be included the announcement of special grants for the development of education.

Only a few weeks later, replying to an address of the Calcutta University, the King was to say :

“It is to the universities of India that I look to assist in that gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspirations of Europeans and Indians on which the future well-being of India so greatly depends. . . . On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life. . . . It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges. . . . The cause of education in India will ever be close to my heart.”

Another Durbar boon which may fitly be coupled with these grants for education was the announcement that the Indian Army would in future be eligible for the Victoria Cross. The abolition of this invidious distinction was singularly appropriate to a coronation in which the central purpose was an acknowledgment in the most public and solemn form possible of the status of India.

NEW DELHI

These, however, but introduced an announcement made by the King-Emperor himself—that in future the capital of India was no longer to be Calcutta but Delhi. The decision caused enormous surprise. Pessimists declared that Delhi was the grave of empires. Indeed, all who knew the old Delhi—the desolation, the golden-crested hoopoes—were in doubt. Many thoughtful men considered that a matter of such importance should not have been decided secretly, without public discussion. It is an arguable point of view. But when we pass to the inner meaning of this announcement, there can be no two opinions of the extraordinary appropriateness of making it on the occasion of the first coronation of a British sovereign in India. Calcutta was emphatically a British city—founded, increased, protected, beautified, enriched by Englishmen, by English arms, by English trade. It lay on the outskirts of India, within reach of the sea; and so long as the British dominion was a military dominion, so long Calcutta was the natural base of the empire, within reach of the sea and yet commanding that great natural highway leading upwards into the heart of the country. But with the passing of that phase of British rule, the fitness of Calcutta as the capital declined. Its damp, exhausting heats had long before

driven the Government for half the year to seek a capital elsewhere. Its English character identified it with a Government which had long been exclusively English. Its abandonment was the natural consequence of the decision that the days of exclusive rule had ended. It was a speaking confirmation of that reform which India owes peculiarly to Lord Minto, the opening to Indians of the highest executive office.

Compared with this, the accompanying decision to reverse the partition of Bengal, important as it was, sinks into a question of provincial interest. Consider in how many and what significant respects the declaration of Delhi as the capital of India has been followed up in the last twenty-four years. Even if we put on one side the great political developments involved fifteen years ago in the adoption of dyarchy and today in the planning of a federal constitution, we have seen the adoption of large Indian recruitment in the higher branches of all the civil establishments; we have seen the formation of exclusively Indian units of the Indian Army; we have seen the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst, the revival of the Royal Indian Navy, the creation of an Indian Flying Force.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In fact the King's reign has witnessed an extraordinary transformation of his Indian Empire. Some have looked on these developments with doubt and foreboding, and have written of the "Lost Dominion." The doubters may prove right—no one can say. But on the worst showing, that great empire raised by Clive and Wellesley and Dalhousie could not be destined to last for ever. It was an empire of force, like those that had gone before. To say that is not to belittle its achievements. Nothing but force could have imposed peace on eighteenth-century India, or established order in dacoit-ridden provinces; nothing but a strong belief in the power of Government could have set up a steady and regular justice, or induced men to pay the revenue without physical compulsion. The old empire was a great achievement of which we Englishmen may well be proud, and for

which Indians may well be grateful. But the subordination of one people to another is necessarily a transient thing.

I think the seal was set upon the old régime by the proclamation of 1858, and that the authority of the Crown has in fact stood for something better, nobler, more lasting, than the authority of the Company Bahadur. Consider this one fact. Calcutta grew up round Fort William, just as did Madras round Fort St. George, whereas the New Delhi, unlike every Indian capital that has preceded it, depends upon no fortress. The difference between India as it has come to be under the Crown and India as it was under the Company, is the same as that between Norman London, dominated by the Tower, and modern London, the voluntary capital of a world-wide empire.

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE EMPIRE

The essence of the matter lies in goodwill. In India it may be covered by another word, co-operation. Modern India has been built up, emphatically not upon the dominance of Englishmen over Indians, but upon the co-operation of Indians with Englishmen. In all the great victories of which we are so justly proud, success was won at the cost of a greater number of Indian than of English lives. The capital embarked in that great trade between India and the outer world has always been far more Indian than English. With the spread of education, the need of widening the sphere of that co-operation became more and more evident. Under the guidance and leadership of the Crown we have in fact been seeking to extend it; indeed, just as the creation of the new capital gave to its architects an extraordinary opportunity of displaying genius, just as in the New Delhi we see an achievement of genius, so also in the creation of the new state we believe that success lies in furthering the efforts of authority to establish a state which shall be founded, not upon the might of Britain, but upon the willingness of Indians to recognize the sovereignty of the King-Emperor, and upon their desire to hold their place in the world-wide empire which recognizes him as its head.

Looking back over the years which have passed since his acces-

sion, we see many things which we cannot but regret: the ferocity with which some Hindus and some Muslims seem to regard one another, the continuance of political crime, those anti-British sentiments which marred the visit of a third Prince of Wales to India. But the remedy for tendencies which cannot but be deplored lies not in the hasty abandonment of a long-considered policy, but in the steadfast pursuit of an object which we know to be good. Let me remind you of the King-Emperor's proclamation of 1919; his words are as true and applicable today as when they were first penned:

"It is fitting and timely that I should invite you today to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future. Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us, it has been held as a sacred trust by our house and line. . . . We have endeavoured to give to her people the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon ourselves. But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated—the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. . . . The path will not be easy. . . . There will be need of perseverance and mutual forbearance. . . . I rely on the leaders of the people to face responsibility and endure misrepresentation. . . . I rely upon my officers to respect their new colleagues . . . and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil, as in the past, their highest purpose of faithful service to my people."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, April 16, 1935, when a paper entitled "India and the King-Emperor" was read by Professor H. H. Dodwell. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Crewe, K.G., P.C., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

His Excellency the Nepalese Minister, the Right Hon. Lord Midleton, Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., and Lady Seton, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Abdul Qadir, the Right Hon. Sir Shadi Lal, the Lady Pentland, Lady Bennett, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Nawab Sir Liaquat and Lady Hayat Khan, Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Philip Buckland, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Denison Ross, C.I.E., and Lady Ross, Sir Charles Fawcett, Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lady Pinhey, Lieut.-Colonel R. Dening and the King's Indian Orderly Officers, Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mohan Singh, Rao Sahib C. Ranganatha Rao and Mrs. Ranganatha Rao, Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Maulvi A. R. Dard, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Major Griffiths, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. B. Rama Rao, Mr. Kenneth Williams, Dr. E. M. Macphail, Mr. C. John Colombos, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mrs. Dewar, Mrs. Weir, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mrs. Blackburn, Miss M. Sorabji, Miss L. Sorabji, Syed M. Sayeedulla, Mr. E. J. Hudson, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mrs. B. Bacon, Mr. W. A. Lee, Colonel A. G. Hamilton, Miss Stacey, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Dr. K. N. Sitaram, Mr. T. T. Williams, Mr. C. L. O. Clarke, Mrs. Harley, Mrs. B. D. Bery, Miss de Laredo, Miss L. M. Gunter, Mr. Philip Morrell, Lieut.-Colonel H. J. Jones, Captain H. J. Inman, Mrs. P. L. Barker, Mrs. A. J. King, Mr. B. C. Mitra, Miss Rudd, Mr. Leonard W. Matters, Miss Dorothea Flower, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: My first duty is a regrettable one. It is to announce the absence of the President of the Association, Lord Lamington, who has written a letter from Scotland, which I will read to you.

"DEAR CREWE,

"I am sorry not to be at the meeting on Tuesday, particularly as you have been good enough to preside.

"Professor Dodwell's paper is specially noteworthy in bringing into strong relief the changed relationship of the Indian Princes with the Crown by the Act of 1858; also in showing the profound veneration that the Indian people have for the King-Emperor.

"I greatly regret not to be present."

I am sure you will all share my regret that Lord Lamington is not here. We know the excellent work which he did in India, and the perpetual interest which he has taken in Indian affairs in Parliament and generally. (Applause.)

I am very glad to be welcomed here by another old friend, Sir Malcolm Seton, with whom I had the pleasure of working for many years at the India Office, and who, as Chairman of the Council, gives much time and trouble to the work of the Association.

Professor Dodwell is as competent as anybody could be to speak on the subject which is on the agenda today. Starting as a member of the Indian Educational Service, he has proceeded to be a Professor at the School of Oriental Languages, that foundation which, as we know, covers so much ground and covers it so well. Professor Dodwell has a large experience in India, and I am certain that you will all listen with deep interest to what he is going to say to us.

Before I introduce him perhaps I may be allowed to express the pleasure that I know you will all share at finding that the King's Orderly Officers, whose presence in London we always welcome and appreciate, are able to be here to listen to this address.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: First may I express the pleasure, which I am sure you will all share, that the Minister of the friendly State of Nepal, so closely bound up with the interests and with the defence of India, has found time to be present here today. (Applause.)

I am sure you have all listened with the utmost interest to the very thoughtful and, if I may say so, admirably written paper with which Professor Dodwell has favoured us. There is one aspect of it which, I think, may give us all particular pleasure. Our country is deeply interested at this moment in Indian affairs and in the future government of India. That interest has, I am sorry to say, been accompanied by not a little controversy. Perhaps that was unavoidable, but it is regrettable because controversy always breeds exaggeration, and it is the exaggerated views and the exaggerated statements proceeding from those views which are spread abroad and which often receive more attention than their intrinsic merit demands. (Applause.) But this afternoon the subject of the paper has precluded any idea of controversy of any kind. No controversy can possibly revolve round either the office or the personality of the King-Emperor. (Applause.) He is altogether above anything of the kind.

There are not many here in this company who recollect the ferment that was caused when Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India. Many people believed she had long held it, because she was so described in many books of reference before 1877. Great excitement was caused, as Lord Middleton—whom I am glad to see here—like me, is one of the people who can personally remember. That there should have been that ferment seems surprising, because I think now everybody agrees that the title of Emperor represents the precise relations which the Sovereign of England has with the various races, differing in religion, in language, and in origin, who

inhabit India, and also with the Princes of India, over whom he exercises a suzerainty which is not that of absolute rule.

At that time, as I well remember, the adoption of the title was pressed with a certain amount of rather fulsome adulation of the Sovereign; and also a fear was created in some minds that it was regarded as something of a promotion to the Queen to become an Empress. That, of course, was absurd. There is no higher title than that of King of England. Four hundred years ago it was declared, and nobody contradicted it, that the Crown of England was an Imperial Crown. The title of Emperor, which, of course, has had remarkable historical traditions attaching to it, has sometimes been rather presumptuously assumed, as it was on one occasion by the negro who governed the island of Hayti. However, it is now agreed that the title of the King-Emperor represents, as I said, the meaning and purpose of British rule in India.

The lecturer has described to us the two visits which the King has paid to India, and he mentioned in particular the second one for the Coronation Durbar. I had the honour to be there. I was Secretary of State at the time and the Minister in attendance on His Majesty. All through that long tour one was perpetually impressed by the effect produced, in the first instance, by the personality of the King, but also by the sentiment of almost mystical respect which the millions in India attached to his presence at their side. As Professor Dodwell has pointed out, there were most remarkable manifestations of it at Delhi, but it was the same everywhere. It confirmed the belief which certainly I have long held, and which I think must be shared by any reflecting people, that the true permanent connection of Britain with India depends, and will depend in the very largest degree, on the existence and personality of the British Sovereign. (Applause.) I say quite frankly that without the personality of the British Sovereign I do not myself see how that connection and relation could be permanent.

That being so, if I am at all right in thus thinking, it makes me all the more grateful to Professor Dodwell for the excellent paper with which he has favoured us this afternoon. He has dwelt to just a sufficient extent upon history, and he has been able to impress, I feel sure, upon the audience the complete reality of the influence which the Crown and the illustrious occupant of the throne exercise in India.

Before sitting down I will read a telegram which it is desired to address to His Majesty's Private Secretary. It will be signed by Lord Lamington as President of this Association, and it is couched in these terms :

“ The President, Council and Members of the East India Association, meeting at the Caxton Hall under Lord Crewe's chairmanship for a lecture by Professor Dodwell on ‘India and the King-Emperor,’ wish to convey their loyal and respectful congratulations to His Majesty on the approaching Jubilee. Since its foundation in 1866 the sole purpose of the Association has been to promote, by discussion leading to sympathetic understanding, the welfare of the inhabitants of India, and its members wish to express their gratification on the notable progress achieved during the present reign. They earnestly desire for the Indian Empire a period of contentment and prosperity based upon the loyalty

of His Majesty's Indian peoples and steadfast goodwill between the two countries."

The reading of this telegram was received with applause. The same evening the following reply was sent to Lord Lamington from the King's Private Secretary at Windsor Castle :

"The King has received with much pleasure the message which you have sent His Majesty from the President, Council and Members of the East India Association meeting at Caxton Hall. His Majesty wishes you to thank all those who joined with you for the message of loyal greetings which His Majesty greatly appreciates."

The Right Hon. the EARL OF MIDLETON : I came here this afternoon as a listener and without the least intention of intruding upon you, but a call from Lord Crewe is one which I could never neglect in an audience of this character, because I can honestly say that throughout a long public life I do not think any man has done more than Lord Crewe to compromise differences and to dwell upon those things which can be achieved rather than upon the difficulties which can be created.

That he showed remarkably during the period that he had control of the Government of India from the India Office, and today those qualities are particularly necessary. Nobody can ignore the fact that there are serious differences of opinion on certain Indian questions in this country; but I should like from the point of view of this Association that we should regard those differences of opinion not in the least as indicating a less degree of affection or regard for our Indian fellow-citizens, but as showing the intense interest in the relations between the two countries which is felt by all classes in Great Britain, and, of course, especially by Members of Parliament who are forced by their position to give votes. It would be a bad compliment, I think, if any great change could be made with regard to India without some degree of consideration and perhaps of controversy.

I remember well the question to which Lord Crewe has alluded of the title of the King-Emperor. Indeed, even in the House of Lords, which is usually quiet even to dullness, most vehement discussions took place, and two facts connected with that occasion are impressed on my mind. The first was that one peer, who knew nothing about India, said very truly, "My lords, what can be the objection to giving the man or the lady who presides over this kingdom the title of Emperor or Empress, in respect of a country which nobody in his life ever heard called a kingdom but which has always been called an Empire?" There was great force in that, and, as Lord Crewe has said, that name now stands in its proper relation. The other thing—which I do not think anybody here would be uninterested to hear—was that that discussion was the first debate which Lord Curzon ever heard in the House of Lords. I remember the whole time he was standing by me on the steps of the throne he characteristically kept on saying about one speaker or another, "Why does he not say this or that?"

Let me say one other word before I sit down. The very fact that so great a change is going to be made in the position in India, I think, shows the intense value of this Association. I earnestly hope that it will continue for

the future the prolonged and keen interest which it has taken in Indian affairs since 1866, for I am convinced there are more persons than ever before who will now wish to take a part in smoothing out difficulties and putting the right construction on all that takes place.

As I once held the same position at the India Office as Lord Crewe held, may I say how warmly I echo the greeting which he has given to His Majesty's Orderlies who have come over and have honoured us by being present this afternoon. If there is anybody in this room who saw the procession in 1887 at the first jubilee of Queen Victoria, I will undertake to say that they cannot forget the thrill which ran through the whole of the vast crowds when they found that in one of the nearest places to the Queen's person and as a bodyguard to the royal person were the Indian aides-de-camp of Her Majesty. A large number of persons have grown up since who think our Empire all over the world is almost a natural thing. I do not think that anything could have brought home to the vast crowds more than that did the great solidarity of our Indian fellow-subjects with ourselves.

We are all deeply obliged to Professor Dodwell for his most interesting address, and we shall all join in the loyal greeting which we give to the King, conscious of how much His Majesty's own personality and character have to do with the strong feeling we all have regarding the twenty-five years of his reign. (Applause.)

MR. R. A. BUTLER, M.P. : I wish to say one word of regret on behalf of my right honourable friend the Secretary of State for India that he is not able to be present this afternoon and to pay a tribute to the position of the King-Emperor in India, a tribute to the reader of this paper, and a tribute to the East India Association for its initiative in having organized this great meeting. My right honourable friend is not well, as you will have realized from reading the public press, but I am glad to say that he is slowly mending from an illness following on a very strenuous and severe time.

Reference was made by the lecturer in his excellent paper to the impression made on the present King when he was in India as Prince of Wales regarding the extent of the work of the then Viceroy, Lord Minto. He referred to him as the most hard-worked man on earth. There is one harder worked man to-day, and that is the present Secretary of State for India. Reference was made to the blue labels and the red labels which were on Lord Minto's boxes. I must tell you that Sir Samuel Hoare has had to devise at least six different sorts of labels to indicate even greater urgency in the work he has undertaken at the present time. I know he would like to have paid his tribute for the different reasons that I have given, and to have associated himself with the loyal greeting to His Majesty that has been sent.

To use the words of the King himself when opening the Round-Table Conference in the House of Lords, there has been a quickening and growth in the ideals and aspirations of nationhood in India which defy the customary measurement of time. It is indeed remarkable for us to reflect that in the twenty-five years that the King has been on the throne the Morley-Minto Reforms have been worked; the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have been introduced and worked; and now we are planning, without, I hope,

too much controversy, the great Constitutional future which we hope is in store for India. It is a great achievement that two sets of reforms have in that time been brought before Parliament. It makes those of us who are attempting to do our little bit today feel very small when we reflect on the great experience of those, like you, my Lord Chairman, and those who have gone before us, in doing the work that they have in past years for that great continent.

Sir MALCOLM SETON: It is my pleasant duty to ask you to accord a vote of thanks to our Chairman and to our lecturer. It is a very pleasant experience for me to find myself on this platform with two of my former parliamentary chiefs. It is, of course, well known that in the presence of Secretaries of State the Home Civil Servant is dumb as a sheep before her shearer: but the East India Association is a great leveller of caste, and now I am proud to have the privilege of proposing this vote of thanks.

Lord Midleton has had to leave us. We are greatly indebted to him for coming. When he was Secretary of State I was a very small fly on the official wheel, but I am particularly pleased to have the privilege of asking you to give a vote of thanks to Lord Crewe, because he is a chief whose encouragement and approval I shall always remember with gratitude. We are greatly indebted to him for coming here, and it is particularly appropriate because, as we have been reminded, he was the Minister in attendance on His Majesty at the time of the Coronation Durbar. Although I was not privileged to be in India at the time, I was to some extent behind the scenes, and I know what good work was done quietly and unobtrusively. Never before had the Secretary of State and the Viceroy coincided in India. There is one glory of the sun and another glory of the moon, but, when they appear in conjunction in the same quarter of the heavens, extraordinary things might happen. It was very largely due to Lord Crewe that nothing untoward did happen. I was in India for six months when a later Viceroy and a later Secretary of State were in contact, and everything went quite smoothly, as it had done in the time of Lord Crewe and Lord Hardinge. The fact was perhaps more important than some people might imagine in a country like India, where ceremonial has such deep meaning. I was not privileged to see the manifestations of loyalty to His Majesty in India, but at the India Office from time to time one succeeds in realizing what the personality of the King really does mean to his Indian peoples.

I can recall one really pathetic incident, when some poor zemindars of the Punjab, who, having in their opinion failed to obtain justice in the Civil Courts and lost their case, actually sold all they had and came to London to put their position to the King. It was tragic and pathetic, because, although His Majesty has retained the prerogative of pardon as regards criminals, it had to be explained to them that he cannot interfere with the decisions of the High Court in civil matters. Whether they appreciated the constitutional niceties of this question I do not know. I am afraid they were deeply disappointed that, having come across the ocean to seek justice from His Majesty in person, our peculiar constitution in England prevented them from getting it. I mention the incident because

it shows how profound was their belief that if they could only approach the King they would get what they wished.

We are indebted to Professor Dodwell for the ground he has covered and for the way he has led us through the screen of facts—he gave us an admirable abstract—to the inner meaning that lies behind it. We all go away from this lecture with a greater realization of what His Majesty's reign has meant to India.

I have been told by those who knew that Queen Victoria's decision to engage a *munshi* and learn something of the Hindustani language had a very profound effect on the Indian people. I am not sure that Her Majesty even attained such proficiency as the candidates for the final examination of the Indian Civil Service, but she did acquire some colloquial knowledge of the language. Then there is an anecdote of King Edward's Coronation. The Maharajah Pertab Singh of Idar sustained a very bad sprain playing polo the day before. He was told that he ought to have his boot removed, and be bandaged up and go to bed, and that he would not be able to ride in the procession. He said he had come to England to do it and was going to do it. He retained his riding boot for twenty-four hours of what must have been very little less than agony, and then was one of the finest and most soldierly figures that rode in that procession. When it was over his boot had to be cut off and the doctors had him in their hands for a fortnight. That shows what the feeling is, the feeling of loyalty that can be and is developed by our Royal Family.

The CHAIRMAN: I have only to thank you very heartily for the kind manner in which you have carried this vote, and Sir Malcolm Seton for the pleasant way in which he proposed it. I can assure you I have the most agreeable recollections of his assistance when I was at the India Office. He was connected with the Revenue Department, which is one which we know always claims, and generally exercises, control over other people.

I cannot sit down without saying just one word of regret at what we have heard about the health of the Secretary of State. I have been filled with a most unstinted admiration of the manner in which Sir Samuel Hoare has carried on his office. (Applause.) I have had to do off and on with political matters for quite fifty years. During that time I think I cannot recall an instance in which a Minister has had to bear so heavy a burden and bear it for so long as Sir Samuel Hoare, or has been able to bear it with the happy result of raising himself in public estimation to an extent which I think it would be difficult to exaggerate. (Applause.)

The meeting concluded with the singing of the National Anthem.

INDIA: THE REPORT, THE BILL, AND AFTER

BY SIR STANLEY REED, K.B.E.

It argues a certain temerity on my part to speak on India in the presence of our distinguished Chairman, one of the greatest Indian civilians of my time, and of experienced men who have forgotten more of the Indian administration than I shall ever know. My only excuse is that I was asked to do so, and that, being in a position of great freedom and no responsibility, I can perhaps take a more objective view than those still weighed down by the cares of present or former office. After long and detailed debate the Bill has emerged from the Committee stage. This is a convenient opportunity to take stock of the situation, and greatly daring, venture to enquire what are the prospects before the proposed constitution, especially in India.

If we calmly survey the constitutional situation in India we are baffled, perhaps depressed, by the complexity of the issues it presents. Here is a great and far-reaching scheme of constitutional reform, represented in the Bill now before Parliament, which embodies the fruit of more exhaustive study than has ever been given to constitution making in the history of the British Empire. It is understating the case to say it commands little enthusiasm anywhere; it is overstating the case to say it has no friends; and the best which can be said of it is that many—in which category I include myself—believe that it will be worked, and can be worked, for the peace and better government of the Indian Empire. If that is the result of inquiries by an authoritative Parliamentary Commission working in collaboration with representatives of the Indian legislatures; of three sessions of the Round-Table Conference; of anxious study by a Joint Select Committee of Parliament which embraced a wealth of Indian experience associated with some of the best brains in both Houses; are we to throw up our hands in dismay and say the Indian problem is insoluble? Perish

the thought: we have to settle this great question, and I am here to express my unwavering faith in the conviction that it has been approached on the only principles which give promise of a fruitful and lasting settlement.

It must, I suggest, have been a painful surprise to many friends of India to note the vehemence with which the Report of the Joint Select Committee was condemned, especially by many whose support might have confidently been expected. I am not alluding for the moment to the denunciations of the Indian National Congress. I wish to speak with all respect of those valued friends of mine who are associated with that organization; I always bear in mind that they have nothing to gain from politics except the reward of service to their country, and that many of them have suffered grievously for their convictions. But it is the plain truth that any Report, issuing from any parliamentary body, would have been denounced bell, book and candle, unopened and unread, the moment it appeared. Yet I would fain hope that if they had read and re-read the first forty-seven pages of the Report, where the principles of constitutional government are set forth with masterly precision, they would have hesitated before rejecting it as of no account. But it was a shock to most of us to encounter the uncompromising criticism of the Report which issued from the Indian Liberals at their Christmas Conference. May I ask you to be quite clear in your mind as to what we call liberalism in India means? It is sometimes said that the Indian Liberals are a Party without an organization; that they have a small place in the organized political expression of the country. That is the truth, but not the whole truth. There is a parallel between Liberalism in Britain and in India. As I go up and down this country I find a vast amount of Liberal thought out of all proportion to the official Liberal Party in the House of Commons. So, too, in India, the Liberals represent that great volume of sane and patriotic thought which sways political expression in the long run. No constitution which does not substantially carry this element with it can survive as a permanent governing institution.

GROUNDS OF INDIAN CRITICISM

If we inquire into the causes of this unexpected condemnation, we are painfully reminded of a saying of the great Lord Salisbury. He once sorrowfully confessed that the British Constitution was ill-adapted to the waging of war; it is equally ill-adapted to the framing of a constitution for India. I can imagine no error which could have been made which was not made in the launching of the Simon Commission. It was not so much the omission of any Indians from membership; the framers of the Act of 1919 always intended that it should be a parliamentary body: it was the deliberate exclusion of Indians from any recognized part in the framing of the Constitution under which they would live and which they would be called upon to work. Steps were afterwards taken to associate the Indian legislatures with the task, but always late, always grudgingly, and always without effect. What would have been accepted with appreciation at the outset was of no value when haltingly admitted. The first volume of the Simon Report will always be a classic in Indian official literature; the recommendations were still-born.

We all thought these false steps had been retraced when, in accordance with the hint thrown out in the Report, the first Round-Table Conference assembled, and the vision of a United India, based on the association of the Indian States with the British-Indian Provinces in the federation which is the only possible form of constitutional government in India, emerged. If that Conference had been followed by legislation, all would have been well. But it was succeeded by the two barren sessions; the drawn-out sittings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, punctuated by delays in pursuit of the red herrings drawn across the trail. Long before the Report appeared it had been damped by the miasma of delay; in the depression of hope deferred the bright promise of the first Round-Table Conference wilted, dried almost to a cinder by the arid blasts of reactionary oratory which seem to be inseparable from the British political game.

It almost passes the wit of man to conceive how it came about that the one element in the Report which might have secured for

it reasoned consideration in India was omitted. The strongest political force in India—you may call it an emotion if you will—is the desire for her equal status with the other Dominions in the British Commonwealth. Dominion status was authoritatively assured to India by the Viceroy and the Government of the day. More, on competent authority we are told that it is inherent in the Declaration of August, 1917, and of every step taken since. Why boggle at it on this crucial occasion, especially as the suspicion of Parliament always latent in India was quickened by the omission from the Bill of the Preamble to the Act of 1919? Here again the remedy was applied subsequently, but here again too late. Suspicion has the wings of the wind; reassurance is shod with lead. I would also invite attention to the further difficulties which the Joint Select Committee placed in the path of those who were anxious whole-heartedly to accept the Constitution. At the close of the sittings of the Joint Select Committee the British Indian Delegation submitted a unanimous and reasoned memorandum; the Joint Select Committee found themselves unable to accept even one recommendation. True, they have expressed their dissent in reasoned and courteous terms, but logic is not always good politics. In this connection I am reminded of the words of the dying Stresemann: "If you could have given me one concession I could have carried my people. . . . But you have given nothing, and the trifling concessions you have made have always come too late." Germany is not the only country to which those devastating words apply. We are witnesses of the failure of Stresemann and Brunig in Germany today; what will be the issue in India if we make it harder than we need for those by whom the real burden of constitutional government must be borne to carry people bearing for the first time the weight of responsibility with them?

We may accept one premiss, and one only, without hesitation. No Constitution acceptable to Parliament can be wholly acceptable to the politically minded classes in India; and *vice versa*. The utmost we can hope to achieve is the widest measure of common agreement. It is a disappointing fact that as these laborious inquiries and this tedious legislation have dragged their weary way

the measure of common agreement has waned rather than waxed. But that must not be allowed to disguise the measure of agreement which actually exists. You will find it reflected in the curious voting which expressed the cross currents in the debate in the Indian Legislative Assembly. The Congress motion for the flat rejection of the Report was defeated; the Communal Award was accepted by a large majority; by a small majority the Assembly approved the Provincial constitutions with amendments, and pronounced an academic condemnation of the Federal Scheme.

THE BILL AND THE PRINCES

So, too, with the action of the Indian Princes and States, who hold the key position in any Federal Scheme. Undoubtedly there has been a certain weakening in the enthusiasm with which the Indian Princes accepted the invitation at the first Round-Table Conference to consider entering into the federal system which everyone knows is inevitable in India; undoubtedly, as the full implications of federation were realized, its provisions were more jealously scrutinized. A contributory factor in this reticence was the ill-judged abuse of the Indian States in which some who were quick to extend the invitation to federate indulged. Another was the actual drafting of the Bill. It would, I think, be unfair to charge the Princes with setting up a Dutch auction for their support. If any State has been tempted to put its adhesion up to auction the responsibility lies less with the State than with the handful of men in British politics who have encouraged Princes to put their price high in the hope of wrecking the Bill as a whole, and on promises they could never fulfil—action which has done more to weaken respect for Parliament in India than anything else that has occurred in my time. From the first the Princes made it clear that their adhesion to any federation was conditioned by an examination of the scheme as a whole when it appeared. There were certain errors of drafting, possibly inevitable in a Bill of this magnitude, which differentiated the measure from the Report. But these are in process of resolution, and at the moment the remaining differences are by no means incapable of solution.

If here I may interpolate a digression, it is that the adhesion of

the Indian States is essential not only to secure the unity of India—a truism—but to secure the better balance of any Indian Constitution. To my mind the greatest problem affecting the future of India is the better distribution of political power between town and country. Under the system that has grown up since 1879, the weight of political influence has been with the urban classes; the States are predominantly rural, but they have had no voice in economic legislation. The high protection under which Indian industries are growing is largely paid for by the peoples of the Indian States, who derive little or no benefit therefrom. Please do not run away with the idea that I am opposed to a policy of discriminating protection in India. The fostering of industry is essential not only for the development of the national wealth, but to provide a buttress against any failure of the rains. But in a country which is, and must for generations remain, predominantly agricultural in its economy the hot-bed forcing of manufacturing industry at the expense of the consumer, to the neglect of its agriculture, must be fatal to economy and politics in the long run. The presence of the representatives of the States in the Federal Legislatures will redress a disproportion which has too long existed.

WORKING OF THE BILL ASSURED

So behind an opposition to the Bill which is strong, and differences with its provisions which are rather vehement, there is a measure of agreement not always discernible. Of one thing we may be sure; if and when the Bill becomes law, all parties will work it. Even the Indian National Congress will enter the legislatures with a view to securing the largest measure of political power possible. It has tried non-co-operation twice; it has found that it is a very barren field. Indian liberal thought, though deeply disappointed at the Bill, and especially the rejection of its own amendments, is gradually accepting the position. I would invite your attention to the words of a distinguished Indian publicist, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, when he said :

It is impossible to achieve a constitution which will satisfy the ambitions of most of us. Such a constitution, if made, however perfect it might be, is not going to be durable. . . . If you resent it, I agree with you, because it falls short of expectations, but if you reject it, I am not with you.

And more recently Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, one of the clearest brains in Indian politics, advised the Liberals to accept the constitution and extract the best from it. My information, for what it is worth, is that a sufficient number of Indian States will adhere to the federation to make it practicable within a reasonable period, and where they lead all others will follow. My diagnosis of the Indian political situation is that people are weary of political strife, and are all anxious to get on with the constructive work they have in hand.

THE ALTERNATIVES

I suggest that we should squarely face the converse to pressing on with the Bill now before Parliament. Supposing we took the advice which is being thrust upon us and scrapped the measure; supposing we adopted the ingenuous suggestion offered in the House of Commons recently, and when the Act finally emerges from Parliament submit it to the Indian Legislatures and drop it if there is a hostile vote, what then? Surely it can be said without fear of contradiction that if there is one thing certain in Indian politics it is that the present Constitution has outlived its usefulness. I am not amongst those who join in fractious condemnation of the Act of 1919. In the conditions obtaining when that measure was passed, there was no alternative to dyarchy in the Provinces and no one was prepared to accept Federation with or without responsibility at the Centre. And when the worst is said that can be said of the present system, it has worked through fifteen years of storm and stress, whilst Constitutions have come tumbling to the ground all over the world, and not least in Asia; it functions to-day. But the transitory period for which it was designed passed five years ago. There is throughout India an insistent demand for its amendment. Good work has been done under it, especially in preparing the ground for full responsibility in the Provinces. In the part of India which I know best there is an earnest desire for a more effective responsibility for Ministers; I know of one case where a Minister in the Government could not command the support of a single elected member, not even of his own brother. The system as it has developed in some Provinces of Ministers

leaning entirely on the Governor, or the official *bloc*, instead of upon the legislature, leads to that serious position of administrative power without any administrative responsibility.

As for the Central Government, you have only to read the closing debates of the last session to realize how insistent is the need for the amendment of the Constitution—a demand which comes from the official benches even more strongly than from the Opposition. There is no permanence, there never was intended any permanence, in an elected legislature and a non-responsible executive; the mischief will grow worse with each year of delay. Does anyone with a knowledge of the congestion of Parliament, of the pressure of domestic legislation, and the uncertainty of the political future in Britain seriously think that, after devoting these years to a study of the Indian Constitution, the House of Commons is going to devote other years to the evolution of a brand-new scheme? Or that, if it did so, it could produce one commanding even the measure of agreement which has been extended to the Bill now under consideration?

And even if Parliament assumed this unthinkable responsibility, on what principle would it work? The basis of all constitutional growth is the autonomy of the British-Indian Provinces, with responsible ministries. The only possible ground for differences is the precise constitution of those Provinces—we shall visualize the position much more clearly if we think of them as States—and the measure of responsibility which shall attach thereto. Any difference must therefore be one of degree, not of principle. Again, no one can seriously think of the autonomy of the Provinces without the strengthening of the Central Government vis-à-vis the Legislatures. The emphasis which the Report lays on this is unanswerable; it has been borne out with striking force during the last few months. I find it hard to visualize, just as the Montagu-Chelmsford inquiry found it hard to visualize nearly two decades ago, any form of progressive central government in India which is not based on the federal principle, or any equitable solution of the economic problems pressing on India through a Constitution in which the States are not partners. Taxation without representation—and that is what the States are suffering from today—has always been

one of the most destructive political growths. But there are those who say "Not in my time. Federation as a distant goal maybe; but not now, not now." I find it impossible to follow or appreciate that reasoning. If we reject the opportunity which lies before us now of effecting the real unity of India through the association in matters of common concern of the British Provinces with the Indian States, leaving each to reach their fullest development along their own lines, I cannot see how the occasion can ever recur.

There is the tentative alternative, thrown out with some hesitation, of a Federation of the British-Indian Provinces with a responsible government, leaving the Indian States without the orbit of the Constitution. I am too old, and perhaps too wily, to prophesy; but if any really think such a proposition would be seriously considered by one of the essential partners in this enterprise, the Imperial Parliament, he must have strangely misread all the discussions of the past seven years. And if, in a moment of aberration, Parliament committed itself to such an adventure—what then? Is it common sense, much less practical politics, to talk of a federation which would exclude more than one-third of the land and one-fifth of the people? Is there, could there be any permanence in such a situation, especially when we consider how closely many of the States are interlocked with British India and how intimate are their economic relations? If I may say so, some of the advocates of this expedient have an undisclosed purpose in view.

RESOLUTION AND CONFIDENCE

It has always seemed to me that the wisest words spoken on Indian polity were by the Under-Secretary, who bade us ponder the path at our feet and look straight on. We have long pondered the path at our feet; we must look straight on. If the Bill now before Parliament is enacted without preventible delay, my own belief is that all classes in India will work it; I believe it will work: I am still more confident that no other Constitution which can secure the acceptance of the two partners in this enterprise, Britain

and political India, will work. That the difficulties are great all admit; that is the price we pay for the splendour of the British Commonwealth. That it may not develop as we think probable now is quite possible; the ultimate form of government in India must be *sui generis*. But it gives us the greatest measure of agreement which has been secured, or ever will be secured. Let us throw our hearts over the fence and follow boldly after them, in no niggard spirit—for niggardliness is fatal in India—but with resolution and confidence. Above all, let us give to India our best, in the Services and in the King's representatives. It is often said that the posts of Viceroy and Governor-General, and of Governors, in future will demand supermen. Well, India might retort that she pays for supermen. This much is sure; there will be no room for the second-rate—for Governors sent to India as a convenient means of getting them out of posts they fill at home but do not adorn. If the responsibilities are great, the opportunities are superb; there can be no narrow field of recruitment, for in India the best is only just good enough, and it is one of the most encouraging signs of the times that the most unorthodox appointment to a Provincial Governorship has also been the most successful, for it brought to a very disturbed area a man who is not only a great administrator, but one commanding a liberal and constructive mind.

contentment." That, I am afraid, has not been done. Rather than express any opinion of mine on this, I would prefer to give you the impressions of an impartial observer, competent enough to judge. The words I am about to read out to you are not those of a bureaucrat, but a statesman and diplomat from another country in Europe, one who has lived in India for a number of years as a Consul-General. In his excellent book, *A Foreigner Looks at India*, Mr. Staal observes :

"The immediate cause of the unfortunate results is the mentality which was created by the 1919 Reforms. Until then British authority had not been questioned in earnest and the idea of self-government had remained no more than a pleasant dream. . . . But . . . realization of responsible government in British India suddenly made both communities realize what the eventual withdrawal of British authority might mean to their respective interests. . . . Amongst each and every group there will be eminent men and very clever talkers, but there is one thing even the cleverest talker cannot do—he cannot talk India, populated as it is by groups which are divided by race and by blood, by religion and by law, as well as by an entirely different outlook on social life, into a united, independent Empire."

Somewhere else in his book Mr. Staal points out how democracy has failed in the Dutch East Indies.

Now, after twenty years, during which the administration of India has deteriorated and the British steel frame behind it has shown signs of corrosion, the present Secretary of State for India wants to confer the blessing of a new heaven and a new earth on the Indian masses by bringing forward this scheme which seems to be liked by few. A Bill that is brought forward for the better government of India and the satisfaction of Indian political aspirations has only succeeded in further embittering political opinion in India, and nowhere in it is shown how it is going to make for better government—*i.e.*, for the happiness and betterment of the majority of Indian people.

When Sir Stanley Reed put before us his point of view, my impression was—imagining myself for the moment not to have known India at all—that all this national aspiration, all this political desire had permeated widely through the length and breadth of India. Yet what do we find? Over 90 per cent. of a vast population are completely illiterate, and this so-called demand does not emanate from even 2 per cent. of this population. (Applause.)

And what of the masses? As conditions are today, over 95 per cent. of the Indian people are entirely at the tender mercies of moneylenders and landlords and under the perpetual tyranny of priests. It can therefore be said with confidence that there are only two groups of people who have a right to rule India. In the Indian States it is the Indian Princes, and in British India, it is my submission, with every respect for some of the ablest politicians in India, that Great Britain—by virtue of her achievement—has a far better moral and historic right to rule than any Indian politician. (Applause.)

Now, what about the financial side of this question? Let me give you a few figures taken from the Statistical Abstract of British India and pre-

pared in a summarized form by Mr. Hubert Calvert, late Financial Commissioner of the Punjab. Referring to the cost of administration, which—in spite of Army expenditure having been reduced to a dangerous minimum owing to constant pressure from Indian Legislatures—has gone up in India since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, Mr. Calvert observes :

“The cost of the civil government at the centre shows an increase of Rs. 13·5 crores on Rs. 65 crores, or over 20 per cent.

“The figures for the provinces show a total increase of over Rs. 15 crores, or over 19 per cent. This expenditure has been made possible by the remissions of contributions from the provinces to the centre of Rs. 9·83 crores (Meston Award) by new taxation and by borrowing.

“The simple fact is that for twenty-five years previous to the Reforms of 1919, India enjoyed prosperity, paid her way, reduced her debt, and provided amenities for her population. Since 1919 neither the central nor the provincial governments (as a complete block) have paid their way. Both have added new taxation, both have borrowed, and both have been led into heavy extra expenditure ‘to make the reforms a success. . .’

“If we take the Government of India, its expenditure on civil administration only—*i.e.*, general, justice, gaols, police, education, medical, health, agriculture and industries (which includes expenditure on these heads in areas directly controlled by the Government of India), then we find there is an increase of Rs. 4 crores, or over 42 per cent.

“Similar figures for the provinces show a steady rise and the increase is of over Rs. 13 crores, or almost 30 per cent.

“These latter figures for civil administration only are striking. They cover the ordinary heads of Government activities. It is, I think, clear that neither the centre nor the provinces can continue on present lines. They cannot pay their way now under British control, when swayed by popular pressure through legislatures.”

But on the eve of the introduction of this new heaven and a new earth of Sir Samuel Hoare, the budgetary position for the year 1935-1936, in the nine provinces in which for the present British India is divided, shows an estimated surplus of Rs. 14 lakhs in two provinces only; whereas in the remaining seven there is, on the aggregate, an estimated deficit of Rs. 172 lakhs.

It may be argued with good reason that if a country wants responsible government it has got to pay for it. But does the 98 per cent. of India want self-government? It certainly does not. And who has to pay for it? The 98 per cent.

Has the working of the reforms in the last twenty years proved a success? There are the annual reports of the various Provincial Governments which on the whole show that there has been a marked deterioration in the departments of education and public health. Municipal administration has gone to pieces; there have been, under it, flagrant cases of moral turpitude, dishonesty, and racial bickering. In several cases the Government reports go to show that such lapses have been more a source of mirth and congratulation among the councillors than a cause of genuine regret. In spite of all this we are now told that we must go forward.

Though much must be left out that could with effect be said on this

great problem which strikes at the very root of our Empire, I think I have put it to you that a measure which is conceived in a spirit of defeatism, a measure that does not take into consideration the psychological reactions of the Indian people, nor take into account human nature, can never succeed. To India it will only mean a long term of uncompensated sorrow and suffering; to Great Britain—distress, dishonour, and disgrace. (Applause.)

Mr. F. G. PRATT: I want to protect myself against a possible charge of aggressive dogmatism, which is no part of my purpose or intention, but which is imposed upon me by the conditions under which I have to speak. I want to hang my remarks upon two points, two pegs, which seem to me to stick out of the structure of the very admirable address that we have heard from Sir Stanley Reed.

The first of those two points is the Joint Memorandum of the Indian Delegation; and the second is our hopes and fears about the success of the future Constitution.

Taking that second point first, it all depends upon financial stability. The success of the Central and Provincial Governments is vitally dependent upon finance, and if you look at the mere question of constitutional development, finance is the great lion in the path, because Parliament cannot begin to inaugurate Federation until they have been satisfied of the solvency of the centre and the provinces.

The particular points in the Joint Memorandum that I want to refer to are the well-known passages in which it deals with defence and external relations—foreign policy and army policy. You all remember them: more rapid Indianization of the army, reduction of British troops, reduction of the military budget. The case I have to put before you has been put in a nutshell in a recent issue of *The Times of India*:

“There are two main points round which dissatisfaction centres: the slow rate of Indianization and the heavy cost of the army. With both complaints we sympathize. It may well be asked whether with a settled frontier, a settled Afghanistan, and the removal of the pre-war Russian bogey, India's land defence expenditure cannot be curtailed.”

You will notice the phrase “the removal of the pre-war Russian bogey.” So says *The Times of India*, no mean authority, Mr. Chairman. I would like to reinforce that with another authority, which is even greater, the authority of a British Minister, in an official utterance, the Anglo-Soviet communiqué of March 31, 1935.

I will trouble you with another fairly long quotation:

“The representatives of the two Governments were happy to note, as the result of a full and frank exchange of views, that there is at present no conflict of interest between the two Governments on any of the main issues of international policy, and that this fact provided a firm foundation for the development of fruitful collaboration between them in the cause of peace. They are confident that both countries, recognizing that the integrity and the prosperity of each is to the

advantage of the other, will govern their mutual relations in that spirit of collaboration and loyalty to obligations assumed by them which is inherent in their common membership of the League of Nations."

I hope that may suffice to lay the Russian ghost and to silence the "ancestral voices prophesying war," which have never been silent during the last fifty years, and which have on no single occasion during all that time ever been right. I come back to ask what *The Times of India* meant. I interpret it as meaning this. After 1921 Great Britain and India were released from the obligation to go into Afghanistan, if necessary, with a large army and defend her from aggression. Further, there is this point, that Indian relations with Afghanistan during fifty years past at least have been poisoned—a long story of mutual suspicion, hostility, and ill-will. Afghanistan and India have never worked in sympathy and harmony together. Afghanistan has always been a source of trouble and anxiety, especially in the tribal country. That is a matter of history.

What is the position now? You have now in Afghanistan a loyal neighbour, working in complete and loyal co-operation with you in carrying out the common objects of the policy of both countries in keeping the tribal areas quiet, and that has been repeatedly recognized by the Government of India Reports which have been issued of recent years. That new situation has developed, not quite immediately after 1921, when Afghanistan became independent, but after the lapse of some years.

Now for the tribal question. What did *The Times of India* mean by settled frontier? On that it is only necessary to say this, that the whole of the tribal area is now held in a steel frame of control and discipline such as never existed before in the whole history of British rule. You have observation aeroplanes, you have scout levies, you have a great network of mechanical transport roads spread over the country. Last and not least you have strong garrisons of regular troops in occupation of central and key positions.

Now what is the cumulative effect of all those facts? You will recall those important parts of the Simon Commission Report, those very weighty and important parts which describe the situation of India as regards her external security. You all remember that portentous language, almost blood-curdling language, in which the Simon Commission described the situation—the constant, and imminent, and unceasing presence of an external danger which was of the first order of magnitude. I submit that the Simon Commission Report, in all those important parts of it, is now obsolete. I do not want to raise the question whether at the time when that Report was written in 1928-1929, at a time when, you will remember, there were no diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia, whether even at that time it gave an accurate description of the situation. But I say now, categorically, that the situation as described in the Simon Commission Report bears not even a remote resemblance to the situation of today as anybody can see.

That means that one of the great basic assumptions which underlies the whole structure of constitutional reform is not any longer tenable. That

means that one of the greatest obstacles, one of the greatest arguments against moving on more quickly towards dominion status, against association of Indian ministers with external relations, foreign policy, army policy—those have lost much if not all of their force and cogency.

There is one humble suggestion which I would like to make, a humble amateur suggestion about foreign policy, and that is this: We never open our newspapers nowadays without reading discussions about security pacts in this, that, or the other European capital for building up security in Europe. The last was the Eastern Europe security pact. Is it not time people thought of a Middle Asian pact? Is there a region on the planet which for a whole century has been so dominated by international fears and hostilities as that unfortunate region of Middle Asia, including India with her 350 millions of population? I suggest that the statesmen of Great Britain and India, in collaboration with those of Soviet Russia, Afghanistan, and possibly Persia, should get busy and organize a Middle Asian pact to guarantee peace and security in those regions. (Applause.)

Sir MANUBHAI MEHTA: After hearing the very lucid and able address of Sir Stanley Reed I have very little to add. He has explained the position of the Princes very clearly. I only desire to remove one or two misunderstandings that prevail about the position of the Princes.

Sir Stanley said that there was really no justification to say that the Princes invited the Members of Parliament to attend a Dutch auction. The Princes have not been auctioning or bargaining. There is a real misunderstanding, which I am glad is being removed. For this misunderstanding perhaps you know that a section of the Press here has been entirely responsible. (Hear, hear.) They have been asking the Princes to put up their price, to make the most of their demands because this is the time when whatever the Princes ask will be complied with. This is not the spirit in which the Princes have approached the question, but the spirit in which a section of the Press here wanted the Princes to behave in the matter.

The same Press represented the Princes to have come into this idea of federation and to have departed from the idea of federation in league with a certain section of Indian opinion which is called extremist. They represented the Princes to have awakened one morning in 1930 and to have agreed at once to acceding to federation because their British brethren wanted them to come in. They forgot that the question of federation has been engaging the attention of the Princes for the last twenty years. It was in 1916-1917 that they started this idea of federation, as Sir Stanley Reed has put it, because there are questions of economic concern in which they have been feeling that there has been taxation without representation. They have never been consulted, and they had to pay whatever taxes the Government of India indirectly imposed upon the whole population. So on these questions of joint concern the anxiety of the Princes was that they should have some share in the administration of such economic questions which affected the whole country. It was for that reason that they put forward the suggestion of Federation, and Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford developed the idea in their Report. If

you turn to that Report you will find the seed of that idea is there. It is no use saying that in 1930 the Princes took a leap in the dark, and in a foolhardy manner agreed with the Liberals here and said: "Yes, we will help you and go into the Federation." That is a fallacy which ought to be exposed.

Secondly, it is suggested that the Princes are now backing out of the idea of Federation because the extremists have been coercing us. That is equally untrue. We have never minded the threats or intimidation of the extremists. But the Bill was drafted in a hurry and the picture was not entirely complete, and the Princes had to explain some of their difficulties before the picture was ready to be hung up. Happily some of these misunderstandings are being removed. The difficulties are almost overcome.

The third misunderstanding created was that the Government of India were anxious to rope in the Princes. They were described as being "coaxed, cajoled, and coerced" into the Federation. They have neither been caressed nor crossed into any such unholy league. We have received telegrams from busybodies of the journalistic brotherhood asking us not to go into the Federation which could swamp and sweep us away. These tactics have to be laid bare (applause) and this dirty linen washed in public in order that you may see that the Princes did not put up their wishes in any bargaining spirit or in any way like a Dutch auction. Some real difficulties came in their way, and they had to ask for the removal of those difficulties before they changed the traditions that have steadily maintained them in days gone by.

Sir MILES IRVING: There are only two points to which I wish to allude. One is the suggestion of the progressive deterioration in Indian administration since the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. I can only speak of the Punjab, the Province I know, also the only Province Mr. Calvert knows. My own experience has been different from his. If one passes in review the general standard of administration in the Punjab since 1921 I would say there has been a distinct improvement. One thing which is easy to judge is the condition of the roads. The roads have been under an Indian Minister, and there is not the least doubt that the roads of the Punjab are of a very high standard.

There is no doubt that the introduction of responsible government anywhere has always been to the permanent official rather a nuisance. He has to spend a great deal of time answering questions and explaining things to a number of people, but my impression is that the general effect of having our policy brought before the Councils has been beneficial. We have been driven out of our rut.

Take one matter in which I have been personally interested, that of our land revenue administration. We have introduced an enormous innovation in the Punjab, by which we have—I believe successfully—enabled our demand to be fixed on a sliding scale based on commodity prices. No other Government has attempted to do a thing like that. We have been driven to do it by the very vociferous representations of the representatives of the peasants in the Legislative Council. We have had to see what could be done.

Something would have been done in any case, but we have had to do it years before we would have done it in the ordinary course.

My belief on the whole is that our administration has been improved by being brought into the light of popular criticism. I have no doubt that we have had failings. All that has been said of local administration in the past is true. It is true of other countries besides India. But I do not know that our "local stuff" in the past was so extraordinarily good. I believe also that our Indian ministers have been as anxious as anybody else to undertake this very difficult task of cleaning up the small or even the big local administration.

The other point I wish to refer to is this of the vociferous 5 per cent. and the remaining 95 per cent. In the first place you cannot govern a country in which 5 per cent. are against you if that 5 per cent. includes practically all the people with a high degree of education, all the people with the money, all the people with the printing presses, all the people with influence. It can be done for some time, but you cannot go on doing it very long. Government must have a backing. The contented peasantry are perfectly content if things go on, but they cannot give a Government an effective backing.

The second point about that is, as I have seen take place in the last few years, the political attitude towards the peasantry seems to have changed a great deal. The Punjab peasant, whom I know, has gradually realized that a good deal of what he wants can be got by means of political pressure. I am not thinking so much of political pressure on the Government. I do not know that the Punjab peasant is thinking very much about the Government, but he is thinking very seriously about the moneylender, and he has got quite definitely in his mind that he can improve his economic position through political influence in the Councils. He might have been so fifteen or ten years ago, but I do not think the Punjab peasant now is at all indifferent to the influence of the vote.

I am quite confident that if you take the only alternative to proceeding with the Bill and drop it the Punjab peasant will consider that we have broken our faith with him. I do not know that he has a very clear idea of what the reforms are, but he does believe they are a way in which he can better himself; and I am quite sure he feels that we are bound to go on with them.

The CHAIRMAN: A Chairman has an enviable position. He first of all introduces his lecturer. He then does his best to stir up the audience to criticize or support the lecturer. He ends with a few remarks himself, thanking those who have followed the lecturer and appreciative of the lecturer's own efforts—all very easy and plain sailing. Above all, he himself is not supposed to be controversial or contentious.

Certainly, I have no difficulty in discharging the most pleasant part of my duty, and that is on your behalf to thank Sir Stanley Reed for his thoughtful and very suggestive address, which gives full proof of his own wide knowledge and experience of Indian politics, his intimate association with Indian thinkers and of the outlook of modern India. (Applause.) He is a man of liberal mind, and I felt when he began to speak that it was a peculiar advan-

tage to have one here who could interpret for us what was the feeling of a liberal thinker on Indian questions. (Hear, hear.) My own faith is very much the same as his (applause), based, I know, on different experiences, and by different paths, but leading much to the same conclusions.

I wonder whether it is now any advantage to you that I should indulge once again in all the arguments and counter-arguments which have led us to our present position. After all, I think that by this time most of us have decided on our attitude on the subject. Moreover, in another five days' time the House of Commons will have finally disposed of the Bill save for the Third Reading, which may perhaps take them till the 5th or 6th of June. By the autumn we may expect to see the Bill pass the House of Lords. The probability is that perhaps late in the year 1936 we shall see the introduction of provincial autonomy. We all hope that Federation may follow soon after, but that is a date that we cannot control ourselves.

The date of provincial autonomy Parliament can control. The date of Federation depends on the accession of the Indian Princes who will come in as partners to Federation, and there may be a process of discussion which will further delay us there. But in the circumstances it seems to me that it would be of little avail now if I went over again some of the arguments that have in the past been used for and against this measure. If I, for instance, attempted to counter here—my faith being what it is—some of the arguments which Mr. Lalkaka used it would hardly help you now in any way. I might tell you, for instance, that when he referred to the greatly increased cost of Indian expenditure under Reforms he omitted to mention that the one item which had accounted for most of that increase was the cost of the Army; and secondly the increase in the pay of the Services, for neither of which the Reforms had been responsible; and that such expenditure as you could charge directly to the Reforms must, after all, be a comparatively small part of the total. It would not, again, help you if I told you that his quotation regarding the deterioration of services generally in the provinces was not based on any reliable foundation. The Simon Commission could find no such evidence.

What we have to face at the moment is the fact that the Bill will most undoubtedly pass through Parliament, and within a reasonable time it will come into operation. What matters now is the conviction expressed by Sir Stanley Reed, in which I join, that it will be worked with the co-operation of the Indian people.

Sir Stanley has mentioned what he holds to be some drawbacks, both in the manner of its presentment and in the method which we have adopted in putting the new Constitution before the Indian people. He has referred to the somewhat grudging way in which he holds that advance has been granted, a way he describes as so grudging that it has driven from our side many who might reasonably have been found in alliance with us. He has referred to the delays. He has referred again to the fact that the Joint Select Committee made no effective concession to the Memorandum of the Indian Delegation to the Committee. He holds that these facts account for something of the attitude with which the present proposals have been received in India.

But I want to put to you a view, not necessarily adverse to his, but one which in my opinion needs consideration. I know how much the matter of presentation counts. I know, for instance, how much it would have counted with Indian Liberals had the Bill, when it was first drafted, contained a declaration that Dominion Status was the objective before Parliament. Perhaps it may well be that if the thing had been done differently in other respects also, and more despatch had been shown, we should have seen a different attitude.

But there is also this. I take it that the whole psychological basis of the Indian demand is a claim for political self-respect. That being so, could you expect that any form of constitution which contained a number of safeguards and reservations, which indeed put some emphasis on the limitations, could have been received with anything like a welcome, anything like a general expression of satisfaction by Liberal politicians in India? The limitations were a necessary condition of advance, but it was inevitable that Indian opinion should concentrate not on what the Constitution contained in the way of progress, but on what it withheld. I doubt myself whether even if we had presented the matter in a different form, even had we been far more expeditious, even if we could have been spared in some way those sentiments of mistrust that were expressed in Great Britain, even then I doubt whether in the long run the reception in India would have been very different from that which it has received.

But I myself am not impressed by those facts so much as by others. I am impressed by the fact that the British Government has so steadfastly and in the face of such obstacles persisted in this great Liberal measure. (Applause.) You have a large number of people in England who have been taught to look upon it with alarm and more than alarm. You have had sections of our industrial population who have believed that it may bring harm to them. And the measure has been brought forward at the very moment when other nations in the world are beginning to discount the advantage of those Parliamentary institutions on which this proposal itself is based. (Applause.) Even a great democratic country like the United States has begun to seek for some more direct method of rule, some more stable executive than can be afforded by the shifting chances of Parliamentary institutions.

Yet it is precisely at this time and in face of these circumstances that we are proposing to extend Parliamentary institutions based on a popular vote to India. And why? For one reason only. Because judging by our own experiences, judging by the experiences of the Empire, we believe that it is the best thing that we can do for India. (Applause.)

Surely if there is anywhere in India anyone who has before them the realities of politics, they will recognize that there has been on the part of Great Britain no mere expression of its faith but a real, a substantial, and a steadfast determination to implement that faith. In spite of political inconveniences, in spite of the hazards which even the friends of reform know that it involves, in spite of a lukewarm attitude in India itself, the Government of Great Britain has determined to implement in the fullest and most liberal sense the trust which it feels for the Indian people. (Applause.)

I confidently believe myself that if India fails to grasp the opportunities

that we are giving her, if she fails to realize that though this measure may not be all she has demanded, nevertheless it is on our part a true proof of faith in our own principles, and that it involves some sacrifice on our part—unless she can realize this and make a sane and wise use of the future that it opens to her, it will not be Great Britain that will be judged to have failed, but India herself. (Applause.)

SIR STANLEY REED: I would like to say one thing, because it may not be generally known. Mr. Pratt spoke very wisely of the great change in the defence policy of India. I should take it back to 1907; Indian defence is now a local and not an international question, but you will never get any soldier to agree. As to whom the distinction should go for substituting the road for the rifle and the bullet, it is our Chairman to-day. At a time of the greatest financial embarrassment, when the Government of India finances were strained almost beyond bearing point, and when he had to carry almost unaided a tremendous burden, he took his courage in both hands and found the money for the Waziristan road system. If by different paths Sir Malcolm Hailey has come to the same conclusion as myself, I am well content; I could wish for no better authority.

SIR LOUIS DANE: It is my pleasant duty on behalf of you all to ask you to give a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the lecturer. (Applause.)

I am delighted to find that there are still people who can take an intelligent interest in the Indian reforms. I was beginning to think we had got tired of them. But we have had such an interesting lecture and discussion that I feel almost inclined to embark on an argument. However, for the moment I will spare you. We all have our own views. I am not prepared to agree to everything that has been said, and certainly not to the idea that the defence of India is now easy and that the Army can be reduced. But there is a great deal to be said for what has been advanced by the lecturer and many of the gentlemen who took part in the discussion. What I can say is that we all do wish all possible success to these reforms, and I am sure everybody connected with the Government, once they are operative, will do all they can to work them in the best possible way for the interests and the good of India.

I ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the lecturer. (Applause.)

RECEPTION TO THE MAHARAJAH OF BIKANER

SOME 400 guests accepted the invitation of Lady Bennett to a reception held at the Ladies' Carlton Club on May 29, 1935, to meet H.H. the Maharajah of Bikaner, on the occasion of his visit to this country to take part in the Silver Jubilee celebrations in his capacity as honorary A.D.C. to the King. After the serving of refreshments—

Lord LAMINGTON said: As President of the East India Association, I am sure I shall be interpreting your feelings if, on your behalf, I express to Lady Bennett our profound gratitude for her kindness in providing this Reception this afternoon to meet His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner. We are very grateful indeed that Lady Bennett, whose husband for years directed most ably the fortunes of *The Times of India*, should be instrumental today in bringing here His Highness, who in those distant days was already taking a prominent part in the public life of India.

His Highness has come here, at the behest of our Sovereign, as one of his principal honorary A.D.C.s, to take part in the great demonstrations in connection with the Jubilee of H.M. the King. He has been a very prominent figure in the processions and assemblings that have taken place, and we are greatly privileged that he has found time to come here this afternoon. You will recall that His Highness was the first Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. For some years now he has made an intense study of the constitutional questions that have been exercising the best minds of both countries. At the Round-Table Conference he showed sound judgment and gave very valuable help in shaping its conclusions.

It was no light matter to think out plans for bringing the States of India into a federal system. But all the way through, subject to criticism in detail, His Highness has supported the Constitution Bill very much on the lines that have been now endorsed by the House of Commons. We shall have that Bill now in a few days in the House of Lords. There are many in that House who are well acquainted with the problems of India, but I do not think they will find it necessary to change in any great degree the various provisions of the Bill.

His Highness is a statesman. As a soldier and as a great Indian ruler he has always shown intense loyalty to our Empire. He has not been very well. He has been a great deal in the hands of doctors, and he is leaving this country on the seventh of next month, so he has not much time at his disposal. We are very grateful to him for coming here this afternoon, and also to Lady Bennett for having provided the occasion of his doing so.

H.H. THE MAHARAJAH OF BIKANER, who was received with great applause, said: I am very grateful to Lady Bennett for the opportunity which she has afforded me of coming here to meet so many friends, and for the honour that

she has done me. And I am no less grateful to Lord Lamington for the very kind words which he has just used in regard to me. It is always a pleasure to be present at a meeting of this nature under the auspices of the East India Association. The late Sir Thomas Bennett was for many years Editor and part proprietor of a great newspaper, *The Times of India*, to which we have looked with confidence for a reasoned exposition of Indian interests and aspirations, and of which my friend Sir Stanley Reed was later a distinguished Editor. I am happy to know that Lady Bennett retains a connection with the paper. The East India Association, of which I have been a Vice-President for many years, has for sixty-eight years provided the one forum in London where all who speak with knowledge on India can expound its great and varied problems. There is no aspect of the Indian question which has not during this long period been discussed at its meetings with knowledge and authority; and however we may differ from some of the views expressed on this wide platform, we appreciate the catholicity with which it keeps its portals open for the ventilation of Indian policy and administration. I particularly welcome the assurance in the last Annual Report that, after passing through what I may call the "depression" troubles, the Association is strong in membership. I am confident that with the sagacious counsel of the President, Lord Lamington; of that proved friend of India, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, one of its Vice-Presidents, whose name, after the lapse of so many years since he held high command in its Army, is still held in deep affection and respect in India; and its distinguished Council, with the energetic co-operation of my friend the honorary secretary, Mr. F. H. Brown, it will continue to furnish to the British people light on those complex issues bound up with the constitutional progress of the land we all love and ardently desire to serve.

Now I am not here to make any contribution to, or any remarks upon, the questions of high policy concerning India which have been engaging attention during the past six years. During the celebrations of His Majesty's Jubilee reference to any matters that may be deemed controversial must be avoided. I should, however, like to say that I was one of the earliest supporters of the scheme for an All-India Federation. I still believe in the Federal form of Government as being best in the interests of the Empire, of India, and of the States. It is, therefore, my most earnest hope that the final issue of the consideration given to the question by Parliament and by His Majesty's Government will be such as to render it possible for the majority of the States to accede to the Federation, with adequate safeguards and the full assurance of their sovereignty, entity, and future existence.

I am here—and in this respect I am confident that I speak equally for my colleagues from India who have the privilege of being on His Majesty's personal staff—to demonstrate our profound devotion to the Crown as an institution and to His Majesty's Throne and Person. Perhaps, however, I may ask your attention for a few moments to these aspects of the British Empire.

To the Indian Princes and States the Crown stands in a special relation. The principle of monarchy is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. With the ideal of kingship stretching back in many cases through unbroken cen-

turies to the dawn of history, we are convinced that this great and flexible institution has not only fulfilled a distinguished role in the policy of India, but has an equally great role to discharge in the future. Not from any narrow or selfish purpose, not from any mere regard for dynastic interests, we are resolved, under Divine guidance, to ensue it.

These being our own traditions and ideals, you will readily appreciate the intensity of our devotion to the Imperial Crown. A Scottish historian reminded us recently that for fifteen centuries there have been kings in Britain, and for more than three hundred years there has been a single kingship. Just think of the tensile strength of a link which has endured through all these vicissitudes! Those of us who look back on crowded years cannot fail to be impressed by two characteristics of the Imperial Crown. We have been witnesses of the striking renaissance of the monarchy during the reign of Queen Victoria of blessed memory, and so nobly sustained by her successors. We also see the grace and ease with which it keeps abreast of changing conditions. We have only to think upon the wonderful outburst of loyalty and devotion of the past weeks—which did our hearts such good—to appreciate how deeply the Crown is rooted in the hearts of the people.

To those of us who serve in India the Crown is in a very special degree the oriflamme of our unity. Parliaments go; great political figures flit across the scene and pass; we have our own divisions of race and creed, though superimposed upon them is a growing sense of nationality. The Crown is above all, fixed, immutable, and enduring. It is the link which not only binds us with each other, but with the peoples of the Dominions and colonies in the greatest association of nations in the world. The Princes and States look to it with confidence as the guarantor of their treaties, which have been declared to be inviolate and inviolable; the people as the sympathetic agency which always has their happiness and welfare at heart. No one who knows his India can doubt that behind the storm and stress of surgent times lies a wonderful attachment to the Crown in India and confidence in its beneficent purpose.

Yet it is not exclusively of the Crown as an institution that I would speak this afternoon. I should like to associate myself with the apt words spoken by a typical Englishman, Lord Derby, on a recent occasion, when he said that what endears the King-Emperor to his people is not only the way he has ruled, but the feeling that he has tried to be one of ourselves; that he is as loyal to ourselves as we want to be to him; and that he has joined in the whole of our life. We venerate in King George the Fifth not only a great King, but a great gentleman; and in the gracious lady who sits on the throne with him the exemplar of all we find best in English womanhood.

Charged with these feelings, I have ventured to speak to you from the heart. We are proud to be here, associated with the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, the High Commissioners, and all the peoples in grateful and loving homage to Their Imperial Majesties, and to join in the earnest prayer that they may long be spared to lead us in times of peace and prosperity, through difficulty and danger—if such, alas! should be before us—in confidence that they will never fail us, in the determination never to fail them. (Loud applause.)

Lady BENNETT : Your Highness,—To me it has been an intense delight to be able to do honour today in so small a way to one who means so much to us as Your Highness does to India. It is with the traditions of the past and looking forward to the future that gatherings such as this mean so much for the welfare of our two nations. I hope, Your Highness, that you will take back to India the feeling of happiness, such as we have had through this Jubilee time, a warmth of feeling towards all the Indian communities. Your coming here will have helped to weld together the friendship and affection of England and India.

To me it is a great joy to meet so many friends today, and to know that we are all here to honour His Highness, to enjoy his company. We hope that, when he goes back to India, he may remember the party we have had today as one of the bright spots in his visit to England. May his days in the future be as warm and happy as the sunshine which has blessed us today. We wish that he may come back to us very soon, and that we shall meet him once more as an old and valued friend. (Cheers.)

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL AS AMENDED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

BY HUGH MOLSON, M.P.

THE Government of India Bill left the House of Commons without any changes in its principles. The broad structure survived without injury all attacks made upon it, but as a result of criticism both within and without the House a number of important amendments were made, and I think it can safely be claimed that the process of Parliamentary criticism resulted in a better Bill being introduced into the House of Lords than was introduced into the House of Commons.

Let us recall the principles which underlie the Bill and how they came to be adopted. In the first place, the Simon Commission recommended the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, including the transfer of law and order. The Round-Table Conferences and the Joint Select Committee rendered explicit the safeguards implied in the Simon Report by making "the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province" one of the special responsibilities of the Governor, and also by providing for the secrecy of sources of information connected with the terrorist movement. Secondly, the Simon Commission, having indicated that federation of British India and the Indian States was the ultimate goal and the only basis for a permanent and satisfactory constitution, the Round-Table Conferences produced a demand from British India for responsibility at the Centre and from the Indian States an offer to federate provided that responsibility was conceded to the Federal Legislature. Thirdly, all three British political parties agreed to a constitution on these lines provided that there were adequate and effective safeguards to prevent any injustice to interests which Parliament was under an obligation to protect, and to enable the Government to be carried on in the event of a breakdown of the ordinary machinery.

The Bill provides, therefore, for the setting up of a Federation as soon as a reasonable proportion of the Indian States have executed satisfactory Instruments of Accession. The new Federal Government will thereupon be made responsible to the new Federal Legislature. Before that happens, but it is hoped only a short time before, the Provincial Governments will have been made fully self-governing and autonomous. I emphasize these two aspects; by self-governing I mean that all provincial subjects will have been handed over to Indian ministers, and by autonomous I mean that the Provincial Governments and Legislatures will obtain spontaneous or intrinsic authority and not merely authority delegated from the Government of India.

All British parties, including the Socialist Opposition after the formation of the National Government, had agreed at the Round-Table Conferences on the need for safeguards to prevent unwise action, and so there are in all parts of the Bill safeguards taking the form sometimes of statutory prohibitions, sometimes of special powers given to the Governor-General or to the Governor. These powers extend not only to the executive spheres, but also to legislation. In some cases these powers are to be exercised on the advice of his ministers; in some cases "in his individual judgment"—that is, after hearing his ministers' views but without necessarily accepting them; in some cases "in his discretion"—that is, without being obliged to consult his ministers at all.

FEDERATION AND THE PRINCES' DIFFICULTIES

Part 2 of the Bill creates the framework for the All-India Federation. When one-half of the Indian States on the basis of population and of representation in the Upper Federal Chamber have acceded, and after both Houses of Parliament have presented an address to His Majesty praying that the Federation may be brought into existence, a Royal Proclamation will give legal effect to the Federation of India.

A difficulty arose over this question of the accession of the Indian States. The offer of a number of the Indian States to enter the federation has always been conditional, and when the Bill appeared many of the Princes and their ministers interpreted its

terms as requiring them to submit themselves to the federation to a greater extent than they had intended. There is no need to go into all the points raised, for they can be divided into four categories :

1. Where the British Government had made a mistake—that is, where the Bill as drafted wrongly or ambiguously expressed the agreements previously made.
2. Where the Princes had made a mistake or had misinterpreted the terminology of the Bill.
3. Where the Princes apparently sought to make a relaxation of the rules of paramountcy a condition of federation.
4. Where there was a difference of opinion as to the principles of accession.

The first category was dealt with by amendments moved by the Government on the Report Stage, and the second was eliminated by explanation. With regard to the third, it was explained that the rights and obligations of paramountcy would not be altered in relation to a State by its accession to the federation except to the extent that the ruler of a State by his Instrument of Accession agreed to allow the Federal authorities to exercise legislative and executive authority within his State. A new clause has been added to the Bill to make this abundantly plain. But in any case the Crown was not prepared to bargain concessions in the realm of paramountcy as the *quid pro quo* for federation. In the fourth category only one matter seemed to raise an obstinate problem of principle, which requires to be explained in some detail.

As originally drafted, Clause 6 of the Bill provided that a State should be deemed to have acceded if a ruler made a declaration accepting

“ this Act as applicable to his State and to his subjects,” and specified which of the matters in the Federal Legislative List he accepted as matters with respect to which the Federal Legislature might make laws for his State and his subjects, and specified any condition to which his acceptance . . . was deemed to be subject.

The Princes felt that this meant in effect that they were being subjected more directly than they had anticipated to Parliamentary legislation, and that the whole constitution was to apply to them *proprio vigore* subject to any exclusions and exceptions they might be able to stipulate in their Instruments of Accession.

They claimed on the contrary that, as Parliament could not legislate for them, it should be made clear that the Act had *per se* no validity in their States and that in so far as the Constitution came into operation there it must be by virtue of their Instruments of Accession, and that the Constitution should only apply in so far as they expressly adopted it.

The Government could not accept the principle that each individual Instrument of Accession should be the document defining the federal Constitution applicable to that area of the Federation; there must be one Constitution only, even if some units have contracted out of certain parts of it. They were willing, however, to make it quite clear that for each Federating State the authority of the Constitution arose from the Instrument of Accession and not from the Act of Parliament. This was done by amending the clause to provide that a ruler "accedes to the Federation established by this Act" instead of "accepts this Act as applicable to his State and subjects," and by emphasizing the importance of the Instrument of Accession as the key to the extent of Federal power in a State.

Other amendments safeguarding the position of the Federating States make clear the distinction between the Provinces of British India and the States which retain all such sovereignty as they have not explicitly surrendered. Clause 45 has been amended so that the suspension of the constitution and the consequential dictatorial powers of the Viceroy must be approved every six months by Parliament and cannot in any case continue for more than three years—a fact which is of obvious importance to the States.

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Chapter 2 of Part 2 sets up the Federal Executive in terms very similar to those used in creating the responsible executives in other federations of the Empire. The whole executive power of the Federation is conferred on the Governor-General; and his ministers are only appointed to "aid and advise" him, and hold office only during his pleasure. This formula, as interpreted by the Instrument of Instructions, really means that the ministry shall consist of persons in whom the Legislature has confidence

and that he shall dismiss them when they lose that confidence. In contrast, however, with the constitutional heads of the Dominion Constitutions, the Governor-General of India is given personal powers by the Bill. In the first place, the departments of Foreign Affairs and Defence are "reserved" and will be administered by him through the agency of counsellors; in the second place, in all other departments he may act in certain cases and for certain purposes otherwise than on his ministers' advice. Clause 12 imposes upon him special responsibilities for :

(a) The prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof.

(b) The safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government.

(c) The safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the minorities.

(d) The securing to, and to the dependants of, persons who are or have been members of the public services of any rights provided or preserved for them by or under this Act and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests.

(e) The securing in the sphere of executive action of the purposes which the provisions of Chapter 3 of Part 5 of this Act are designed to secure in relation to legislation (*i.e.*, relating to commercial discrimination).

(f) The prevention of action which would subject goods of United Kingdom or Burmese origin imported into India to discriminatory or penal treatment.

(g) The protection of the rights of any Indian State, and the rights and dignity of the rulers thereof.

(h) The securing that the due discharge of his functions with respect to matters which he is by or under this Act required to act in his discretion, or to exercise his individual judgment, is not prejudiced or impeded by any course of action taken with respect to any other matter.

The only important amendment made in this chapter extended the protection given under this clause to persons who have been in the public service and to the dependents of such officials and ex-officials, thus extending the special responsibilities specifically to the safeguarding of the rights of pensioners and "family-pensioners."

The chapter dealing with the Federal Legislature remained virtually unamended. There will be a Council of State consisting of not more than 104 representatives of the Federating Indian States and of 156 representatives of British India elected generally speaking by the members of Provincial Upper Chambers, or in the Provinces where these do not exist by the members of electoral colleges constituted for the purpose. The Assembly

will consist of not more than 125 representatives of the Federating Indian States and of 250 representatives of British India elected by the Provincial Lower Chambers. The Socialist Opposition pressed vainly for a single-chamber Legislature, and the Liberal Opposition equally vainly for the Assembly to be directly elected by geographical constituencies.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY AND POWERS OF THE GOVERNORS

Part 3 of the Bill deals with the Provinces, and the machinery set up closely resembles that at the Centre, which has already been described. From this time onwards until the schedules were reached, the House of Commons made better speed with the Bill because so many of the questions of principle had been fully debated on Part 2 dealing with the Centre. The Provincial Governors have imposed upon them all the same special responsibilities as the Governor-General except the one relating to financial stability and credit.

In one matter their special responsibility is fuller and more explicitly defined. As the maintenance of law and order is primarily a Provincial responsibility, the special powers of the Governor have to be more detailed than those of the Governor-General. The Governor has, notwithstanding his ministers' advice, unlimited power to take whatever action, executive or legislative, he thinks necessary to the due discharge of his special responsibility for preserving the peace or tranquillity of the Province. The Joint Select Committee felt that, without prejudice to the generality of those powers, special provisions were needed to prevent political interference with the internal administration of the police and also to deal with the terrorist problem. First, the various Police Acts and rules made thereunder may not be repealed or amended without the Governor's sanction. Secondly, under Clause 57 the Governor is empowered to take over and administer in his discretion any functions of government he deems necessary

"if it appears to him that the peace or tranquillity of the Province is endangered by the operations of any persons committing, or conspiring, preparing or attempting to commit, crimes of violence . . . intended to overthrow the Government."

Thirdly, Clause 58 requires him to make rules ensuring the complete secrecy of the sources of information with regard to terrorism.

The Conservative Opposition, which disapproves of the Simon Commission's recommendation that law and order should be transferred, was naturally not satisfied with these safeguards, and others of us were uncertain whether there was adequate protection against the dangers of communism, civil disobedience, and no-rent campaigns, but the Government made it clear that the Governor had under his special responsibilities all such powers as he was particularly directed to exercise under these two clauses. In this special case he must use them; in all other cases he may use them.

The only important amendment made to this part added an Upper Chamber to the Assam Legislature, bringing the total number of provincial second chambers to six.

POWERS OF THE LEGISLATURES AND COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION

Part 5 defines the extent and scope of the authority of the various Legislatures. This is invariably a delicate matter in any federation and there is always a danger of conflict between Federal and Provincial laws. The Bill provides that the Federal Legislature alone may make laws upon any subject contained in the Federal list in the seventh schedule, that a Provincial Legislature alone may make laws upon any subject contained in the Provincial list, and that both may make laws upon any subject contained in the concurrent list, but that in case of conflict Federal legislation shall prevail unless the Provincial law has been reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General and has received his assent.

Chapter 3 of this part deals with a matter of considerable importance and one in which I take a special interest. Its purpose is to ensure that the Indian Legislatures shall not have power to discriminate against British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom or against British commercial enterprise established in India. It was agreed at the Round-Table Conferences that Britons in India and British enterprise should be treated exactly like

Indians and Indian enterprise. This can be justified on the ground that there is no legal or administrative discrimination of that kind against Indians in this country. It had originally been suggested by the European community in India in its evidence to the Simon Commission that prohibitions of this kind should be contained in the new Constitution. At the Round-Table Conferences the community put forward as an improved proposal that a Convention should be negotiated between the United Kingdom and India which would provide for national treatment of the domiciled nationals of each country residing in the other, and also for most-favoured-nation treatment of the exports of each country to the other. The British Government were unable to accept this proposal because they did not think that it would be proper for an agreement of this kind to be entered into so long as the Government of India is, *de facto*, if not *de jure*, subordinate to the British Government.

The Joint Select Committee, however, was acute to perceive the immense advantage of agreement over coercion, and they ingeniously combined the merits of both ideas in their proposals. Under the Bill there are as full and complete prohibitions of discrimination as the ingenuity of the Parliamentary draftsmen, prompted by the greater ingenuity of the European community's legal advisers, has been able to devise, but the whole may be suspended by Order in Council under clause 117 if, and for so long as, there is in effect in both countries a Convention backed by the necessary legislation which adequately affects the purposes of this chapter. There is therefore a strong inducement held out to India to enter into a Convention and thereby to substitute agreement for prohibition.

I proposed a new clause which would extend the same principle to the prohibition of penal duties imposed upon imports into India from the United Kingdom. I believe that Indians would welcome the opportunity of securing the suspension of the Governor-General's special responsibility in that respect and that such a clause would be an inducement to negotiate a trade agreement on the so-called Ottawa lines which might be of immense benefit to both countries. The Ottawa policy as regards the

Dominions has been disappointing in the past, and I believe will continue to be so in the future. The economic nationalism of the Dominions which seeks to develop secondary industries and the economic nationalism of this country which seeks to develop agriculture here, are both grave obstacles to freer trade. Moreover, both the primary and the secondary products of the Mother Country and the Dominions are to a large and increasing extent competitive in character, and that makes it doubtful whether the future will show much improvement.

In the case of India and the United Kingdom, on the other hand, the agricultural products of a tropical and a temperate climate are complementary rather than competitive, and there is no time in the future to which we can look forward where India will be producing the higher grades of manufactured goods. Although much of Lancashire's trade with India is lost for ever, the motor, wireless, engineering and other industries may confidently hope that the Indian market is expanding and we ought to try to obtain for them an increasing share of that expanding market. I much regret, therefore, that the Secretary of State was unwilling to accept the proposed clause, largely, I imagine, because of the objection that would have been raised by the Conservative Right Wing.

PENSIONS

Perhaps it will be well, in view of the widespread, if largely factitious, interest taken in the security of pensions, for me to explain the whole scheme in the Bill for their payment instead of merely referring to the amendments that were carried. Clause 246 provides that the pensions of the Defence personnel shall be "charged on" Federal revenues, and Clause 246 (5) makes the same provision with regard to civil officers appointed or hereafter to be appointed by the Secretary of State. Clause 249 brings all persons now serving within the scope of these provisions and adds other protection. Clause 34 (1) provides that sums "charged on" the revenues shall not be submitted to the vote of the Legislature. Two of the special responsibilities of the Governor-General under Clause 12 (as amended) are :

“(d) the securing to, and to the dependants of, persons who are or have been members of the public services of any rights . . . and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests,” and also “(b) the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government.”

Clause 158, which required the Federal and Provincial Governments to provide the Secretary of State with sufficient funds to meet any liabilities due, was expanded to include by express words pension liabilities. Clause 271 was amended in order to recognize explicitly the responsibility of the Secretary of State for the issue of pensions payable outside India. Clause 249 was amended so as to preserve to aggrieved persons the right to sue the Secretary of State in respect of any liability including pension liability, in addition, of course, to the right to sue the Federation or the Province. Under Clause 271 no pension payable outside India shall be subjected to Indian taxation. The general effect of these various provisions is that the Federal Government has a statutory obligation to discharge its pension liabilities and that the Secretary of State has a statutory duty to see that this liability is duly discharged; he can under Clause 14 issue instructions to the Governor-General as to how he is to find the necessary funds; and the Governor-General has power to impose any additional taxation needed to fill the Indian Treasury, if by any chance the taxation voted by the Federal Legislature should be insufficient. In considering the likelihood of this situation arising, it may be added that the pensions charge is only 4 per cent. of the Indian revenues and is likely to decrease. Such provisions surely meet all legitimate demands of the pensioners.

Some pensioners, have, however, demanded that their pensions shall be guaranteed by the British Treasury. Apart from the fact that this is demanding a security that they do not now enjoy, it is unnecessary. It is also undesirable because it would enable any Indian Government, in the improbable event of a Government with such an outlook coming into power, to use a refusal to pay pensions as a lever against the British Government in the knowledge that the pensioners themselves would not suffer.

It would not be inappropriate to mention here certain amendments made in the Bill to make officials secure in the discharge

of their duties. It was always provided that the Governor should exercise his individual judgment as to appointments to the posts which are to be reserved to officers recruited by the Secretary of State. An amendment was moved by the Government to make it clear that that included postings. A new clause, 270, preserves and extends the protection that an official enjoys against criminal prosecutions and civil actions. At present the leave of the local Government is required for a prosecution to be initiated, and in future leave will be needed from the Governor in his individual judgment. In the case of civil actions, the question of whether the Government shall stand behind an official and pay the costs of defending the action and the damages, if any, will be decided by the Governor exercising his individual judgment. Half the members of a Public Service Commission, which will be one of the safeguards for the just treatment of officials, must, as a result of an amendment to Clause 264 of the Bill, be persons who have served for ten years under the Crown in India. A further change made in the Bill was the deletion of the power enabling the Home Government by Order in Council to transfer to any other authority the powers of the Secretary of State to recruit to the services.

EXCLUDED AND PARTIALLY EXCLUDED AREAS

A good deal of anxiety was expressed in all parts of the House as to whether the areas inhabited by aboriginal tribes and either totally or partially excluded from the reforms introduced by the Bill were sufficiently extensive, or at all events whether the proposals of the Bill had been based on a sufficiently exhaustive examination of the needs of the situation. An excluded area is to be administered by the Governor acting in his discretion; in a partially excluded area he has a special responsibility for protecting the interests of the aboriginal inhabitants. The Committee felt that as under the Bill an excluded area could become partially excluded, and a partially excluded area could become included in a Province, but there was no machinery for the reverse process, it would be wise to err on the side of excluding too much rather than too little. The Government emphasized, on the other

hand, that it was desirable to assimilate rather than to segregate these areas, and the delimitation of the areas was made difficult by the fact that the aboriginals were scattered and did not constitute homogeneous blocks of population. It was finally decided that neither the Government's short schedule nor the long schedule proposed as an amendment should be incorporated in the Bill, but that a White Paper should be laid before Parliament containing the fullest information, and that in the light of that information the excluded and partially excluded areas should be delimited by Order in Council which would be submitted to the House.

THE FRANCHISE AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

As originally drafted the Bill did not contain particulars of the qualifications for the franchise in the territorial constituencies which will elect the Lower Houses in the Provinces. A new schedule was added to the Bill in the Committee stage which sets out all these qualifications. Each Province had to be dealt with separately, as in some cases it is more convenient to take the payment of local taxation, in other cases the payment of land revenue, as the main qualification. The electorate will be about 35 millions—that is, about 14 per cent. of the total population, 27 per cent. of the adult population, and 43 per cent. of the adult male population. The scheme is based with only slight modifications upon the Franchise, or Lothian, Committee's Report.

The schedule, long and complicated as it is, was fully examined in Committee. The Socialist Party attempted to increase the electorate, but the Government stood firmly by the Lothian Committee's view that the administrative machinery would not stand any considerable extension. One amendment which the House accepted with great satisfaction gave to retired officers and men of the Indian Police Force the same voting rights as are given to retired soldiers.

The most important changes were made in regard to women's franchise. It will be remembered that the Lothian Committee's proposals were estimated to enfranchise women to men in the proportion of 1:4½. The White Paper, for administrative reasons, required women qualified in respect of their husband's

property to apply for registration and also substituted a severer test as the educational qualification. This would probably have had the effect of reducing the proportion of women to men on the rolls to 1 : 7. The Joint Select Committee recommended that the application requirement should be dispensed with in certain Provinces and areas, and that in certain Provinces a lower educational qualification only should be required; these with other concessions were estimated to bring the proportion of women to men on the rolls up to 1 : 5—subject, however, to the unforeseeable reduction due to the application requirement where that was retained. These recommendations were incorporated in the Bill. The Government on the Report Stage agreed to go even further, and undertook to move amendments in the House of Lords to remove the application requirement before the second election in those Provinces where it is retained for the first election, except where “social conditions made too quick an advance dangerous.”

It may be added at this point that, in addition, an amendment was accepted to reserve for women six seats in the Federal Upper Chamber, and the Government also introduced a new clause providing that “a person shall not be disqualified by sex from being appointed to any civil post under the Crown in India” except in so far as might be specially ordered by the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, or the Governor.

BURMA

The whole of Part 14 of the Bill, consisting of 157 clauses, sets out the new Constitution of Burma. Nearly all these clauses are mere reprints of the clauses in the earlier part of the Bill which relate to India, and consequently they were not discussed in detail. There was, however, a general discussion on whether Burma should be separated from India. It will be remembered that both the Simon Commission and the Round-Table Conference recommended that Burma should separate, but the Prime Minister undertook that this should not be done until the Burmese people had been consulted.

The choice offered to the Burmese people was either that Burma

should become for all time a province of federated India or that separation should take place at once. The election was, however, so conducted by the parties in Burma that no clear answer was given to the alternative of separation or federation; such indication as could be obtained appeared to be in favour of entering the Indian Federation at the beginning with the right to secede at any time in the future. This was exactly what the British Government had said Burma could not be allowed to do. There was therefore, not unnaturally, a difference of opinion in the House of Commons as to whether in these circumstances the separation of Burma was justifiable, and the Labour Party upon this point was divided. The principle of the separation of Burma was, however, accepted by a large majority. Indians were given the same protection against discrimination in Burma as was given to Britons in India, except that it was not possible to give an unrestricted right of immigration to Indian labour.

THE QUESTION OF A PREAMBLE

The only other point of sufficient importance to require mention was the question whether the Bill should contain any declaration of what is the ultimate goal of British policy in India. The Joint Select Committee had refrained from any reference to Dominion status and the Bill had no preamble, like the Act of 1919, which (based on the Declaration of August 20, 1917) read as follows :

“Whereas it is the declared policy of Parliament to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire;

“And whereas progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages, and it is expedient that substantial steps in this direction should now be taken;

“And whereas the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples;

“And whereas the action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility;

“And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give to those Provinces in Provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities.”

In 1929 Lord Irwin, the Viceroy (now Lord Halifax) gave an authoritative interpretation of that preamble: “The natural issue of India’s progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion status.” In his speech on the second reading, Sir Samuel Hoare said that the Government “stand firmly by the pledge contained in the 1919 preamble, which it is not part of their plan to repeal, and by the interpretation put by the Viceroy in 1929, on the authority of the Government of the day, on that preamble.” It was pointed out by him and by the Attorney-General that that solemn statement of his had as much moral validity as, and no less legal force than, a preamble or even a clause in the statute. In either case no Parliament can legally bind its successors, although in foreign and imperial affairs there is a long-established custom to abide by the pledges of previous Governments.

In conformity with the Secretary of State’s statement, the Government moved an amendment on the Committee stage to preserve the preamble to the 1919 Act, although all its clauses (with one slight exception) were repealed. To leave the preamble on the Statute Book after the Act had been repealed appeared to many of us to be like preserving the smile of the Cheshire Cat after the Cheshire Cat had disappeared, but there were great practical difficulties in the way of drafting a preamble containing a phrase of so debatable a meaning as “Dominion status,” and still greater difficulties in attempting to define the functions implied by it.

My own feeling is that Indians can well be satisfied that the statement which has now been made by the National Government reaffirms and reiterates in the plainest and most authoritative language—although not in the clauses of the Statute—the interpretation that was put by Lord Irwin upon the Preamble to the Act of 1919, and which declares that the ultimate goal of British policy is for India to obtain Dominion status.

THE PILOTS OF THE BILL

I should like to add just one final word of admiration for the way in which Sir Samuel Hoare piloted the Bill through the House of Commons. The fact noted by Lord Lamington at the annual meeting this afternoon—that an acutely controversial Bill was passed through the House without any bitterness—was chiefly due to the inexhaustible patience and untiring courtesy of the Secretary of State in answering every point that was raised. He did not always satisfy his critics, but at any rate they always felt that he had dealt with every point of substance that had been raised and had given them a courteous answer.

His astonishing mastery of the principles and details of a long and extraordinarily intricate measure did not, I know, surprise members of the Joint Select Committee who had known his skill in expounding the principles upon which he was working and the details of his scheme when he was cross-examined by the Joint Select Committee; but to the rest of us it was nothing short of marvellous, in spite of the fact that he had, of course, the very able and experienced officials of the India Office to help him.

A new parliamentary reputation was made by Mr. Butler, the Under-Secretary for India, I think I am right in saying the youngest Under-Secretary for India who has ever been appointed. Upon him fell the entire responsibility for piloting the latter part of the Bill through the House during the Secretary of State's illness, and in good temper, courtesy and knowledge he did not fall short of the standard that had been set by his Chief.

It is due to those two Ministers and also to the good humour of the leaders of the official and Conservative oppositions that the Mothers of Parliaments has demonstrated, at a time when parliamentary government has disappeared from so many other countries, that in this country at any rate it is possible for a controversial measure, upon which there is extraordinarily strong feeling, to be discussed within an allotted period of time, and for criticisms to be put forward with conviction and with force, and yet for the Bill to be passed through by the date that had been agreed upon between the Government and the opposition.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, June 26, 1935, when a paper entitled "The Government of India Bill as Amended in the House of Commons" was read by Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P. In the unavoidable absence of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian, Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Walter Willson, Sir Philip J. Hartog, K.B.E., C.S.I., Sir Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hopetoun Stokes, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Stokes, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir Abdul Qadir, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mohan Singh, Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mrs. T. L. Pennell, O.B.E., Miss Cornelia Sorabji, K.I.H., Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, The Hon. Emily Kinnaid, Mr. J. L. McCallum, Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. W. A. Lee, Pandit Dr. Shyama Shankar, Dr. K. N. Sitaram, Mr. M. A. J. Noble, Mr. E. F. Harris, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. W. R. Brock, Dr. E. M. Macphail, Mr. C. B. Chartres, Mr. W. C. Dible, Swami B. H. Bon, Mrs. B. D. Berry, Mr. W. A. Le Rossignol, Miss Cumming, Miss M. Ashworth, Mr. Leonard Matters, Mr. and Mrs. V. P. Bhandarkar, Dr. R. Hingorani, Mr. A. B. Kunning, Rev. R. Burges, Mrs. Dewar, Mr. E. Batchelor, Dr. R. S. Grewal, Mr. B. T. Mulwani, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mrs. Roberts, Mr. I. Kabadi, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. Syed M. Sayeedulla, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Rai Bahadur B. Jagan Nath, Miss Leeson, Mr. R. V. Ramchandani, Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. Mackie, Mrs. Armstrong, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I regret very much to have to tell you that Lord Lothian has been detained in the House of Lords for an important debate on international affairs. I regret his absence very much; first of all, on personal grounds, but, secondly, because I regard Lord Lothian as one of the great philosopher-statesmen now alive in this country, and I feel perfectly certain that his remarks at this intermediate stage in the passage of the Bill would have been of extraordinary interest.

Mr. Molson needs no introduction here. He has already addressed this Association, certainly on one occasion. He is a man who had a distinguished career at Oxford, and he then went out to India, where he did political work for some years in connection with the Associated Chambers of Commerce. He thus acquired a solid foundation of knowledge about India. He came home a few years ago and stood for Parliament, and was elected as Member for Doncaster. He has made his mark already in Parliament, and may be regarded as one of the rising hopes of the Party to which he belongs. His speeches in the House of Commons, if he will allow me to

say so, are always well worth studying. The debates that have taken place in the House of Commons would have been poorer without him.

(Mr. Hugh Molson then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN : We have listened to a most admirable paper, a paper which I venture to think will come to be regarded as the standard summary of the amendments which have been made in the Bill since it was introduced into the House of Commons. If I may say so, the paper was as clear in its delivery as it was in its expression.

Mr. ERNEST BATCHELOR, I.C.S. (retd.) : There are one or two points in the paper to which I am afraid I must take some objection. The author has stated, in connection with pensions, "Perhaps it will be well, in view of the widespread if largely factitious interest taken in the security of pensions . . ." Speaking on behalf of myself and my many friends, who are most interested in this subject of pensions, I can say most emphatically that the interest which we show is not in the least factitious; it is most genuine. I think we are all most anxious as to what the future may prepare for us if this Bill is put into force. He has stated that "some pensioners have, however, demanded that their pensions shall be guaranteed by the British Treasury. Apart from the fact that this is demanding a security that they do not now enjoy, it is unnecessary." The point of view which I am inclined to take in this is that they do at the present moment enjoy this security. The author himself has written, "so long as the Government of India is, *de facto* if not *de jure*, subordinated to the British Government."

In the measured, forcible, and dignified language which was used in the letter which he wrote to Mr. Montagu, who was then the Secretary of State, and which I think you will agree precipitated Mr. Montagu's resignation and disappearance from political life, Lord Curzon reprimanded him—I think that is the right word—for not recognizing that the Government of India was subordinate to the Government of England. I think that that letter of Lord Curzon's must be taken to be the conveyance of a formal decision of the British Government. When Lord Curzon made that statement the Government of India Act of 1919 was in force, as it is at the moment. Therefore I consider that at the moment the Government of India is *de facto* and *de jure* subordinate to the Government of England. (Applause.)

As regards the future, I will read you some extracts from a very authoritative document. It is not the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. "We are confronted with the secular antagonism of Hindu and Muhammadan, representatives not only of two religions but of two civilizations; with numerous self-contained and exclusive minorities, all a prey to anxiety for their future and profoundly suspicious of the majority and of one another; and with the rigid and immutable divisions of caste, itself a denial and repudiation of every democratic principle. . . . But none can predict whether either of these forces will in the end prove strong enough to absorb and obliterate the religious and racial cleavage, which indeed tends to become more and more acute with each successive transference of political power into Indian hands."

You may perhaps think I have read from a document which has been written by some diehard member of the India Defence League. Such is not the case. You will find those extracts in paragraph 31 of the Chairman's original Draft Report written by Lord Linlithgow, and laid before the Committee on June 18, 1934. That portion of the Draft was never considered. Another Part I. was hurriedly substituted for it and appeared within about a month of the first appearance of the original Draft which I have read. (Applause.)

SWAMI B. H. BON (Head of Gaudiya Chaitanya Mission): I am not a politician, nor have I much interest in politics. On the other hand, I have come from India and have travelled as a religious monk all over my country, so constantly coming in contact with the people, not so much the politicians, but knowing the mentality and outlook of the people in general. What has been talked of the present Constitution that is coming into force very soon in our country? The common people think a little differently from the great politicians, who give so much of their time and brain to think out the best good of the country.

Those people in India who have some education, who can read English fairly well, but do not give so much time to politics as the people here give, have a general knowledge of what is going on in the world, and especially in Indian politics. Most of them think that reform has been very good and very practical under the present circumstances for our country, that further results will be good provided there is genuineness and sincerity on both sides. That seems to be the general mentality now in our country, that the new Constitution will work very well provided the Ministers show their willingness to rise above party politics and really look on all the people of the country as their brothers and seek their real good.

There are extremists in every country, notably in Central Europe. One of my friends who was fighting in the last war against the Arabs told me that one night the enemies came and from the opposite side of the British tents they began to make a noise, clamouring and shouting. The opposite side was calm and silent. This seems to be the policy in this country that extremists must continue shouting, knowing that it will not last long. The balance, it seems, is going to be maintained.

It is said that over the branches of defence and of ecclesiastical affairs the Legislature will have no control; that these matters will be reserved to the Viceroy and Governor-General. May I ask for further elucidation, as I am interested in the religion of my country. Will the Governor-General represent the King as Defender of the Faith? Or does it mean that this reserve power on the part of the Viceroy will be directed to the maintenance of the religious faith of all our people?

SIR PHILIP HARTOG: As one who has followed with the deepest interest the progress of this Bill, and who has incidentally read the speeches of Mr. Molson in the House, I should like to add to what Sir John Thompson has said my own tribute to the lucidity which Mr. Molson has shown in the House and in this room in expounding his subject.

One of the portions of the Bill in which I have taken the deepest interest is that which relates to the position of women. When I was acting as Chairman of the Education Committee of the Simon Commission, both to my colleagues and myself it became evident that the factor which retarded the social progress of India most—and I myself am more interested in social progress than political progress—was the inferiority in the position of the women. I was asked by the women's organizations here to give evidence before the Select Committee on the question of the women's franchise, and it has been a great satisfaction to us that the Government have paid attention to the representations that were made by women, both Indian and English, on this subject.

I feel grateful to the Government, which I think in dealing with this complex Indian Bill has made good its claim to be regarded as a National and not as a Conservative Government, and I feel that we owe special thanks to it for giving representation to women on the Council of State. At the present stage in India, I do not think that it matters so much that there should be a large number of women members in the legislatures, provincial and central, as that there should be a representation—that the voice of women should be heard. One of my colleagues on the Education Committee was Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, who had been elected Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council. Mrs. Reddi, without official support either from any political party or from Government, carried through the Bill suppressing the *devadasi* system in Madras. It was the triumph of an individual woman. The future social progress of India will, I believe, depend very largely on the personality of the women who will be elected to these legislative bodies. Their influence will be out of all proportion to their numbers.

Mr. K. K. LALKAKA : With the guillotine hanging over my head it is not possible for me to bring out all the points I would otherwise like to. But to me it appears that Constitution-making can be one of the most entertaining diversions. Yet, the whole point is—no matter what paper Constitution you have got—who is going to work it and how is it going to be worked? Mr. Molson has asked us to put our faith in safeguards; but can we do that with the disappointing experience of Ireland, Egypt, and Ceylon staring us in the face?

The Preamble of the Act of 1919 stated that any further measure of self-government would depend on the measure of responsibility and co-operation shown by Indian politicians. With that totally ignored, I think we cannot be accused of having had a double dose of sin if we do not place our faith in safeguards at all. The Government, and those who have supported the scheme, all the time have built on pious hopes. There are some of us, on the other hand, who at the risk of being called notorious reactionaries or unimaginative diehards, and even at the risk of alienating many personal friendships, prefer to build on and live in faith, faith in British genius and traditions; faith in Britain's Imperial destiny. We prefer to believe that two and two make four and also that neither can a leopard change his spots nor the Ethiopian the colour of his skin.

As the situation is, the Congress which is dominant now is sure of success in all the Provinces except the Punjab and in Sind, while in Bengal it expects to have the support of the Muhammadans. The Congress has made it perfectly clear that when the time comes it will seek election and it will seek power. But Congress has also made it clear that it will do so to smash this Constitution. From this point of view, responsibility and good government would mean smashing this Constitution. I see no reason why those who have brought forward this Constitution should doubt the Congressman's word when he has made it clear that he means to live up to his word by smashing this Constitution. Is it not illogical and bad policy to talk of giving great responsibility to those whose intentions are put under a cloud of suspicion from the very start?

In the closing stages of the Bill in the House of Commons the Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Inskip, said that this was a gift which Parliament willingly gave to India, and he hoped it would be divinely blessed. It is not clear what the Attorney-General meant by the word "India." If he meant the masses of India, 92 per cent. of whom are totally illiterate, and the bulk of whom are absolutely in the hands of moneylenders, then it certainly is not a gift. But if he means the gift for a small minority, which neither speaks nor cares for anything but its own parochial interests, which instead of supporting the Bill has condemned it (in this I include the Liberals as well as the Moderates) and which has even dared to look the gift horse in the mouth, then it certainly is a gift for *babu* adventurers and loquacious *vaḳils* who will continue—unfettered—to oppress, misgovern, and exploit the masses of India.

MR. W. A. LEE: I am grateful for the opportunity of associating myself with what has fallen from other speakers with regard to the paper read by Mr. Molson. His clear exposition of the Bill is beyond praise. The Bill has been so fully discussed that there are very few of its provisions that can be considered as seriously debatable. But there are two or three matters which are still spoken of as if they were not finally settled. One of these, is the communal vote. We have settled down quite happily to the idea of communal electorates in India. Mr. Montagu proposed a single electorate, as if any minority could be satisfied with the representatives chosen for it by the majority of other people. The Muslims say that they would have no hope of electing representatives: just as the Muslims of Calcutta were never able for thirty years to elect a representative on the Corporation. But territorial electorates appeal to adherents of the great political superstition of the last hundred years, the divine right of the majority. The bad idea that communal electorates might be withdrawn has been responsible for strengthening racial and religious animosities, as we have recently seen. You know how fully religion enters into the daily life of the people of India. General electorates tend to exalt the territorial ideal at the expense of the religious ideal.

It is said that communal electorates lead people to consider themselves as belonging to a unit less than the State. That is a very plausible theory, but has it any foundation in fact? Electorates everywhere regard them-

selves as belonging to a faction, as being Liberals or Socialists, Hindus or Muslims, Republicans or Democrats, and never, I think, as citizens of a State.

Mr. JOSEPH NISSIM : Mr. Molson has set us an admirable example by a paper which is not concerned with the general principles of the Bill, but with its detailed clauses; and to that, I think, the debate might well have been confined.

The question of the general value of the Bill has been considered and decided by a huge majority in both Houses, and it is too late to go back upon that. Mr. Molson has done us a great service by bringing to our notice—what really very few of us appreciate—the great advance made in the Bill as it has emerged from the House of Commons. Another striking feature is this, that the younger Members have closely studied this Bill, which is one of the finest products of the British Parliament in my humble opinion, and it is a very pleasing matter that these younger Members are warm supporters of the whole conceptions underlying the Bill. That is a great comfort to us older men who have left India for some time.

Undoubtedly we all suffer from some anxieties; I have one or two of them myself. One is this, that the municipalities, which are largely composed of Indian members, have not worked with the success that we expected of them. But it is hoped that when it comes to working the Provincial Legislatures and the Federal Assemblies, we will have men who will put their all into them, and men representative not only of urban areas but of the great rural areas of India, in whom we have greater confidence in some respects.

The matter that causes me the greatest anxiety relates to the statutory adjustment between the Indian States and the British Provinces in the matter of taxation. The States have demanded extensive representation, and are about to get it, on condition that they also want responsible Federal government at the Centre. But you will notice that whereas they agree to continue to share in all Customs levies, they are very reluctant indeed to permit the imposition of any direct taxation upon their eighty million subjects. I do not know a single federation in the world where 609 State units come into federation with eleven highly taxed Provinces on a condition such as that at its inception, wholly favourable to the States.

I earnestly beg that serious attention should be paid to this matter, and that the Secretary of State for India in advising the Cabinet will be reluctant to accept Instruments of Accession which make that anomalous, unprecedented, and, I am afraid, harmful reservation.

Pandit Dr. SHYAM SHANKAR : I share the opinion of the Chairman in characterizing the paper as admirable, for it is a lucid summary of the Bill and amendments, valuable for those who had not had time or opportunity to follow the debates in the House of Commons and also to read the Bill, as amended and printed by H.M. Stationery Office.

The Constitution, as embodied in the Bill, is *sui generis* (like the Constitution of the League of Nations), being without a precedent in the whole history or science of Constitutional Law. Only future history can pro-

nounce a verdict on its merits, much of its success depending, however, on the personnel to whom it is going to be entrusted to be worked. In this respect the appointment of Lord Zetland is a good omen. But judging from the public declarations of the major parties concerned, it appears that none of them is satisfied to adopt the product of seven years' mountainous labour. The framers of the Constitution, in their effort to reconcile and harmonise the clashing claims and conflicting interests of contending communities, have produced a peculiar plant pleasing to the fancy of no particular party. Anyhow, this sapling of the Westminster nursery is soon to be sent out to be planted in India. It is fenced round so thickly that its life is ensured, but it is doubtful whether its free and full growth is equally guaranteed. The atmosphere of mutual trust, goodwill, and the spirit of co-operation, which is very essential for the free growth of young constitutions of any country, may find it hard to penetrate through the heavy walls of "safeguards" (communal, commercial, political, financial, service, and so on); for such expressly provided "safeguards," most of which are implicitly inherent in the fundamental laws of all Constitutions, are the outward expressions of mistrust. But let us hope that the workers of the Constitution will succeed in making a wholesome atmosphere prevail, so much so that the fences and walls will be soon removed as unnecessary.

Referring to the last paragraph of the paper it may be submitted that a preamble with a defined status is not worth the paper on which it is printed, so long as there is no earnest spirit of co-operation between Britain and India to work up to it. What are mere words if there be not worth and work to back them? In no country is a written constitution of any value if its workers are not free from the poisonous evils of party politics and inconscionable canvassing and voting, etc. In Latin America and in China a civil war is of frequent occurrence. In the United States of America political "racketeering" has prevailed. In Germany one of the latest up-to-date Constitutions collapsed; and in France a Constitution, that evolved after so much bloodshed and revolution, is tottering with frequent demissions of Cabinets in a year!

"We ought to think of making men more than of making laws"—that is what I said in reading a paper on "The Problem of Education in India" before this Association twenty years ago; that is what I tried to impress upon the Indian National Congress, as a delegate from Benares, nearly forty years ago (1896 at Calcutta); and that is what I repeat today. We want men (and women) today to work the Constitution so that they may create in a united and federated India community of interests in the place of communal interests. Under provincial autonomy they should have ample scope to work for the extinction of ignorance, poverty, and squalor that ride rampant in town slums and countryside and that lie at the root of all social evils in India.

The grandest feature of the Constitution is Federation, to which, I am sure, the ruling Princes of India will accede to let the insular life of their States flow into the progressive currents of Greater India. In the history of British rule in India the marvellous structure of an India united in Federation will stand out as the most conspicuous monument.

Mr. MOLSON : I am very much obliged to the various people for the kind things they have said about my little paper. I will now try to follow the example of the Secretary of State in giving an answer to each one of the points that has been raised, although I have an uneasy feeling that in the case of the first questioner, Mr. Batchelor, I may not be successful in setting his mind entirely at rest on the matter of pensions.

What I said about *de facto* and *de jure* subordination referred to the fact that, although from a constitutional standpoint the Government of India is in every respect under the orders of the Secretary of State where such matters as tariffs or to a considerable extent international agreements connected with the I.L.O. or the League of Nations are concerned, the Government of India is allowed to choose its own representatives and they are allowed to take a different line from that which is being taken by the British Government. That is all that I meant by *de facto* and *de jure* subordination. Similarly, under the Indian Fiscal Convention, it is still constitutionally possible for the Secretary of State to issue orders, which would have to be obeyed; but in fact the Government of India is left free to use its own discretion.

With regard to the Treasury guarantee, the fact that the Government of India is subordinate to the Secretary of State does not mean to say that if the Secretary of State for India is unable to discharge his liabilities, which are a charge upon Indian revenues, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is obliged to make good that default out of the British Treasury. For example, it might have happened that the Minister of Labour was unable to pay unemployment benefit because the Unemployment Fund had gone bankrupt. That is a Government Fund, but there never has been any guarantee that if for some reason or other that should go bankrupt, as it very nearly did in 1931, the Exchequer would make it good.

The best proof of it is that if there were a default on Indian pensions at the present time the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not pay those Indian pensions without the passage of an Act through the House of Commons to authorize the application of British moneys to another purpose.

I was very grateful to my old friend, Sir Philip Hartog, for the kind things that he said about the National Government. It is so rare that any kind word is ever said about it! But I am glad also that he recognizes that Sir Samuel Hoare has genuinely tried his best to give as large a share of power to the women of India as was possible. That is exactly what one would expect, because, of course, Sir Samuel Hoare was one of the early advocates of woman's suffrage in this country.

Mr. Lee referred to the question of joint and separate electorates. I think I can set his mind entirely at rest upon that point. There is no question at all of separate electorates in India being terminated unless and until the minority communities desire that there should be joint electorates. I think, if Mr. Lee will forgive my saying so, he was not quite accurate in saying that Mr. Montagu had suggested that separate electorates should be done away with. I remember quite clearly the passage in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, in which they say that they regret that there should be separate electorates, but they realize that it is not practical politics to abolish them.

In any case, Lord Minto originally gave a pledge to a deputation of Muslims, led by H.H. the Aga Khan, which has always been recognized as binding upon subsequent Governments. Mr. Lee is about the only person I have known to hold the view I hold—*i.e.*, that there is nothing intrinsically harmful in separate electorates. I have never found anybody before Mr. Lee who agrees with me on that point.

Mr. Nissim raised the point that the old legislatures had in some respects not always shown great responsibility when they were entrusted with smaller powers, and he was wondering why it was assumed that they would necessarily show more responsibility when entrusted with greater powers. Our view is that the irresponsibility that has been shown in the past is largely due to the fact that if Councils were obstructive there was always the power and the duty of the Government to intervene and to put things right. We believe that now that greater power and responsibility have been put upon those legislatures they will find it necessary to shoulder that responsibility.

Mr. NISSIM : I was referring to the municipal and city councils.

Mr. MOLSON : I beg your pardon. I am afraid I cannot go into the whole question of the taxation of the Indian States. It is very long and very complicated, and I frankly admit I should have to refresh my memory before saying much about it. But the broad principle is this : that the Indian States cannot be compelled to come in, and therefore one has to come to an agreement with them and make certain that they are prepared to accept it. We do not think—and the Davidson Committee's Report does throw some light upon it—we do not think that all things taken into account the settlement is unfair or unreasonable.

At the present time there is not the slightest doubt that the Indian States are suffering a hardship because they have to pay Customs duties and so on indirectly, which raise the cost of articles in those States, and the proceeds go entirely to British India.

Mr. NISSIM : And to their defence.

Mr. MOLSON : And to their defence. But some of the States make a special contribution in respect of defence.

Mr. Lalkaka raised the question of Congress and suggested that there was a danger of Congress entering the Councils in order to break them from within. May I refer him again in all modesty to the speech I made on the Third Reading of the Bill, in which I pointed out that exactly that line was taken in 1923 by Pandit Motilal Nehru at Delhi and Mr. Das in Bengal, when they broke away from Mr. Gandhi and went into the Councils to break them from within. Hardly had they got in before the Responsivists broke away from them. Actually it is impossible for a party to continue to boycott a Constitution which offers opportunities of advancement to ambitious politicians and of service to those who desire to serve their fellow-countrymen.

The effect of this Constitution will be to break the Congress; the Congress will not break this Constitution. The reason is that the only thing that holds together that curious, heterogeneous collection of people with entirely different economic interests and entirely different social views is their

common hostility to the present Constitution in India. They can be united as long as they are opposing something. They will not remain united when they have to put forward constructive proposals of their own.

I think I have dealt with each point except one, and that is the question of the safeguards, raised by Pandit Shyam Shankar. I think the answer was given to him in the speech of Swami Bon, which gave me special satisfaction. I believe it represented the true voice of India, that speech of Swami Bon, where he referred to the safeguards, and he recognized that they are formidable safeguards if they are put into use. But Swami Bon realizes that those safeguards will never be used so long as Indian politicians and statesmen accept the powers and the responsibilities which are being imposed upon them in a friendly and co-operative spirit and with a genuine desire to serve the interests of their country.

The safeguards, if you concentrate attention upon them, of course enable the Governor-General practically to take the whole of the Constitution out of the hands of the Indian Ministers. But that will only be done and can only be done if those Indian Ministers have shown themselves to be unfit and undeserving of those powers and those responsibilities.

Pandit SHYAM SHANKAR : Communal as well.

Mr. MOLSON : My friend will recognize that such communal safeguards as there are in the Constitution are only those that have been asked for by the minority communities, and that it would not have been possible to obtain the agreement of those minority communities to any Constitution which did not contain those safeguards.

That is the note I would end upon. That I hope that too much attention will not be given to those safeguards. They are effective and they are strong. But self-government for India is a certainty; those safeguards will only come into operation upon a contingency, which I hope will never arise.

Sir ABDUL QADIR : It is my pleasant duty to offer on behalf of the Association and on behalf of you all, what I am sure everybody in this room is feeling that we owe, a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Molson for having come and delivered such a useful and valuable lecture to us, and to Sir John Thompson for having taken the Chair this afternoon.

I need hardly add any words by way of tribute to the many which have been already spoken about the excellent paper which we have had from Mr. Molson. To Sir John Thompson for having helped us by taking the Chair we owe a special vote of thanks. We missed Lord Lothian in the Chair, and I am sure that we would have had an excellent addition to the remarks in the paper from him, because he is such a great statesman and has such a first-hand knowledge of the problems with which this paper dealt. But in his absence nobody could have taken the Chair so fitly as you, Sir John, have done. I think of the work you have done in connection with these reforms, not as one in the House of Commons, but as one helping the reforms from outside and helping to concentrate opinion on this question. Nobody has done greater work in this way than you have done through the past year. It was in the fitness of things that you should have stepped into the breach as you have done so admirably. (Cheers.)

THE SIXTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1935

THE East India Association was formed a year or so after the birth of H.M. the King-Emperor, and it is fitting that the first place in the report of the Council for 1934-5 should be given to the last of the meetings of the Association in the twelve months, since this was a celebration of the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty's accession. By a happy combination Lord Crewe, the first Secretary of State for India appointed in the reign, was in the chair, and the only surviving Edwardian Secretary of State, Lord Midleton, was the principal speaker, while present Ministerial responsibility in Indian matters was represented, in the absence through illness of the Secretary of State (Sir Samuel Hoare), by remarks from Mr. R. A. Butler, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary. The occasion of the meeting was an admirable exposition by Professor H. H. Dodwell, holder of the Chair of the History of British Dominions in Asia, University of London, of Indian polity and progress under Crown rule, with more particular reference to the personality and influence of his present Majesty. The attendance of the King's Indian Orderly Officers added to the significance of the occasion. A telegram of loyal congratulation sent from the meeting to the Private Secretary at Windsor Castle in the name of the President, Lord Lamington, brought the same evening a gracious reply, the text of which will be found in the proceedings of the Association in the *Asiatic Review* for July, 1935.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE AND THE BILL

The year has been one of steadfast continuance in the duty the Association has discharged for nearly seventy years of providing a platform free from party connection or bias for the consideration and elucidation of Indian problems. During the earlier months the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform was

still occupied with its exhaustive examination of the proposals of H.M. Government contained in the White Paper published in March, 1933. That fact, the presentation of the Report in the late autumn, and the subsequent introduction and discussion in Parliament of the Constitution Bill were the main influences in shaping the programme of the year's work.

In May, Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, fresh from the Governorship of Bombay, broadly surveyed the situation in India, and from a friendly standpoint suggested various modifications in the White Paper plan, some of which found a place in the Report of the Committee. Mr. L. S. Amery, M.P., was in the chair, and his important contribution to the discussion showed that, after the most careful consideration, he had decided to give his general support to the Federal solution of the Indian problem. With a view to presentation of the arguments of opponents of the White Paper plan, the help and advice of the India Defence League were obtained in securing a suitable lecturer. Accordingly in June Mr. B. C. Allen, formerly Chief Secretary in Assam, presented "A Critical Examination of the Proposed Reforms," and the meeting had the signal advantage of the presence in the chair of Viscount FitzAlan, the President of the League. In the middle of November Mr. R. S. Sarma, member of the Indian Legislative Assembly and editor of the Calcutta weekly *The Whip*, delivered a vigorous attack on opponents of the Reforms, and still more on the Terrorist movement in Bengal, which his paper exists largely to counteract. Lord Goschen was present, but was unable owing to loss of voice to take the chair, which was therefore occupied by Sir Malcolm Seton.

In March a subsidiary but momentous aspect of the Government proposals was brought under consideration by Sir Amberson Marten, formerly Chief Justice of Bombay. He subjected to informed criticism and made important suggestions upon Part IX. of the Government of India Bill relating to the Judicature. A notable feature of the discussion was the statement from the chair of Sir George Lowndes, late member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, that the work of that body is increasing year by year, and it will be quite impossible to cope with it when there

is the added burden of appeals from the Federal Court. On these grounds he regretted the optional character of the provision for a Supreme Court of Appeal in India, while recognizing that in important cases there should be special leave for resort to the Privy Council.

A TRILOGY OF PAPERS

A valuable and much appreciated feature of the lecture programme was the planning of a series of papers by members of the Joint Select Committee representing the divergent points of view of three groups into which, as shown in the published Minutes of Proceedings, the Committee was ultimately ranged. On November 26, within a few days of the publication of the Report, Lord Zetland gave a luminous exposition of the conclusions of the majority, another member of which, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, was in the chair. That eminent ex-Viceroy expressed his personal conviction that the inclusion in the Constitution of a framework for responsibility in the centre was essential, and that no constitution for India without it would be workable. Beginning with an exposition of the Report of the Simon Commission in 1930, Lord Zetland had delivered three previous lectures to the Association, the second and third of them relating to the sessions of the Round-Table Conference, of which he was a member. With the cordial concurrence of the Committee, the four lectures, together with an article on Great Britain's achievement in India contributed to a special number of *The Times*, were collected by Lord Zetland and published in February under the title of *Steps Towards Indian Home Rule* (Hutchinson, 5s.). The book received very favourable notice in the Press as being of particular value to readers desiring to be informed broadly on the main features of the Indian problem.

In January, Sir Reginald Craddock, acknowledged to be the most experienced Indian administrator in the present Parliament, who has taken a formative part in the Commons Committee discussions of the Bill, gave an outline of the views of the Conservative minority in the Joint Select Committee. In the absence of Lord Salisbury, the leader of this minority, and of Sir Joseph Nall,

another member of the group, owing to sudden indisposition, the chair was taken by that strong critic of Government policy, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. A fortnight later, at the beginning of February, Mr. C. R. Attlee, deputy-leader of H.M. Opposition, who was a member of the Simon Commission, presented the views of the Labour minority of the Joint Select Committee, with his colleague thereon, Lord Snell, in the chair. On each of these three occasions of first-hand exposition there were animated and informing discussions.

OTHER TOPICS

While it was inevitable that the momentous changes now being shaped by Parliament should have predominant attention, the Council did not overlook the desirability of bringing other matters under consideration. The outstanding non-political occasion was that of the reading in October of a carefully prepared and comprehensive paper on "The Lloyd Barrage and the Future of Sind" by Sir Arnold Musto, the Superintending Engineer at Sukkur from 1923 to the completion of the Barrage and canals seven years later. As Sir Montagu Webb pointed out in discussion, Sir Arnold said nothing of his own "very strenuous and splendid work," but testimony was borne to it on every hand. It was an especial pleasure to the Council to welcome to the chair the statesman after whom the Barrage is named, Lord Lloyd, who when Governor of Bombay brought into the realm of practical achievement a project first mooted eighty years ago.

There was no less high authority in the exposition in July of India's part in the International Labour Organization, for the lecturer was Mr. Harold Butler, the Director of the International Labour Office, and the chairman was Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, the High Commissioner for India, who did much to promote industrial betterment both by legislative and administrative action when Member of the Government of India for Industries and Labour.

NEPALESE FRIENDSHIP

On the social side the outstanding event of the year was the reception given in November by His Excellency Commanding

General Sir Bahadur Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana at the Nepalese Legation, which he had established in Kensington Palace Gardens a few months earlier. The capacity of the spacious mansion was taxed by the large number of members and friends accepting the hospitality of His Excellency. The enjoyment of the function was enhanced by the lecture, illustrated by lantern and cinema views, given by Dr. Arnold Baké under the title of "Living Nepal." After assisting His Excellency to receive the guests, Sir William Birdwood was in the chair. From his close personal knowledge the Field Marshal paid warm tribute to the present Maharaja and the high qualities of the Gurkha soldier, and spoke of the mutual value of the traditional friendship between this country and the Kingdom of Nepal. The Minister made a happy speech, which attracted considerable attention in the Press, and contained the aphorism that the solution of present world difficulties lies not in arsenals and armaments or manipulation of the balance of power, but in change in the outlook of those guiding the destinies of nations. At a subsequent meeting of the Council His Excellency was elected honorary member of the Association during his further tenure of the Ministership.

OTHER SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

Some 300 guests attended the conversazione given at Grosvenor House on July 24 to meet Lord and Lady Linlithgow and members of the Joint Select Committee, who were then still engaged under his chairmanship, upon their labours. Lord Linlithgow paid tribute to the work of the Association, both in helping to instruct the people of this country on Indian problems and in working to create sympathy and understanding between Britain and India. It was an especial pleasure to have an impromptu and warm-hearted speech from H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, to whose generosity in making an annual grant of £50 for hospitality purposes the Council owes the opportunity to hold receptions on so large a scale. The guests were also gratified that another senior Vice-President, H.H. the Maharao of Cutch, made a brief speech commending the objects of the Association.

Sir Charles Armstrong was the host at a discussion meeting at the Rubens Hotel at the end of May, when, with Sir Reginald Glancy in the chair, another Member of the Council, Mr. Stanley Rice, drew a picture of day-by-day administration in Baroda, based upon his experience as a Member of the Executive Council of the State; an interesting discussion followed. It should be noted that, owing to the growth of membership, the discussion meetings have in large measure been replaced by more definitely social functions; but the need for occasional private interchange of view on current questions is not being overlooked by the Council.

THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN

No less than three of the social functions of the year were pleasantly linked with the personality of the Maharaja of Burdwan. On his invitation the members met in July, at the Rubens Hotel, Sir John Woodhead, on his selection to be Acting Governor of Bengal, and Lady Woodhead. Valuable light was thrown on some of the administrative problems of Bengal in the speeches made on the occasion. In October the Maharaja of Burdwan gave a large reception at Grosvenor House to meet Sir John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, and Miss Anderson. The Secretary of State for India found time to attend, and paid warm tribute to the administrative ability of Sir John Anderson, who made an appropriate reply.

Not only by his frequent hospitality, but in many other ways, the Maharaja rendered most valuable services to the Association during some seven years of residence in London. His departure in the winter to return permanently to Calcutta and Burdwan was a severe loss to the Association, and members and friends gathered in large numbers at Grosvenor House on December 14, when Sir Alexander and Lady Murray were host and hostess, to bid him God-speed and *au revoir*. Lord Zetland, of whose Government in Bengal the Maharaja was a member, gave admirable expression to the general sentiment of regard and esteem for him, and justly observed that he believed that there was no occasion on which the Maharaja had been asked to render service to the Association when he had refused to do so.

THE COUNCIL

The Maharaja of Burdwan resigned his membership of the Council on leaving England. His place as Joint Vice-Chairman was filled by the election of Sir Atul Chatterjee. Sir Reginald Spence was co-opted to the Council, and Sir Harcourt Butler was elected a Vice-President, in recognition of long membership and of great services in India. It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate or candidates for election to vacancies to the Council, subject to 15 days' notice being given to the Honorary Secretary. The following members of the Council retire by rotation, and are eligible for re-election :

Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E.
Mr. P. K. Dutt.
Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

THE SANDEMAN CENTENARY

A suggestion from the Royal Central Asian Society that the Association should co-operate in arrangements for a commemorative luncheon on February 25, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Sir Robert Sandeman, of Baluchistan fame, was readily accepted by the Council. The luncheon at the Criterion Restaurant was attended by some 140 members and guests of the two organizations. Lord Peel was in the chair, and tributes to Sandeman's memory and achievements were paid from personal recollection by Field Marshal Sir Claud Jacob, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Bruce (whose father was the right-hand man of Sandeman as Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan), Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband and Sir Hugh Barnes, while Sir John Maffey, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, spoke from the standpoint of later experience on the Frontier as Chief Commissioner of the N.W.F. Province.

MEMBERSHIP

While losses of membership by death have been substantially less than those of the previous year, they have included one who served the Association with warm fidelity as Honorary Solicitor

for nearly half a century, Mr. Alexander Hayman Wilson. His uncle, Thomas Luxmore Wilson, whom he succeeded in this office, was one of the founders of the Association, and was a son of that eminent Orientalist of the first half of the nineteenth century, Horace Hayman Wilson, F.R.S. Happily the Honorary Solicitorship remains with the firm of Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., since Mr. Denys Henry Bramall kindly accepted the request of the Council to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the senior partner of the firm.

Foremost among the other losses of the twelve months was that of His Eminence Cardinal Bourne, who had been a Life Member of the Association for many years, and on one or two occasions took part in our proceedings. Other distinguished members mourned were Sir Stephen Sale, formerly Judge of the Calcutta High Court, and later Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State; Mr. M. K. Acharya, leader of the Sanatanists (orthodox Hindus); and Sir Robert W. Carlyle, a kinsman of the great writer and himself joint author of *The History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West*, who rose in the I.C.S. to be a member of the Government of India at the time of the Coronation Durbar.

During the year no less than 78 new members were elected, but the losses by death, revision of the rolls and retirements were 39, leaving a gain of 39—the largest net addition to our membership for several years past.

FINANCE

Since the cost of the publications and notices sent to each member leaves only a small margin towards meeting the general expenses, steadfast renewal of numbers is necessary for the maintenance of a satisfactory financial position. The Council is grateful to those members who have brought recruits to our ranks. The Hon. Auditors report that the receipts from subscriptions continue to advance, and were more than £100 larger than in 1932-33. It is now the policy of the Council to place on deposit in the Post Office Savings Bank any life subscriptions received, instead of allowing them to be absorbed, as in the past, in the general revenue of the year. The lease of the offices at 3, Victoria Street,

has been renewed on satisfactory terms. The invested assets of the Association stand at a satisfactory figure, owing to the continued appreciation since 1931 in the market value of Indian Government Securities.

Once again recognition must be given to Mr. Brown for his untiring zeal, which has resulted in the valuable series of lectures delivered, and in the increasing strength and status of the Association.

MALCOLM SETON,

Chairman of Council.

F. H. BROWN,

Hon. Secretary.

May 21, 1935.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE sixty-eighth Annual General Meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, June 26, 1935. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the members present included :

H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., The Right Hon. Sir Shadi Lal, Sir Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Abdul Qadir, Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Dr. N. N. Gangulee, C.I.E., Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Dewar, Mr. W. A. Le Rossignol, Swami B. H. Bon, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. J. L. McCallum, Mr. W. C. Dible, Pandit Dr. Shyama Shankar, Dr. K. N. Sitaram, Mr. C. B. Chartres, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. M. A. J. Noble, Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., Mr. Kenneth C. Keymer, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. W. A. Lee, Mr. E. Batchelor, Miss Cumming, Miss M. Ashworth, Mrs. Berry, Mr. V. P. Bhandarkar, Dr. R. Hingorani, Rev. R. Burges, Mr. A. B. Kunning, Dr. R. S. Grewal, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The President, Lord LAMINGTON, was in the Chair and said : Ladies and gentlemen, I think you have all received the Report for last year. I hope all the members of the Association will agree that it is very good reading. It shows how very successfully the work of the Association has been carried on.

We must first of all allude to the very distressing disaster that has befallen Quetta and other towns and villages in Baluchistan. This earthquake seems more distressing when one thinks it is only eighteen months since the similar devastation in Bihar. Our sympathies go out to the survivors of this last and greater calamity.

I think I should make some reference to the passing away a few days ago of a distinguished member of our Association, Lord Headley, a man of strong patriotism and genial personality. Many years ago he embraced the Muslim faith, and has long been known as the leader of British Muslims.

My next duty is to congratulate Lord Zetland, on behalf of the Association, on his appointment as Secretary of State for India. He has been a Vice-President of the Association for many years, and you will have noted that the Report circulated to members makes reference to the valuable synopsis he gave us in November of the Report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Reforms, and to its forming, with the two lectures previously delivered to us on cognate subjects, the basis of his book recently published, *Steps towards Indian Home Rule*.

Lord Zetland has taken to the India Office the great assets of close and constant study of Indian life and thought from every aspect, the record of

a successful career as Governor of Bengal at a time of great difficulty, and his reputation for important contributions to the history of India in such works as his massive biography of Lord Curzon.

I would here acknowledge the friendly interest in our work shown by the late Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, who on various occasions honoured our gatherings with his presence in spite of the severe pressure upon him in connection with the Indian Reforms. We have also had the privilege of the presence and occasional speeches of the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. R. A. Butler, the bearer of an honoured name in British Indian administration.

These links with the Government, while adding to the representative and authoritative character of our proceedings, have in no way impaired the independence and freedom from party attachments of our work in providing a platform for the free and frank expression of opinion on current Indian subjects. A glance at our proceedings in the successive numbers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* is sufficient to show that all sides have been heard in the controversies over the great measure to which the House of Lords gave second reading last week. There is a broad sense in which the hard-fought battle of the past few years is over; and all parties in this country are agreed in the desire to see the new Constitution working with success. Our duty as an Association will be to continue to watch developments with close attention, and to provide means for their temperate and fair discussion.

Our programme for what remains of the summer season has in it a new feature. In place of the afternoon receptions in London to which we are accustomed, Mr. C. G. Hancock, the proprietor of the *Near East and India*, has kindly invited us to an informal garden party at Great Fosters, Egham, on Saturday week to meet Sir Malcolm and Lady Hailey. A long-standing engagement is an obstacle to my being present, and I regret this the more as I am confident the occasion will be most enjoyable.

The fact is that no feature of the work of the Association has been more gratifying than the development of its social activities in the past few years. To that development no one has contributed more than His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who honours us by his presence today. We heartily congratulate him on the fact that a month ago he celebrated the Diamond Jubilee of his accession to the *gadi*. The *doyen* of Indian Princes known in this country, he is held in universal honour and esteem as a great administrator and constructive thinker. His Highness has kindly undertaken to propose the adoption of the Report, and I now call upon him to do so.

H.H. the MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA : We have heard the address of Lord Lamington. I know you all agree with the congratulations he has bestowed on Lord Zetland and others who have rendered service to this Society. We also link ourselves with him in the condolences he has expressed to those who have suffered from the devastating earthquake in Baluchistan.

It gives me pleasure to accept the invitation to propose the adoption of this Report. Many of you have worked for the Association and taken part

in its discussions. There remains very little for me to say on the subject, as you are fully aware of all the proceedings. The work done has been satisfactory, and I am sure that it has been well appreciated in India and by those sensible people who take an interest in the progress and well-being of England and India linked together.

Societies such as the East India Association are badly needed. The more intercourse there is between Englishmen and Indians, not only socially but in other ways, the better it will be for both countries. Our ties will be closer and we shall be more united. In order to produce that happy result, it is essential that we should know each other, not only our good points but also our weaknesses, not only our public life but even our intimate social life. Unless we know each other well our future cannot be satisfactorily moulded.

With this in view I have nothing but praise to offer on the good work of this Association, and I congratulate you most heartily on all that is being done. I hope you will not be satisfied with what has been achieved, but will try to do still more, and that the results will be more beneficial; that the ties of friendship and sympathy between the two countries will be even stronger than they have been hitherto.

Before I sit down I wish to congratulate and give our thanks to the gentleman sitting on my left for the energy which he brings to bear upon the proceedings of the Association. I hope he will be long spared to carry on the useful work he has undertaken. (Applause.)

Sir ALBION BANERJI: It gives me great pleasure to second the motion that has been put before you by our august Vice-President, H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who, as we all know, has been connected with this Association for forty years, and who has, whether in this country or in India, evinced the keenest possible interest in its work.

It is no mere formality for me to support this motion, for we all appreciate the good work that has been done by the Association during the past eventful year. This Association, amongst all those in this country which take an interest in Indian affairs, is to my mind the most alive and most active. We have had the advantage during the year of listening to learned papers by statesmen, politicians, administrators, and public men who devote their valuable time to considering the questions relating to India before Parliament and the British public and before India during the past several years. To my mind the most significant service the Association is doing is to bring together people holding divergent and almost diametrically opposite views. We have had a galaxy of eminent men, as I have said, and I think those of us who have sat at the back felt like a Judge on the Bench who has been bearing counsel on both sides, and who finds that his convictions for and against the prisoner have slipped away at different stages of the argument. We do feel, however, that a considerable amount of misapprehension was removed, and that the difficulties in the solution of the complex Indian problem were put before us in a manner that had never been equalled in range and importance.

At our meetings I have often felt, as many of us might have felt, especially

those who have retired from active service in India, that we represent in a sense those, according to our Hindu scriptures, who have attained the fourth stage of *banaprasthya*; that is, after going through the storm and stress of life and through manifold experiences in the worldly sense, we have attained a blissful state of contemplation, having renounced our positions of influence, authority, and power. In that blissful state, according to our scriptures, we generally associate the fourth stage of man as one in which he is surrounded by every manifestation of life in the forests—elephants, lions, tigers, bison, deer, panthers, etc.—living together in perfect peace and friendliness. Here under the ægis of this Association we are like hermits with different modes of thought, often diametrically opposed to one another, yet carrying on our contemplative activities in the serene atmosphere of friendly discussion without any rancour or resentment.

This is the greatest achievement of the East India Association, and if it continues its work in the same spirit, both British and Indian interests will receive that impartial and sound consideration so essential to the settlement of important questions which are sure to arise in the future.

I think you will all agree with me when I say that it is a very satisfactory feature in the Report that we have had a great addition to our membership. You will also notice that our finances are in a very satisfactory condition. I only wish that sometimes we had amongst the members taking part in the discussions a few more Indians. I say this because I have done my little bit, but I would not like to go on the front bench always. Therefore sometimes I take a back bench and take great delight in listening to the discussions that go on.

May I express my highest appreciation of the indefatigable labours of our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Brown, who has a wonderful knack of bringing together persons holding diametrically opposite views on a common platform, and who is able thus to create a fellow feeling amongst the members who represent every shade of opinion, and who are fearless in expressing them to the best of their ability and judgment. We have every reason to be grateful to Mr. Brown for piloting the Association through very difficult times, and consolidating its position and influence in this country to an extent not known before, at least at any time of which I have knowledge.

I also echo the sentiments which have been given expression to by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda regarding our Chairman. I have seen him in season and out of season come here and attend the meetings even when he has not taken an active part, and we are very indebted to him for his valuable guidance and for his continued interest in our work.

The Report and Accounts were adopted unanimously.

SIR LOUIS DANE: I have been entrusted with the very pleasurable duty of proposing the re-election of our President, Lord Lamington, or, rather, with the duty of requesting our President to be good enough to continue to serve in the office which he has held with such distinction during the past twelve years.

I am qualified to speak upon the work Lord Lamington has done,

because I had the honour of working under him as Chairman for nearly nine years. And they were not easy years. They were the beginning years of this discussion on the Indian Reforms, when the arguments about the nature of the Reforms were very keen and people held very strong views. But I can only say that thanks very largely to Lord Lamington, and, of course, I must not omit Mr. Brown as his assistant, we were able to get through those years with great success. As has been indicated by His Highness, whenever you wanted a wise suggestion about a particularly awkward point that happened to crop up, you were always certain to get very good counsel from Lord Lamington.

We must admit that he has done yeoman's service for this Association and might very well asked to be excused from serving any longer. He has lasted out no less than three Chairmen, though he is re-elected every year and the Chairmen are supposed to serve until they perish or disappear in some way; so that I stand before you as probably the only survivor except Lord Lamington himself of anybody who has actually occupied the Chair of this Association without perishing.

You will admit that that is a good reason for my proposing that we should ask Lord Lamington to be good enough to continue to serve for a further period as President of this Association, because we really could not do without him.

MR. J. R. MARTIN : I beg to second this motion. I do so with great pleasure, both as one who served under Lord Lamington many years ago when he was Governor of Bombay, and as a member of, I think, twenty-five years' standing of this Association. I do not think that it is necessary to add anything to what Sir Louis Dane has said in commending the motion to you.

SIR LOUIS DANE put the motion to the meeting and it was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN : How swiftly time goes. It seems to me I pass through a continuous sequence of hearing this motion proposed. I confess I believe a change would be better, because my deafness is so increasing that I cannot hear all the interesting things that are said at our meetings. I think you ought to have someone more alert to carry on the business of the Association. However, I am very grateful to you for all the praise you have given to my past services, and the very kind words spoken by the Maharaja, Sir Louis Dane, and Mr. Martin. I appreciate it very much. As one grows older, one values all the more highly any expressions of regard given to one. I therefore wish to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and all the members of the Association, for their kind confidence in re-electing me once again as President of this Association, a position which I am very proud indeed to hold. (Applause.)

SIR ERNEST HOTSON : I have much pleasure in proposing the re-election of the retiring Members of Council : Sir James McKenna, C.I.E., Mr. P. K.

Dutt, Sir Reginald Glancy, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, and Sir Reginald Spence. I am sure every member of the Association is more than satisfied with the way in which the Council has conducted its affairs during the past year. The Association has grown in numbers, as we have heard, and I am quite sure that it has also grown very largely in the public estimation owing to the way in which its affairs have been conducted.

These five gentlemen cover a very wide range of experience between them, and each one of them is in a position to give something of much value to the work of the Association. I am sure you will all show your confidence in the Council by unanimously re-electing those members who are now retiring.

Mrs. DEWAR seconded this motion, which was carried unanimously.

Sir ABDUL QADIR : I beg to propose that the following members be elected : Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P., Mr. Ernest Batchelor, I.C.S. (retd.), Professor Parakunnel Joseph Thomas, Dr. Damry, Mr. Brij Nath (I.C.S. student), Mr. George Howlett Tipper, F.C.S., Pandit Dr. Shyama Shankara, Mr. Anant Ram Nehra (Public Notary, Ambala)

Dr. GANGULEE : I have much pleasure in seconding this resolution. The efficiency and value of an organization depend on the membership, and we welcome these new members.

The motion was carried.

Mr. STANLEY RICE : I should like to say one word. There is one name which has not yet been mentioned at this meeting this afternoon, and that is the name of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. King. Mr. Brown will bear me out in saying that it would be practically impossible to get on with the work if it were not for the indefatigable labours of Mr. King, the Assistant Secretary, and I think it is only fitting that there should be some little acknowledgment of his work by the meeting in general. (Applause.)

SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS IN INDIA

BY DR. S. N. A. JAFRI

(Barrister-at-Law.)

By far the most gratifying public event in India for a long time past was the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty. This great and memorable celebration loomed large in the public vision and was in every respect almost without a precedent in the annals of India. The exultation that was manifested, the spontaneous burst of popular joy and the wave of excitement that spread from the Himalayas to Mysore show in a convincing way the devoted attachment of the Indian people for the person and crown of His Majesty.

India was in no way behind the Dominions in celebrating the Silver Jubilee, because to her the reign of His Majesty has been marked by many good and notable things and fraught with immense consequences. The constitutional and political changes witnessed during the period, the far-reaching developments in every branch of life resulting from an ordered and benevolent administration, the moral and material progress made, and above all the unique opportunity that she had by her participation in the Great War, standing shoulder to shoulder with the people of the most advanced nations of the world, were some of the reasons that engendered a spirit of enthusiasm and gave an appreciable impetus to the celebration.

At the very outset it must be frankly admitted that the success of the celebration was in no small measure due to the indefatigable energies and labour of His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon. Their Excellencies showed an unflagging interest throughout, and they did everything possible to make the celebration one of outstanding significance in India.

SILVER JUBILEE FUND

A Silver Jubilee Fund was instituted and Their Excellencies made frequent and effective appeals for contributions. The appeal had an admirable effect and the donations came in rapidly from people in all parts of the country and from all the communities inhabiting it. The fund has reached the notable sum of £750,000 (Rs. 1 crore). It was originally announced that a substantial portion of the contribution would be devoted to relief of the distress among the poor and to similar philanthropical objects.

During the months preceding the month of May, great preparations were made everywhere to celebrate the approaching event, and the Government of India as well as the various provincial Governments proclaimed widely the programme to be followed during the Jubilee week. So when the auspicious month of May dawned there was no element of uncertainty as to the manner in which the Silver Jubilee would best be celebrated. The most notable feature of the celebration was the bright and brilliant illuminations which were to be seen everywhere. Nearly all the buildings and commercial houses in most of the major cities were decorated with coloured lights in a brilliant manner. This form of illuminating public places and buildings is not new in India. But on this occasion it was remarkable for the scrupulous way in which it was observed and its splendid effect.

The main feature was the prayers that were offered practically all over India thanking the Almighty for the long life of His Majesty. The services conducted in the churches were not purely conventional: they evinced keen and genuine interest. The prayers that Hindus and Muslims offered at the various places of worship were, however, events of even greater significance. Never was there an occasion where such zeal and devotion were shown by the communities in India to the King. Some orthodox Hindus carried their enthusiasm a stage further, and a Brahmin in Madras performed elaborately a ceremony for about ten days usually called "Yoga" invoking all the deities of Hinduism and imploring them to protect His Majesty. This is not an isolated case, but one of a large number of instances. All this is exceedingly characteristic of an Oriental race. To an Indian, Kingship is nothing if not a visible embodiment of God on earth. He takes a delight in honouring the King, for in so doing he is rendering a service to God. This is largely an ancient theory, but still it is a prevailing view amongst large sections of the inhabitants of India, and accounts for these memorable scenes of devotion and enthusiasm demonstrated both by the Hindus and Muslims during the celebrations.

PRAYERS OF THE POOR

No class of people rejoiced at the Silver Jubilee more than the poor in India. They were happy because the occasion was marked by free distribution of alms. The feeding of the poor was one of the main items of celebrations everywhere, and it was due to this item in the celebrations that in India at least for a day there was apparently no one without a square meal.

The rejoicings in Calcutta and Bombay were remarkable particularly because of the density of population in these two cities.

Bombay, which has been the cradle of political agitation in India, was also in a highly joyous mood on this occasion. The crowd that collected in the streets was so great that the policemen at the signal points found it most difficult to control the gathering and regulate the traffic.

CHILDREN'S JOY

Nowhere was mirth more boisterous than in the schools and colleges. All the children were in an elated frame of mind because to them the Silver Jubilee meant more than the eating of delicious sweets. Sports and a variety of other recreations made them feel that life was nothing but a perpetual gala day in the world. They took the greatest interest in all the public entertainments and yearned to see all the festivities.

MELAS AT SIMLA AND DELHI

Another novel feature of the celebration was the holding of what is familiarly termed "mela." This is nothing but a fair that is annually or periodically held in certain parts of India. This year two melas were held, one at Delhi and the other at Simla, at the time of the Silver Jubilee celebration. His Excellency the Viceroy and the Governor of the Punjab attended the mela at the latter place, and they were very much delighted to see all that took place. The mela was very attractive, and a mighty crowd from all the neighbouring parts had gathered together. The hill tribes showed their ancient folk dance and entertained the gathering with songs that were inspiring in their mystic tunes. Some men exhibited their valour and strength, while others gave a happy display of tricks and juggling that are very common in India. These melas are principally intended to provide a meeting place and entertainment for the poor people, and so they were deliberately held during the Silver Jubilee week in order to make the poor join in the celebrations. In almost every hamlet in India some kind of mela was held, and those who could ill afford to take part in the larger functions found recreation in this way.

THE FLAG DAY

May 20 was to be a "flag day," which indicated that Union Jacks were to be publicly sold on that day and the amount so realized paid into the Silver Jubilee Fund. The task of selling the flags was undertaken by women of position. The Union Jacks sold well. The women stood at eleven public places—just as they do on Poppy Day—with a tray full of paper-made Union Jacks,

and whomsoever they encountered they did not fail to conquer and made him buy a flag. This novel way of selling naturally produced good results.

OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS

The Government officials did everything in their power to make the Silver Jubilee a success. The Viceroy gave a public banquet at Simla which was attended by the officials and all the distinguished visitors. A thanksgiving service was held on May 6, and eager spectators occupied the tiers of seats and watched the solemn function. After the service was over the crowd dispersed and attended the meetings where the King's qualities of head and heart were eulogized. These meetings were held not only in Simla, but practically everywhere throughout India. The speakers at these meetings, some of whom were officials, explained to their hearers the significance of the Silver Jubilee, and showed with what tenderness His Majesty regarded India. Devotion and loyalty to the person of the King was also emphasized at the meetings, and the crowd signally manifested their joy by singing hallelujah before they dispersed. At Simla a military tattoo was held which was very well attended. The marching of troops is not a common sight in India, and on that account an immense crowd assembled to witness the spectacle. The troops in gay colours marched to and fro, and it gave the spectators much pleasure to hear the music play and see the Viceroy taking the salute. Similarly in all the provinces the Governors inspected the guard of honour and took the salute. After the parade was over medals were presented to those who had distinguished themselves by performing heroic deeds of valour.

CELEBRATIONS IN THE STATES

No account of the celebrations would be complete without a reference to happenings in Indian States. It must be said to the credit of all the States that they made the celebration a phenomenal success. Most of them contributed a substantial amount to the Silver Jubilee Fund. The loyalty and the traditional fidelity of the Princes to the person of His Majesty found everywhere conspicuous expression. Hyderabad, the premier State in India, was peculiarly happy to celebrate the Silver Jubilee, because the twenty-five-years' reign of His Majesty almost synchronized with that of a similar period in the reign of the Nizam. So the people of Hyderabad were elated all the more. Sir Akbar Hydari addressed a vast gathering of the citizens of Hyderabad and spoke in a moving and eloquent way of the great qualities of the King.

After the meeting, processions were formed from different parts of the city, each preceded by a portrait of His Majesty finely decorated. The main procession wended its way through the principal streets amid the tumultuous plaudits of the people.

The celebrations in Mysore, Kashmir, Gwalior and Travancore were all noteworthy. These States were in a position to celebrate the Silver Jubilee on a grand scale.

The Rulers of other States, such as Kholahpur, Bikaner, etc., addressed their subjects and pointed out the integrity and sagacity of British statesmanship. Public banquets were held in many of the States, where speeches were made in honour of the King. In States like Patalia and Kapurthala the occasion was marked by the grant of some concessions to the people. An amnesty was declared in these States and a number of the prisoners undergoing minor sentences were released. Another concession was the remission of certain outstanding revenues.

In short, there was no part of India where the Silver Jubilee did not evoke considerable interest and the enthusiasm was sustained throughout.

QUETTA AS I KNEW IT

BY C. ARCHER, C.S.I., C.I.E.

I

WHEN, a subaltern of five years' service, I was transferred as a probationer to the Indian Political Department, and ordered to Quetta to fill the newly created post of Second Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General, my anticipations were not altogether rosy. The date was August, 1887; Kohat, where I was stationed, was at its torrid hottest, and there was cholera in the garrison. Yet no one seemed to think that I was to be congratulated on the change. I knew Quetta vaguely by name as an outlandish place in connection with which a distant kinsman of my own, Sir Robert Sandeman, had recently made a great name; but more definitely, from the *Departmental Ditties*, as the scene of Jack Barrett's exile and death. The old stagers in the mess wagged their heads and murmured: "Ordered to Quetta, are you? Very unhealthy station, and this is the worst time of the year." I remembered the poet's lines:

The season was September
And it killed him out of hand;

and my heart would doubtless have sunk if youth and the prospect of new adventure had not buoyed it up.

The upshot was a very pleasant disillusionment. The first part of the journey, indeed—two nights' and a day's rail through the burning fiery furnace of the Western Punjab and Sind—was trying enough; and one's first experience in Baluchistan—turning out in the suffocating oppression of a Sibi autumn dawn to eat a *chota hāziri* (little breakfast) of stewed tea and toast dripping with rancid butter—was not encouraging. But as one crawled slowly upward through the desolation of the Bolān Pass (the region, according to the native saying, where God shot the rubbish after the creation of the world), by the makeshift surface line of shreds and patches—narrow-gauge, rack-and-pinion, and then narrow-gauge again—that then formed the only railway approach to Quetta, the stifling oppression of the plains gradually relaxed and cheerfulness revived with the cool mountain airs. With it came acute hunger, and railway refreshment-room there was none. But at a wayside station there stepped into the carriage an Indian gentleman who introduced himself as the Native Assistant for the Bolān Pass, and who, I was shortly to learn,

was one of the ablest and most trusted of Sandeman's henchmen, Diwān Ganpat Rai. He had with him an enormous bag of biscuits, provided, I suspect, specially for my benefit, and, sustained by these and by his company, I journeyed in content to the head of the Pass and out on to the great waterless plain—the *Dasht-i-be-daulat* (Plain of Poverty)—that leads on into the Shāl (Quetta) Valley. A gentle downhill run of an hour or so, past Sar-i-āb (where, as the name denotes, the first water-springs appear), took me, in the cool of the evening, to Quetta. That night I slept, under the hospitable roof of the Officiating Agent to the Governor-General, Sir Oliver St. John, as I had not slept for weeks before; and when next morning I sat in the shady garden, discussing, at a *chota hāziri* very different from the Sibi one, delicious peaches fresh plucked from the tree, it almost seemed to me that there must be a misunderstanding somewhere—that, setting out for Quetta, that place of evil fame, I had strayed by some mistake into Paradise.

II

There were, of course, flies in the ointment, for Quetta was still young and in some respects raw. Only ten years had passed since, as the result of Sandeman's second mission to Kalāt in his rôle of mediator between a tyrannous Khan and his turbulent Sardārs, the Baluchistan Agency had been founded, and a military garrison established at Quetta, to ensure the permanence of the settlement effected by Sandeman at Mastung, and to safeguard the trade route between India and Kandahar. The Shāl district, we are told by Rai Bahādar Hittu Ram, Sandeman's chief Indian helper, was then a distressful country, suffering under raids by the Baloch (the dreaded Marris), the rebellious Brahui tribes, and the hill Pathans from the north-east. Its headquarters, Shālkot or Quetta, consisted of a tumbledown mud fort on a mound in the midst of the valley, held by the Khan's Naib (Governor) with a rabble of undisciplined sepoy and sowars, and of a hamlet of a hundred or so of mud houses clinging to the skirts of the fort and inhabited by a handful of traders, living in dire poverty owing to the constant raids, the cessation of trade with Afghanistan, and the oppression of the Khan's Naib and his mercenaries. The laying out of a civil and military station was at once put in hand. But incursions by raiders and fanatics interfered with the work, and were found to be fostered, rather than discouraged, by the presence of the Kalāt Governor and his "troops." It was therefore arranged that these should be withdrawn, and the whole district of Shāl taken over by the British, on payment to the Khan of an annual quit-rent.

with Quetta by a railway driven through the range by a great tunnel under the Khojak Pass.

Sandeman, who has been represented by some as the thick-and-thin advocate of the forward policy, was strongly opposed to this transaction. "If you break in a man's back-door and point a pistol into his house," he said, "he is not going to love you, even if he can't turn you out." Our true policy, he held, was to rest content on the Afghan front with the boundary accepted by the Amir, and to spend some part of the millions lavished on the Chaman cantonment and railway line in extending our railway, by way of Nushki, through Baluchistan territory to the Persian frontier—a line which presented neither political nor engineering difficulties—thus placing ourselves in a position to take in flank any Russian advance through Afghanistan on India.

It may be remarked in passing that, though the question was never tried out, since the anticipated Russian advance never took place, yet the course of events, in this as in so many other cases, has gone far towards justifying Sandeman's prevision. Many of our later difficulties with Amir Abdurrahmān may doubtless be traced to his resentment of our high-handed action in the matter of Chaman; and in the emergency that did arise—the World War—the Nushki-Seistan Railway, looked on at the time as one of Sandeman's unaccountable fads, was found to be vitally necessary, and was pushed through in a great hurry and at great expense.

III

Quetta, as the advanced base of the armies operating in Southern Afghanistan, had been throughout the war a great military camp, and again in 1885, when war with Russia appeared imminent, it had been flooded with troops, military supplies and followers. A strong impulse was thus given to its permanent development. The civil station was laid out on generous lines, on the alluvial plain sloping gently westwards from the roots of the Murdār Range towards the Lora (river) which drains the valley; while the cantonment was placed on the more stony ground further north, the talus of the great Zarghun Range. Two wide and straight main arteries of traffic—the Lytton Road, called after the Viceroy under whom Quetta had been acquired; and the Bruce Road, named from Mr. R. I. Bruce, Sandeman's right-hand man—ran from south to north through the civil station, and, crossing a dividing stream, the Habib Nullah, were continued on through the cantonment. Among Sandeman's lieutenants were several enthusiastic tree-planters (Sir Hugh Barnes among the keenest), and these roads and the transverse streets which joined them were soon

bordered with flourishing young trees. The Lytton Road in particular (where were the Residency and the Headquarter Office in their ample garden, and the houses and gardens of the chief civil officers), with its triple line of trees along the road itself and the tan ride which bordered it on the east, grew in time to be a very stately avenue, leading, it might have seemed, straight for the noble massif of Takatu, ten miles to the north. And meanwhile the Bruce Road was becoming the backbone of a busy commercial city.

These changes were still in progress in 1887, and development had been much hampered by a feeling of uncertainty as to the future. Even after the value of Quetta had been demonstrated, voices were still heard, both in India and in England, advocating its abandonment; and while the uncertainty lasted the Government of India was naturally anxious to keep expenditure down to a minimum. The local building materials were primitive to a degree, and importation was enormously expensive. Consequently not only the houses and shops of the immigrant traders, erected mostly at their own expense, but even the European officers' houses and some of the Government offices were of extremely "kachcha" construction, mainly of sun-dried brick and mud. The roofing in particular, by reason of the total lack of local timber, was most unsatisfactory. What was worse, the reluctance to incur expenditure had blocked the provision of a proper water-supply, strongly urged by Sandeman. The cost of piping water from the fine stream that flows through the Hanna gorge from the Zarghun Range had been deemed prohibitive, and the water-supply, still derived from surface wells and karezes, was poor in quality and constantly liable to contamination. This, with the sudden and violent changes of temperature (the thermometer will often drop after sunset twenty-five degrees in five minutes), accounts for Quetta's evil reputation in the eighties. When the Hanna water had been laid on, and people had learned to take the simple precautions demanded by the climate, it soon became one of the healthiest stations in the East.

The Treaty of Gundāmak had added to the Agency the Pishin Valley to the north and the Sibi district to the south. The latter district, in Sandeman's view (which, by agreement with the local tribes, not sorry to obtain protection from Marri raids, he was able to make effective), included the Harnai Valley, the Thal Chotali plain and the Barkhān Valley, bordering the Marri country on the north-west, north, and north-east respectively, as well as the Bori Valley running east and west from the confines of Pishin to the Sulieman Range—a vast stretch of country, demanding large additions to the administrative staff. In 1887 these had been only partially supplied, but there was already a Politica

Agent at Sibi, with an Assistant at Loralai in the Bori Valley, where a small cantonment had been placed. A broad-gauge railway to Quetta by the Harnai Valley was nearing completion, and a great road, the so-called Frontier Road, was under construction from Pishin down the Bori Valley to Dera Ghazi Khan.

IV

Space will not admit of any detailed account of the further Agency developments which followed Sandeman's return from leave in the autumn of 1887—the occupation of the Zhob Valley between Bori and the Afghan border, and foundation of Fort Sandeman; the opening of the Gumal Pass; the long journeys for the pacification of outlying Kalāt districts. I must confine myself to a few hasty notes of significant incidents and stages in the development of Quetta.

The first of these has a sad and ominous interest. After having been broken in as Assistant Political Agent at Loralai to district work and the Sandeman system,* I had been recalled to Quetta to act as First Assistant. The winter (I think 1888-89) was signalized by a series of earthquake shocks, most of them slight, but some severe enough to be alarming. On New Year's Eve there was a dinner party at the Residency to which I was bidden—perhaps sixteen people, the dining-room in that small though comfortable house can scarcely have held more. Mr. Bux, Sir Robert's famous major-domo, had surpassed himself, the champagne was excellent, and all was going merrily—when in the middle of dinner a loud rumbling noise was heard. The next moment it was as though a giant had seized the house by the corners and was shaking it violently to and fro; the candelabra on the table toppled and seemed about to fall, and a large crack became visible in the arch at the end of the room. One of the guests certainly, and probably others, felt that a speedy retreat to the garden was urgently called for. But while our host sat like a rock at the foot of the table, and the slight and gracious lady at the head made no sign, no one dared to stir. We sat and talked on, drinking, perhaps, a little more champagne than

* This may be briefly and baldly described as the governance of the people of the country, in so far as possible in accordance with their own tribal customs, through the agency of their chiefs and headmen, whose position is strengthened by the grant of allowances in suitable cases, and by the employment, for all administrative work not requiring education, of selected tribesmen, the "local levies." All disputes between tribes and individual tribesmen are settled by local Jirgas (Councils of Elders); or, when too thorny or too important for local settlement, are carried before Shāli Jirgas (Royal Councils), which meet twice a year—in summer at Quetta, in winter at Sibi.

customary. Then, about a quarter of an hour later, came another, smaller shock, and this, though slight, was harder to "take sitting down," for we had been expecting it. One lady fainted, but was soon revived, and the rest of the evening passed without disturbance. But the nocturnal shocks became so frequent that winter that, tired of running out in the middle of the night, I pitched a tent in my garden, though the weather was bitterly cold, and thenceforward slept in peace.

The next winter which marked an epoch was that of 1890-91. Such a winter had never been known since our occupation of Quetta. It snowed and froze and thawed and rained and froze and rained again till the roofs, nearly flat and composed of mud over matting, became completely disintegrated, and most of the rooms resembled shower-baths of liquid mud. Some buildings, roofed with domes after the fashion of Kandahar, were in even worse case. A patch of wet would appear on the inside of a dome, and in a few minutes, without further warning, the dome would suddenly fall in. Quetta soon looked as if it had suffered a severe bombardment, and its inhabitants lived in grotesque misery. The Postmaster came to me one day wringing his hands, and protesting that unless I could give the Post Office a watertight room in which to work, all postal business must cease. I was fortunately able to accommodate him in a large hall in the Headquarter Office. But the hall at that time was also used on Sundays for English Church services, and I fear that while the stress lasted the spiritual needs of Quetta were but indifferently met. It was with a guilty joy that, anticipating my Chief's return from a long tour in Mekran to his winter quarters at Sibi, I slipped down the Passes (by the Harnai line, now completed) to that place, where the winter climate is as delightful as the summer is insufferable. I need hardly add that the broad hint given by the elements was taken, and all important buildings in Quetta were soon provided with weather-tight roofs.

V

I returned from furlough to Baluchistan in 1894, and, though posted first as Political Agent, Zhob, with headquarters at Fort Sandeman, and later to Sibi, I was frequently in Quetta in the years that followed. There had been many changes. Sandeman had died at distant Las Bela, murmuring at the last some broken words that sounded like "the Baluch people." His successor was Sir James Browne, invariably known as Buster Browne, a Royal Engineer, who had been Chief Engineer of the Harnai Railway and afterwards Quartermaster-General in India. As might have been expected, building and engineering work went on apace during

his reign. He had pulled down the old Residency (without authority, it was said), and the Government of India, faced with a *fait accompli*, had sanctioned the construction of the present handsome two-storey structure. (It speaks well, by the way, for Sir James's engineering skill that this high and not very solid-looking building should have withstood, even partially, the terrific shock of May 31.) A fine large English church was being erected in cantonments, to be followed later by Presbyterian and Roman Catholic churches. And on the Bruce Road, close to the city, the Sandeman Memorial Hall, subscribed for by the chiefs and people of Baluchistan—a little gem of Anglo-Indian architecture—was being erected on the plans of Sir Swinton Jacob. The avenues in the civil lines were reaching their full stature, and the gardens their full fertility and beauty. Sometimes, as one walked down the Lytton Road in the time of roses, the air came to one scented as from a garden of the Persian poets. Most important of all, the Hanna water-works had at last been sanctioned, providing both cantonments and civil lines with an ample supply of pure water.

Though the want of Sandeman's guiding hand was often felt, his system of local self-government was then, and is still, being loyally carried on by his successors, according to their lights. But British Indian laws had necessarily come in with the city-dwellers who had flocked from India to Quetta and the outlying towns; a Revenue and Judicial Commissioner was appointed to supervise the collection of the revenues and the administration of these laws; and Quetta itself became a municipality, administered by a Committee with the Political Agent as Chairman.

VI

Once again, in 1904, I returned to Quetta, this time to have it as my headquarters till my retirement in 1916. These years seem to me now, in looking back, strangely peaceful, and happily devoid of the striking events that make history. There was little change in the civil station, though improvements, such as the erection of a fine building for the meeting of the annual Shāhi Jirgas, the rebuilding and extension of the Civil Hospital and of the various Zenāna and Mission Hospitals, the foundation of a museum, etc., were from time to time being made, and more and more civilian settlers were being attracted from India. But now that Quetta was coming to be looked on as a health resort, the garrison was constantly being increased and the cantonments extended. In 1907 the Indian Staff College was transferred to Quetta from Deoli, and planted, very fortunately, high on the stony talus of the Zarghun Range, near the mouth of the Hanna gorge. There was talk of a cavalry cantonment at Baleli, eight

miles out on the Pishin road. Indeed, looking back on these years I seem to see that one of my chief preoccupations, as Political Agent and later as Revenue Commissioner, was lest the military garrison, thus constantly swollen, should in time eat (or rather drink) the civil population of the valley literally out of house and home; lest by absorbing the whole of the strictly limited water-supply available for drinking and for irrigation it should compel the expropriation of the remaining landowners and send them adrift as landless men with a few handfuls of quickly vanishing rupees.

In the course of these years I was more than once in temporary occupation of the Residency, and on one of these occasions a little incident occurred which seemed to me to illustrate the difference between the Quetta of popular imagination and the reality. I had the pleasure of entertaining for a day or two a distinguished Indian member of the Viceroy's Council, come to Quetta on a visit. One evening we were strolling on the greensward of the racecourse, which was then also the golf course, watching the exquisite after-sunset tints fading from the noble mountain ranges that encircle the valley, when, chancing to look round, I said: "We had better make a move, or we shall be slain." "What?" said my guest, looking about him with a start, "is there danger?" There was indeed, I explained—for we were standing full in the way of a keen foursome, and golf is no respecter of dignities.

When, in 1916, I said farewell to Quetta for the last time, I left it completely tranquil in the midst of the world-convulsion, though racked with anxiety over the daily news from without. And my only fears for the place that had been so kind to me were connected with the disproportionate increase of the garrison already referred to, and with a more serious though remote danger. For the Quetta Valley is what is called an "inland drainage area" (its waters discharging into the Hāmūn-i-Mashkel, the great salt swamp south of the Helmand), and therefore, according to some geologists, doomed eventually to dry up; and its water-supply is mainly from karezes, which, wherever they are found, are a sign and a contributory cause of desiccation. There had been earthquakes again more than once since that early winter, and some of them had caused serious damage and loss of life at outlying places. But Quetta had always escaped with a shaking, and one had a sort of feeling that it was in less danger than places like these, on the periphery of the earthquake area. Though the more one sees of earthquakes the less one is disposed to set limits to their destructive powers, I never dreamt that the nobly placed and comely city could be utterly laid waste and its people killed, maimed or cast out destitute—the fruit of sixty years' far-sighted planning and patient and devoted work

brought, in less than two minutes, to nothing—or worse than nothing.

But:

In the reproof of chance
Lies the true proof of men.

Quetta will no doubt rise again—perhaps less beautiful than before, for the site will probably be chosen more for solidity than for fertility, but more firmly founded and more securely built.

Some good will have come out of the great disaster if it leads to the reduction of the garrison, and consequently of the Cantonments and Civil Station, to dimensions more suited to an oasis in an arid land.

THE DIAMOND JUBILEE OF THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA*

BY PHILIP MORRELL

EVERYONE who takes an interest in Indian history knows something of the strange story of Baroda; how sixty years ago a tyrannous Maharaja was deprived of the power which he had abused, and how for some weeks afterwards the Government of India which had published the decree of deposition could find no suitable candidate to succeed him; how at last in a remote village in the Province of Bombay there was discovered a peasant or small farmer, who claimed to be a member of the Gackwar family, the reigning house of Baroda, and therefore distantly related to the deposed ruler; how his claim was investigated and found to be well established; how by a curious process of selection the second of his four sons, a little boy of twelve with "a bright intelligent face" but so entirely uneducated that he could neither read nor write, was chosen to be the new ruler of the State; and how on May 27, 1875, this boy was taken by the English Resident, Sir Richard Meade, and placed with solemn ceremony upon the vacant throne, with the title of Sayaji Rao III. It was a bold experiment, but it has answered beyond all expectation. The little illiterate boy to whom six years later the whole Government of the State was transferred has become gradually but surely one of the ablest and most cultivated of Indian rulers, and today amidst the congratulations of India and the world is celebrating his diamond jubilee.

A RECORD OF TYRANNY

To understand the extent of his achievement it is necessary to consider the condition of Baroda at the time of his accession. It is sometimes supposed even by otherwise well-informed people that the late Maharaja's chief offence—the offence for which he was deposed—was an attempt to poison the English Resident, and our attention is directed to a famous trial in which he was arraigned before a special tribunal on a charge of attempted murder. This procedure, we were told by a well-known writer—a Fellow of the

* Authorities quoted and referred to: *Life of Sayaji Rao III.* (2 vols.), by Stanley Rice, Oxford University Press, 1931; *Baroda and its Libraries*, by Newton Mohun Dutt, 1928; *Baroda Administration Report*, 1933-4; *Speeches and Addresses of H.H. the Maharaja of Baroda*, vol. iii., University Press, Cambridge, 1934.

Royal Historical Society—in a letter he recently wrote to the *Sunday Times*, is said to have been due to the personal wishes of Queen Victoria herself and to have been adopted in order that the Government of India might not incur the odium of appearing to act as judge and party in the same suit. “As a matter of fact,” he says, “this was a most important departure from the practice followed in the past and constituted an altogether new precedent.” But as a matter of opinion this trial, whatever was its motive, was singularly ill-advised. It put public sympathy for the time being on the side of the deposed Maharaja, as it will generally be on the side of a sovereign who is subjected to the disgrace of a public trial, and in this case all the more so because the evidence of his complicity in the alleged attempt to poison was so unsatisfactory that the Government at last were obliged to abandon the charge and to rely on their obligation as the Paramount Power to depose him for incorrigible misrule and oppression.

“Incorrigible misrule,” so the Government’s proclamation declared, “is of itself a sufficient disqualification for sovereign power. Her Majesty’s Government have willingly accepted the opportunity of recognizing in a conspicuous case the paramount obligation which lies upon them of protecting the people of India from oppression.”

How scandalous the oppression had been is shown by a minute written by a member of the Government of Bombay in the previous year. In this he speaks of “a people arbitrarily taxed at the pleasure of a selfish man, surrounded by courtiers aware of the uncertain tenure of their position, and eager to amass riches while they have the opportunity”; of “taxes farmed out to whoever pays the heaviest bribes,” and collected “not by any reasonable process of law, but by the bodily torture of the cultivators of the soil”; of “justice almost openly administered by ignorant and corrupt tribunals by means of torture”; of debts repudiated and “private property confiscated without a shadow of excuse”; of “the wives and daughters of respectable men, seized in open day in the capital of the kingdom, ordered into domestic slavery in the Gaekwar’s palace.”

Besides all this there were the barbarities inflicted on wretched prisoners, of whom some were dragged to death at the tails of elephants, others flogged to death in the streets of the town, others tortured by slow starvation. Worst of all, from the official point of view, the finances were in hopeless disorder; while the Prince continued to spend whatever money he could raise on himself, his favourites and his courtesans. Is it remarkable that the Government of India should have decided to depose a ruler whose “incurable vices,” as Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State, observed, “were established by a full experience”?

BARODA THEN AND NOW

But the trial of the late Maharaja on the poisoning charge, though ill-advised and inconclusive, had one incidental advantage : that it has led to a very vivid description of the condition of Baroda as it appeared to a well-known English barrister who visited it at that time. Mr. Serjeant Ballantine had been engaged by Malhar Rao at an extravagant fee* to undertake his defence at the trial; and had received an enthusiastic welcome from the Maharaja's friends. Roses were showered upon him; addresses were presented to him by men of high class and position; a hymn composed in his honour was sung before him. Who would not feel inclined to think favourably of a place in which such pleasant things were done?

But this is what Ballantine says of the Baroda of sixty years ago :

"Heaviness seemed to weigh over the city, and, although it was densely crowded, there was an utter absence of all joyousness. I never saw a smile upon a countenance or heard a sound of gaiety. The men we met scowled at us, and certainly the impression made upon me was that the Europeans were most thoroughly hated. . . . There was no display of merchandise in the shops, and the external features of all the buildings had the common attribute of neglect and dirt. There were palaces that offered no exception to this rule; and at the entrance of the town an old gateway and dismantled tower, whilst it gave picturesqueness to the appearance, added to the gloom. . . . Dirt everywhere was what struck the visitor most. I had the honour of being introduced to Her Majesty, one of the wives of the Gaekwar, through a thick trellis work. The palace where this distinction was conferred upon me was as grimy as all the other places to which I had been introduced."†

Other contemporary accounts of the town, though less vividly written, are hardly more favourable. When at the end of the year it was visited by the Prince of Wales who became King Edward VII., the official recorder of his tour writes : "The city is curious. There are drains covered with wood along each side, and some idea of a path for foot-passengers, but there is no pavement." In describing other places, the same writer speaks of institutions and public buildings, of palaces and temples; but in Baroda only of wooden drains. And Sir Richard Meade, the newly-appointed Resident, declares with cruel brevity : "Baroda is a most uninteresting place, and has nothing to recommend it."

* The fee is said to have been £10,000, which in those days was unprecedented.

† *Experiences of a Barrister's Life*, by Mr. Serjeant Ballantine, Bentley, 1882.

Compare these accounts of the Baroda of 1875 with the cheerful, well-ordered and prosperous city as it is described in the highly elaborate statistics of the current Administration report, and as my wife and I had the pleasure of seeing it only a few months ago. To say that it has changed is misleading. It has been entirely transformed. In less than sixty years it has become a new and different place. Consider the great public buildings and institutions which you pass as you drive through its wide and well-kept streets; the High School opened in 1881, which was the beginning of that great system of public education that now prevails through the State, the Science Institute completed last year, the Arts School and the Hospital, the offices of the Central Government and the Secretariat, the beautiful public park and the picture gallery, one of the best in India, and, perhaps most interesting of all, the great Central Library that was established twenty-five years ago and now has its offshoots and branches in every town and district and almost in every village of Baroda; it does not take you many hours to discover that you are enjoying the hospitality of a progressive and well-administered State.

To have given the blessings of good government to people who had never known what it meant, but accepted poverty and ignorance and the oppression of the great as part of the common lot of man; to have converted a gloomy, dirty, and neglected town into a handsome and well-ordered city, would be a remarkable achievement in any ruler; in a Prince who had passed the first twelve years, the formative years of his life, in an obscure country village without any opportunity of culture or book learning, and at the age of eighteen, after only six years of training, was put in absolute control of the administration of the State, it suggests something almost miraculous. How has he done it? By what combination of foresight and energy, of enthusiasm and common sense has he brought about this amazing transformation? What is the hidden secret of his success?

A GOOD START

In one respect, as he has always generously admitted, the Maharaja has been very fortunate. "Well begun, half done," is like most other proverbs an exaggeration; but it was well for him that during his first six years in Baroda—the years of his minority—the affairs of the State were under the control, and he himself under the influence, of three remarkable men.

The first of these was Sir Richard Meade, the English Resident, who was ultimately responsible to the Government of India for the institution of such reforms and improvements as would justify the deposition of Malhar Rao, and the placing of this untried boy

upon the throne. Of Sir Richard Meade the young Maharaja afterwards wrote :

"We in Baroda remember him as the founder of the new order of public affairs here. We have been moving on the lines laid down by him, and we feel we have been moving towards justice, security, prosperity, and honour."

Hardly less important was the task of the chief tutor, Mr. Elliot, who starting, so to speak, at scratch, had to educate the boy in the course of six years to undertake the duties of an absolute ruler. It is often said that Mr. Elliot overworked his pupil, and may indeed have injured his health, by requiring him to attempt in this short period the amount of work which most boys would take two or even three times as long to get through. But in spite of this the young Prince remained, so we are told, "on cordial and even affectionate terms with him"; and if a tutor is to be judged by results Mr. Elliot must be counted highly successful in having produced so cultivated and distinguished a pupil.

Most important of all, perhaps, was the influence of the Regent Dewan, Sir Madhav Rao, who has been described as "one of the great outstanding figures of the time." He had been trained in Madras as an educationalist and had there acquired those English principles of government which have been, as he frankly said, of "immeasurable advantage" to India. His outlook, in fact, was mainly Western, but he had gained valuable experience as Dewan of Travancore, which was already on its way to becoming one of the best governed of the Indian States. No better man could well have been chosen to initiate the reforms that were so urgently necessary, and as one reads the record of the work he did in restoring the finances, in establishing Courts of Justice, in reorganizing the police, and in the beginning of new services of medical relief and education, one is amazed at the amount he succeeded in accomplishing in so short a time.

HIS OWN ACHIEVEMENT

And yet, when all this has been said of the preparations made and the training given in those six critical years, it is to the Maharaja himself that the transformation of Baroda from one of the worst governed to one of the best governed of all the Indian States must chiefly be attributed.

"For over half a century," writes Mr. Kenneth Saunders in his introduction to this third volume of His Highness's speeches, "he has guided the peoples committed to him—now numbering two and a quarter millions—from chaos and corruption to order and probity. . . ." He has been not merely the figure-head, but the instigator and moving spirit of the great changes and reforms

which have made Baroda the "progressive" State that it is today. It is the microcosm as he would like to think—so he tells us in one of his speeches—of the India of the future, the ideal India. Of the reforms which he has introduced into Baroda he claims that they are those of which the whole of India stands at present most in need.

It is indeed one of the chief advantages of this latest volume of his speeches that it contains so many passages in which he adopts an old man's privilege—it is the only sign of age that you can detect in him—to look back over his long journey, and tell us something of the way by which he has travelled and the obstacles he has overcome. His guiding principles have been very simple. He determined from the first to enquire into things for himself, to ascertain at first hand the condition of his people and the best way of improving it. When he came to the throne he found a great gulf fixed between it and the people. If he was to find out all he wanted to know that gulf must be crossed; he must make himself easily accessible. But enquiry and reform were not enough: he must also obtain the willing co-operation of his people. "The laws may be good," he says, "but unless they are willingly obeyed much of their virtue will be lost." Without this no solid advance could be made. So he formulated his educational policy. "Education," as he says, "is the basis of all reform, the only way of escape from our present condition." It is remarkable how many of these speeches are addressed to students and with what sympathy he speaks to them. And education must be provided for women quite as much as for men. Perhaps it is even more necessary. "By the denial of education to women we deprive ourselves of half the potential force of the nation. . . . We create a mental division in the home and put a drag on progress by making women a great conservative force, that clings to everything old, however outworn or irrational."

But it was not merely for his subjects that a wider outlook was necessary. The ruler himself, if he was to improve his State and the condition of his people, must open his mind to new ideas. He must see other countries and find out what is best in their social practice and Government. At first he was prevented from doing so by the rigid rules of caste. It was not till 1887, as he tells his students in a speech made at the Golden Jubilee of the College, that he succeeded in breaking through these rigid rules, and was able to visit the other countries of the world and study and discuss their civilization. And he begs his students to remember that the more they can mix together without the distinction of caste or creed the greater will their influence be. "The cramping effect of old prejudices has made India lag behind the other nations of the world."

MATERIAL AND IDEAL

There is indeed, as Mr. Saunders rightly reminds us, another side to His Highness's activities. A man must, above all things, as he himself has said, be "level-headed." He must not ride his Pegasus too hard. Though he must keep his eye on the star of his ideals, his feet should be planted firmly on the earth; and in a great speech which he made five years ago at the opening of the Pratapsinh Lake you may see how highly he values the improvement of material conditions: by the supply of pure water, both to towns and villages, by the increase of roads and railways; by the irrigation of the land, and by the erection of great public buildings. "The grandeur of ancient Rome," he says, "is reflected in the great buildings that are left to us. . . . It has been my endeavour to beautify and adorn Baroda, so that you may have a city of which you can be proud, a city that can rouse your patriotism."

But admirable as these great improvements have been it will not be by these that he will best be remembered. It is the privilege of all autocratic rulers to perpetuate their names by great buildings: but the Maharaja of Baroda has a still higher claim to fame in the courageous work he has done for the down-trodden and the oppressed: for justice to the "untouchables," for the emancipation of women and the breaking down of the fetters of ignorance and prejudice. It is indeed in the sphere of education that his finest work has been done. Not only has he established a system of education free and compulsory throughout the State, but by his marvellous system of libraries, of which Mr. Newton Dutt's book gives a highly graphic account, the Maharaja has done his utmost to maintain and stimulate the intellectual interests of his subjects.

"The people," he says in an often-quoted passage, "must rise superior to their circumstances and realize that more knowledge is their greatest need, their greatest want. They must be brought to love books . . . to regard books as a part of their lives. Libraries will not then appear a luxury, but a necessity of existence."

If education is indeed the basis of reform, the future prosperity of Baroda is already well assured.

THE STORY OF THE INDIAN LION

By R. I. Pocock, F.R.S., F.L.S., F.Z.S.

THE widespread awakening of interest in wild animals, due to the realization that extinction was threatening many of the finest beasts in the world, was soon followed by the establishment of game reserves in various tropical countries and elsewhere. Of these none was more timely in its formation than the Gir Forest in Kathiawar, an area of about 500 square miles, which was set aside as a sanctuary for the last of the Indian lions. In 1880 there were said to be only about a dozen left. In 1930 their number was computed at 200; but this was probably an exaggeration, since Sir Patrick Cadell guesses there are not more than seventy or eighty at the present time.

To naturalists and sportsmen this lion has always been an object of special interest, but until about five years ago there were practically no specimens of it preserved in the principal museums of the world. In 1929, however, this deficiency was made good by H.H. Sir Mahabat Khan Nawab of Junagadh, who allowed the late Colonel Faunthorpe and Mr. A. S. Vernay to shoot two specimens for New York and one for Chicago, and two years later generously presented a splendid pair to the British Museum. From these and from the records of a few sportsmen we now know probably all there is to be known about this lion; but it is gratifying to learn that a specimen, presented as a cub by H.H. the Maharajah Jam Sahib of Nawanagar to the young son of Mr. Rushbrook Williams, is expected to be transferred to the Zoological Society for exhibition in the gardens in Regent's Park.

HOW THE LION CAME TO INDIA AND WAS EXTERMINATED : MAN, NOT THE TIGER, THE CAUSE

The discovery of fossil remains of lions in caverns and elsewhere in England, France, and Germany proves that in prehistoric times lions were widely distributed over the whole of Central Europe. From historical records it is also known that they still existed in Macedonia at the time of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, and were tolerably abundant in Palestine. They have long since ceased to exist in those countries, but in Persia and Mesopotamia they occurred until comparatively recently, although they are believed to be now extinct in those countries. At the time of the English occupation of India they were abundant throughout the northern

portion of that country, from Sind in the west to Bengal in the east, and from Harriana, Rampur, and Rohilkund in the north to the Nerbudda in the south.

These facts suggest that the original home of the lion was Europe and that the animal migrated thence in a south-easterly direction and entered India by way of Persia and Baluchistan. That it is a comparatively recent immigrant into India and did not originate there and travel thence westwards through South-Western Asia into Europe and Africa is attested by its restricted distribution in Hindostan. If that country had been its home, the lion would certainly have made its way southwards to Cape Comorin and reached Ceylon before the separation of that island from the mainland. Almost equally certainly it would have crossed the Ganges and the Brahmaputra and entered Assam, Burma, and the Malay Peninsula. Still further evidence of the lateness of its arrival to constitute part of the Indian fauna is supplied by its absence from the whole of the southern portion of Peninsular Hindostan. The only plausible explanation of its failure to make its way south of the Nerbudda River is that it was not given sufficient time. A check was put upon its movements, and its rapid extermination was started soon after the administration of India was taken over by the East India Company.

In all parts of the world occupied by Europeans, where lions occur, the disappearance of the lions is merely a question of time. Not only are they in a measure a danger to human life, especially if they become "man-eaters"; they also ravage the flocks and herds of the settlers, finding domesticated livestock easier to prey upon than wild game. Their proximity is incompatible with the progress of colonization, and a price is usually put upon their heads to encourage the natives to slaughter as many as possible. This antagonism between Europeans, with all their resources for destruction, and lions has led to the extermination of the splendid races of this animal that formerly inhabited Algeria and Cape Colony; and, had it not been for the recent establishment of game reserves, a similar fate would infallibly have overtaken the lions in all the settled parts of Africa. In Asia man was unquestionably the agent in killing out the lions of Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia; and in support of the view that the same explanation applies to Indian lions it is only necessary to cite the following instances attesting extensive slaughter in two localities. During the Mutiny a single English officer shot over 300 lions, fifty of them in the neighbourhood of Delhi; and Captain Mundy, in his *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, 1832, stated that before his time there were great numbers of lions in the wild jungle near Hansi in Patiala, but that, owing to the rewards offered by the Government for their destruction and the zest of English sportsmen, they had

entirely disappeared from the district. It is also interesting to recall here Captain Mundy's remark that crack sportsmen considered the lion afforded better sport than the tiger because his attack is more certain and open, either on account of the "noble nature" of the jungle king, as he called the lion, or because the country he haunted was less favourable for retreat than the thick, swampy morasses frequented by the tiger. This opinion of the difference in character between the lion and the tiger agrees with that of Major Leveson, who, after considerable experience in shooting tigers in India and lions in Africa, came to the conclusion that the lion is the more plucky animal of the two.

There is no reason to suppose that the two instances quoted above in testimony of the destruction of Indian lions in two districts were in any way exceptional wherever these beasts were plentiful. Similar slaughter was no doubt going on elsewhere, not only at the same dates, but before and after; and it is needless to look further for an explanation of the disappearance of lions from the whole of Northern India, apart from the few survivors that have found sanctuary in the Gir Forest. The dates of the disappearance in a few districts, collected by Mr. N. B. Kinnear from various sources, are as follows: Palama 1814, Baroda 1832, Hariana 1834, Ahmedabad 1836, Kot Diji in Sind 1842, Damoh 1847, Gwalior 1865, Rewah 1866, Abu and Goona 1872, Deesa 1878, Palanpur 1880.

Special stress has been laid on the cogency of the evidence that the almost complete extinction of the lion in India was due to the activities of the English Government and of English army officers and civilians, because a famous forest officer and a distinguished sportsman—the latter anxious to prove that the tiger has more claim to be entitled "king of beasts" than the lion—put forward the opinion, which others have taken up, that the tiger was the main factor in the tragedy. An obvious objection to this theory is the entire disappearance of lions from Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, and many parts of Africa, where there were no tigers to interfere with them. But there are other facts to be considered. From the discovery of fossil remains of tigers in the Arctic islands off the coast of Siberia, and from the occurrence of tigers at the present time in Mongolia and Manchuria, it may be inferred that the original home of the species was somewhere in Northern Asia, and that it migrated thence southwards on each side of the Tibetan plateau to Turkestan and Northern Persia in the west and through China into Burma and Indo-China in the east, and thence through the Malay Peninsula into Sumatra and Java when these islands were still connected with the mainland. That it was from Burma, to the south of the eastern Himalayas, that the tiger entered India is shown by the

identity between Indian, Burmese, and Southern Chinese tigers. The view that it may have invaded India by way of Afghanistan, where tigers were found half a century ago, is disproved by the scarcity or absence of tigers in the western Himalayas and North-West Punjab and—a point of more importance—by the Afghan tiger being the same as the Persian and a different race from the Indian.

Thus the lion and the tiger entered India by different routes—the lion from the west, the tiger from the east; and since the tiger spread all over South India, which the lion failed to reach, it is probable that the tiger's invasion of the country preceded the lion's. In that case the lion made its way into Northern India and multiplied exceedingly, despite the tiger being already in occupation of the country. Moreover, the average, if not absolute, difference between the animals in habitat makes it unlikely they were ever brought into serious competition for a livelihood. There would be no necessary rivalry between them; and the view that the tigers waged organized warfare against the lions, or that combats between individuals, in which the tigers were victorious, were sufficiently frequent to lessen appreciably the number of lions, may be dismissed as fanciful, because an encounter in the open would more likely result in mutual avoidance than in a fight, and in the event of a fight the lion's chance of success would, so far as anything is known to the contrary, be as good as the tiger's. Hence there does not appear to be an item of evidence that the tiger played even a subordinate part in the extermination of the lion in India.

INDIAN LIONS: THEIR MANES, SIZE, AND COLOURS

Apparently the first account of an Indian lion was a description published in 1821 of a specimen which a short time previously had been brought from the interior for exhibition in Calcutta. It was said to be not much larger than a mastiff, of a mouse colour, with scarcely any mane. No doubt the animal was an immature male; but it must have been exceptionally dark to be compared to a mouse in tint.

A few years later a pair of cubs from Haryana was sent as a present to King George IV., who commanded them to be lodged in the Tower menagerie. They were found by General Watson, who, while out one morning on horseback, armed with a double-barrelled rifle, was suddenly surprised by a large lion which bounded out of the thick jungle at a distance of only a few yards from him. He instantly fired, and the animal fell dead almost at his feet. No sooner had this happened than a lioness appeared on the scene. With his second barrel the General wounded her severely, and she retreated into the jungle. Suspecting from their



"GENTLE AS A KITTEN."

Indian lion cub given by H.H. The Jam Sahab of Nawanganu to the younger son of Mr. Rushbrook Williams. The cub is being presented to the Zoological Society.

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behaviour that the pair had their lair close at hand, General Watson, after carefully reloading, tracked the lioness into the thicket, where he killed her. In the den he found the two cubs, supposed to be about three days old. Fortunately, but rather surprisingly, he succeeded in getting a goat to act as foster-mother to the cubs, and by this means was able to rear them until strong enough to be transported to England in 1823. In the Tower they grew into magnificent specimens, the lion when he was between five and six years old carrying a splendid mane, which not only covered his head and shoulders, but extended along his belly as a luxuriant fringe. Accustomed from their earliest days to human company, they grew up perfectly tame. The lion, indeed, remained docile after reaching maturity, but the lioness became dangerously savage when her first litter, consisting of a male and two female cubs, was whelped in 1827.

The story of these captive Indian lions, published in 1829, was unknown to Captain Smee when in 1833 he gave a very full account of eleven lions he shot at Ahmedabad. Unfortunately, he chose for his paper the misleading title "The Maneless Lion of Gujerat." But although he explained that "maneless" was used merely in a comparative sense to indicate, as he quite justifiably supposed on the available evidence, that his lions could be distinguished from African lions by their smaller manes, the Gujerat lion was over and over again cited as "maneless" by subsequent writers. The mane was present in all Smee's lions, but it was tawny and small, consisting merely of an erect, low crest running from the withers to the crown and of hairs a few inches long on the sides of the neck and throat. The colour of the coat varied individually from very pale tawny to reddish tawny darkened with black hairs. The largest shot was only 8 ft. 9½ in. from tip to tip, but it weighed no less than 504 lb. without the viscera, and cannot have been far short of 550 lb. with them. The largest African lion shot by Selous was 512 lb., and that was exceptionally heavy.

Captain Smee's idea that his Gujerat lions had unusually small manes was no doubt to a great extent founded on his conception of the manes of African lions being derived from the heavily maned Algerian and Cape Colony lions, which in those days were frequently exported for exhibition in the menageries of Europe. Next to nothing was then known of the poorly maned or maneless lions which are not uncommon in the warmer parts of Central Africa, where lions with manes like those of the Cape and Algeria in former times are nowadays never shot. Colonel Paterson's famous man-eating lions of Tsavo in Kenya were, for example, entirely devoid of manes; but no maneless lion has as yet been recorded from India.

The lions of Gujerat, indeed, seem to have been the source of a highly fanciful theory put forward by General Rice to account for the poverty of mane development in some lions. In years preceding the Mutiny, he wrote, lions were much more plentiful in that part of India than afterwards, and used to live more in the open plains. No fewer than eighty were shot in three years by a cavalry officer, using well-trained horses for the purpose, and pursuing them over the open country. From being so constantly hunted and persecuted the lions almost deserted the open plains and retired to the forests. Here the numerous thorn-bushes dragged out the best part of their manes until all except very old lions ceased by degrees to have any manes left.

This notion that the combing action of thorns accounts for the scantiness of manes in many lions has often been quoted with approval as if it supplied a satisfactory explanation of the fact. It cannot, however, for a moment be entertained, as anyone will realize who has ever pulled a lion's mane or, indeed, attempted to drag living hair from the coat of any animal. All that thorns could achieve in that way would be the removal of dead hairs, which in the ordinary course of events would be shed in a short time. Thorns might admittedly prevent the tangling of dead hair and its adherence to the mane in tufts such as are often seen in lions in captivity. They would thus serve to keep the mane tidy, but they could no more affect its general luxuriance than a brush and comb can reduce the quantity of living hair on the human head.

It must be frankly admitted that very little is actually known about the physiological factors controlling the growth of the mane. It is a peculiarly variable secondary sexual character. In the same district lions may be found with full or scanty manes, and their colour may be mainly tawny or largely black except round the face. There are good reasons for thinking, however, that comparatively cold districts produce the best manes; witness the splendid manes of the lions of the Cape and Algeria above referred to. But this can hardly be regarded as a protection against cold, since lionesses everywhere get along very well without any such covering.

Another singular fact is that lion cubs exported to Europe or America from districts where comparatively scanty manes are prevalent may acquire magnificent manes with growth in captivity. That is what happened in the case of the Haryana lion exhibited in the Tower; and a similar thing has been repeatedly recorded since. The development of the mane, moreover, is frustrated by castration, and it may be acquired in a rudimentary state by old lionesses. In both these respects, as well as in the difference in its luxuriance in different individuals, the mane of the lion is closely analogous to the beard of man.

Reverting to the mane in Indian lions, there is evidence that it

varied in colour and size as much as in African lions. One shot near the railway between Allahabad and Jubbulpur was described in 1867 as having a luxuriant mane, with the longest hairs 11 in. in length and the colour mainly sandy-yellow; and the mane of another shot near Kota in Rajputana was, judging from a painting by a competent artist, very fine and well developed, although the beast was killed in the hot weather. Moreover, the late Colonel Fenton, who in 1886 and later shot more lions in Kathiawar than any subsequent sportsman, saw some which he described as fine maned, thus disproving Captain Smee's belief that scanty manes were characteristic of that district. Although Colonel Fenton did not actually secure a black-maned lion, he was confident of their occurrence in the Gir Forest. His conviction was verified in 1930 when H.H. the Maharajah Jam Sahib of Nawanagar sent to Rowland Ward to be mounted a couple of splendid specimens with long black manes.

Apart from the manes, Colonel Fenton was particularly interested in the size of the Kathiawar lion, and after comparing his own measurements with those recorded by Lord Lavington and Lord Harris, who also shot in the Gir Forest, he came to the conclusion that the Indian lion is on the average about the same size as the African. This inference was later confirmed by a number of accurate measurements of lions from Kenya Colony and the Belgian Congo, taken by trained American collectors.

Nearly all the skins of slaughtered Indian lions have gone the way of most sportsmen's trophies, and from the few available for examination by a competent authority it is impossible to state positively that the Indian animal differs from the African in external features; but there are certain structural characters in the skull by which an expert can at once pick out the skull of an Indian lion from a heap of skulls of the African race. Apart from other proofs, this shows the Indian lion to be a pure type without mixture of African blood. It is necessary to insist upon this point because some forty years ago a number of East African lions was imported and turned down in Gwalior, and it might be supposed that they joined forces with the Kathiawar lions and established a mongrel stock. But these African aliens proved such a pest by preying upon cattle and killing a few natives that steps had to be taken to exterminate them, and this was effected before they spread far from the locality in which they were liberated.

THE PATTERN OF CUBS: AN OLD INDIAN BELIEF REGARDING IT

There are two frequently repeated misconceptions about lion cubs. The first is that, unlike the cubs or kittens of other members

of the cat family, they are born with the eyes open. This is true in some cases, but as often as not apparently the eyes are closed at birth and open a few days later. The second is that the coat shows a pattern of spots. The truth is that the pattern varies greatly, not only in conspicuousness, but in its style. It may be merely represented by faint spots on the underside and parts of the limbs, but usually it is visible to a greater or less extent on the body as well. In this case it usually takes the form of large, leopard-like, ring-shaped spots; but there is frequently a marked tendency for the arrangement of these rosettes in transverse lines, and when this is carried to an extreme by the confluence of the rosettes the result is a pattern of looped stripes, forcibly recalling the stripes of a well-marked tiger. The cubs of the Haryana pair, born in the Tower, were marked in this way.

The scientific explanation that the presence of the pattern in the cubs is evidence of the descent of lions from an extinct ancestor similarly marked was quite unknown in former times, and Apollonius, a Greek philosopher born in Asia Minor (3 B.C.), recounts, as recently recorded by Dr. Sir Jiranji Jamshedji Modi, an amusing belief regarding it held at all events in the first half-century of the Christian era by the people of India, who were naturally puzzled by the phenomenon. Lionesses, it was thought, at times admitted panthers to their lairs and entertained them as mates. When the time of parturition drew near the lionesses departed from the plains, where the lions dwelt, to the mountains, the panthers' home, and there gave birth to their cubs, which were spotted like the sires, the panthers. The reason for the departure of the lionesses was concealment of the litters from the lions, which regarded such cubs as bastards, and accordingly killed them if found.

HUNTING INDIAN LIONS

Sensational stories of hunting lions in India are fewer than those found in books by African sportsmen. From accounts that have come down to us it seems that in almost all cases the lions, unless wounded and cornered, attempted to escape from their pursuers. The behaviour of the lion and lioness which, without provocation, sprang at General Watson was exceptional and due, no doubt, to the General inadvertently trespassing near the lair where the lioness was suckling her newly born cubs. In the old days, as recounted by General Rice, the lions were sometimes pursued in the open on horseback, but in thicker cover they were tracked on foot, unless elephants were employed for the purpose. In connection with an elephant drive after lions in Patiala, Captain Mundy tells an almost incredible tale of a sportsman being saved from a lion by the sagacity of his elephant. He shot at and wounded a lion, which

thereupon charged the elephant, and when he was leaning over the edge of the howdah to make sure of his second shot the whole front gave way and he was precipitated right into the clutches of the enraged beast, which broke his arm in two places and severely lacerated his shoulders and breast. The mahout fortunately had the presence of mind to urge his elephant to the attack, and the elephant, grasping the top of a small tree in its trunk, bent it down with such force across the lion's back that it abandoned its victim and was promptly shot by a friend who hurried to the scene. Colonel Fenton and his companions usually shot lions on foot, employing a gang of beaters to drive them within range of the places where the sportsmen were stationed. Wounded animals that got away into the bush were tracked and killed, but on one occasion Colonel Fenton had a very narrow escape from a lioness which he had twice hit and was following through the undergrowth of the forest. When he came upon her she instantly charged straight at him. With as steady an aim as possible at her head he fired again, then took to his heels, expecting every moment to feel her claws in his back. Luckily the shot had proved fatal. But Captain Carnegy, who, when shooting with Lord Lavington, had a somewhat similar experience with a lion, was, as many will remember, killed by him in the Gir Forest. This sad tragedy induced H.H. Sir Mahabat Khan Nawab of Junagadh strictly to forbid the hunting of lions on foot by those to whom he might grant the privilege of shooting them. Since then the method has been for sportsmen, safely lodged in a *machan*, to wait for the lions near a "kill" or to shoot them from these tree platforms when driven beneath by beaters. Hence lion shooting in the Gir Forest is now practically devoid of all risk and has become, as Mr. Vernay frankly admits, "poor sport."

THE SARI—PAST AND PRESENT

BY MRS. PROTIMA TAGORE

(An Indian artist who has done much to revive the Bengal arts and crafts in the neighbourhood of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's University at Santiniketan.)

THE sari as a dress has now been adopted by Indian ladies in almost all the provinces of India. Panditani Kashmiri ladies wear it as well as the Sinhalese ladies, who formerly had all adopted the European costume. In travelling in Persia in 1932 I noticed that some Zoroastrian ladies preferred the sari to the European dress adopted by most Persian women. And now in wandering in the streets of London we can see in the shop windows side by side with the old-fashioned evocations of 1830 European garments the still older evocations of the East—the sari—worn by European wax mannequins.

That induces us to trace the history of the sari and to try and find out the origin of that classical drapery. In order to do so we must study the old frescoes, the figures in sculpture in temples, and the books of the ancient travellers who have described the costumes of the ladies in olden India.

For the earliest records we must, of course, refer to the Indus civilization whose remains have been recently discovered at Mahenjo-daro. Though the date is somewhat uncertain, this civilization goes back at least to 3250 B.C. From the descriptions given in Sir John Marshall's book we find that in those days the dress was not developed into a complete drapery covering the whole body as we see in our garments of today, but was more like an ornament of the body.

"In a city as cosmopolitan as Mahenjo-daro, with elements in its population drawn from at least four different races, the dress of the people was probably as varied as their personal appearance, but unfortunately our evidence on the subject is at present very scanty. The two statues illustrated in Pls. XCVIII. and C., 1-3, show us a male figure wearing a long shawl, which was drawn over the left shoulder and under the right, so as to leave the right arm free, and, in the latter case at any rate, was ample enough to cover the seated figure down to its feet. Whether a tunic of any sort or a loin-cloth was worn beneath this shawl, there is as yet no evidence to show. . . . The female figurines of clay," which are undoubtedly representations of the Mother Goddess, "wear nothing more in the way of apparel than a band about the loins—a band which, we may suppose, was generally made of cotton, but sometimes of wool, and

was sometimes not unlike the Sumerian *kaunakes*" (Marshall, vol. i., p. 33).

Thus we are led to the conclusion that nothing reminiscent of the actual sari existed in ancient India. In later times, as one can see in the frescoes of Ajanta (200 B.C.-600 A.D.) and on the stone figures of the Kanarak temple in Orissa (1250 A.D.), women wore a two-piece garment consisting of the "ria" for the upper body and the "mekhala" for the waist. These pieces were highly decorated with embroidery and decked with pearls for the women of the royal families. We may suppose that while the aboriginal inhabitants of India went about naked, the womenfolk of the Aryan invaders were distinguished by their two-piece garment.

Bengal has always been the meeting place of the two races, the Dravidian and the Aryan. Each race influenced the other, and they adopted each other's habits and customs. Probably the less civilized race, whichever it may have been, influenced by the other, thought it more proper to cover their bodies. Or perhaps they simply found it more convenient as a protection against the rays of the sun or the changes of temperature. Whatever was the reason for these women to give up nudity they did it in a very simple way by means of one single piece of material which at first only veiled the waist and gradually climbed around the breast, just as can be seen even now amongst the aboriginal tribes—the Santals or the Kols of Chota Nagpur. These tribes have kept their habits in dress intact for thousands of years just as they have preserved their religions and social customs. In comparing the dress worn by the women of these tribes in different regions it is not difficult to trace the evolution of the sari from a mere loin-cloth to that of a long piece of cloth draping the whole body.

In the early Buddhist period, as evident in the fresco paintings of Ajanta, women began to wear a longer "mekhala," which came down to the knees. In a later period of the same epoch we find from the descriptions given by foreign travellers the wearing of a "chaddar" over the "ria" and "mekhala" had come into use. Thus the loin-cloth of the primitive age was gradually developing into a real garment.

In the seventh century A.D. we have more or less accurate description of the dress worn by women in India at that time, given by the Chinese traveller Yüan Chwāng :

"The inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring; as to colour a fresh white is esteemed and motley is of no account. The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and up to the armpits and leave the right shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe which covers both shoulders and falls down loose. . . . The names for their clothing material are *kausheya* and *muslin* and *calico*, *kausheya* being silk from a wild silk-worm; *kshauma*, a

kind of linen; kambala, a texture of fine wool, and Ral (?) a texture made from the wool of a wild animal. This wool, being fine and soft and easily spun and woven, is prized as a material for clothing. In North India, where the climate is very cold, closely fitting jackets are worn somewhat like those of the Tartars" (*On Yüan Chwäng's Travels in India*, Walters, 1904, pp. 148).

In the Middle Ages, under the influence of more luxurious habits, the "ria" transformed itself into a more elaborate bodice with short sleeves, which just encircled the breast, leaving the waist free. We still see that bodice, in all its glory, in Rajputana and in the United Provinces, and also amongst the people of Gujerat.

This bodice is called "kanchuli" or "angia," and is usually worn with a thin veil covering the upper portion of the body and passing over the head. In the seaside resorts of Europe the "kanchuli" has been unconsciously adopted by the fashionable devotees of sun-bathing.

With the Mughal invasion some Persian influence modified the "mekhala"; it became a wide skirt, transparent, as one can see in the Indo-Persian miniatures, and revealing the "pyjama," which then first made its appearance in India. Gradually the transformed "mekhala" became more and more elaborate and ended in the ample skirt which we still see in northern India, and whose swaying movements lend such grace to the women when they walk. Some of these skirts use up as much as 50 yards of cloth.

But in other parts of India like Bengal and Orissa and in the south no trace of the skirt is to be found. The "mekhala" here became wider and longer, but remained a drapery and took a definite shape in the sari. The Hindu word *sārī* is derived quite regularly from the Sanskrit *śāṭī* through the intermediate stage *sāḍī*. The word *śāṭī*, however, looks as if it were an old vernacular word adopted into Sanskrit.

The sari is a piece of cloth; it may be either cotton, silk, or wool; generally 45 inches in width and 6 yards in length. The measurements vary in different provinces, according to the manner in which it is draped around the body. It has always two borders, sometimes in plain colours, but more often with elaborate designs. Only widows wear saris without borders, as a sign of mourning.

We can trace the evolution of the sari in Bengal in her folk-arts, in the terra-cotta figures of her temples, and also in the popular pictures still drawn by the painters of Kalighat. How did the fashion of the sari, which if it had its origin in Bengal, spread little by little all over India? Historical events might be the initial cause of it. How did the sari end by covering first the head, then drawn like a veil over the whole face, its folds, held up by one hand, just leaving one eye uncovered, as can still be seen with the ladies



ANCIENT STYLE OF
DRESS IN INDIA.



THE MODERN SARI.

(Sketch by the author.)

observing strict purdah? Is it the influence of the Muhammadan ladies' "Bourka," which induced the Hindu ladies, among whom the purdah was unknown before the Muhammadan conquest, to cover their head in order to be more respected by the invaders who were not used to the Indian women's free habits? It is to be noted in this connection that the women of the Deccan country, which escaped the Muhammadan influence, go about bareheaded and do not observe purdah—the sari in the south is simply thrown over one shoulder.

There are four principal styles of draping the sari, the Parsi, or Gujerati, the Mahratti, the Bengali, and the Nepali. At present the Madrasi style of wearing the sari is the most popular in India.

The sari is usually woven in cotton and silk, but there is great variety in the texture, design, and colour. Each province has its own specialities. I can only describe some of the characteristics of the saris that are popular at present. In South India there is a great industry in the making of saris at Madura, where the cloth is woven and dyed. Madrasi saris have very wide yellow borders with marvellously rich colour combinations. In Orissa, red and yellow coloured backgrounds are popular with the women. The edges at the two ends have beautiful designs woven in wide stripes. There is also another material not widely known, but which I consider very artistic, which is called "tharaboli" in that country. In this the whole ground is covered all over with designs in a pleasing combination of colours. This sari is used as a bridal garment.

The Dacca muslin of Bengal has been famous for many centuries, and at one time used to be imported to England. Such a fine cotton is not woven anywhere else. The art of spinning such fine yarn and embroidering the cloth with beautiful designs is unfortunately almost dead. At present the Dacca weavers supply the market with a variety of coloured saris at popular prices, but the genuine artistic Dacca muslin saris can only be seen in museums. Murshibad printed saris on silk are made which are very popular in the fashionable circles of Calcutta. But we can no longer buy the once famous "Baluchar" silks, the only weaver who had known the traditional art having died a few years ago. His artistic productions were cherished even more than the rich Benares brocades by the discriminating public. At one time only a few could afford to buy Benarasi silk saris with their elaborate embroideries of gold and silver thread. But now Benarasi saris can be had at popular prices and the wardrobe of the middle class woman is not complete without a few of these pieces. In spite of all the change in fashions, the steady demand for Benarasi saris has kept this industry from perishing. Gujerat is known for its "patola" saris. It is woven in heavy silk with designs covering the whole ground. In Gujerat and parts of Rajputana are also

made the “bandni” by the tie-dyeing process, both on cotton and silk. Marwari women always wear a veil made of this fabric. Mahratti saris are made in coarse cotton or heavy silk, and are distinguished by their short colour combinations—often in checks—and the use of green and red borders. There is a lovely sari made in Gwalior called the “chanderi.”

Although the women of Nepal wear the sari there is no local industry for the making of it. They generally import printed calico cloth for their saris from the United Provinces. The Nepalese women wind the sari round their waist and use a separate piece of cloth over the upper part of the body. Another square piece of cloth like a shawl covers the head.

There are, of course, many other kinds of materials used for the sari in different parts of India than I have mentioned above, but it is not necessary to enumerate them all in a short article of this kind. At present the printed saris of Bombay and Murshibad and the Madura saris of Madras are in greatest demand. These saris with their rich colours and pleasing designs add beauty and gracefulness of movement to the bodies of women. The sari needs no tailoring, but when properly draped harmonises perfectly with the curves of the body.

The sari has conquered, as we have already said, the whole of India; it is on its way to conquer Asia and Europe. Its beautiful folds and its classical perfection give it an eternal beauty which will never age, just as the Egyptian garments, the Greek chlamyde, and the European drapery of the Middle Ages that we see in the museums have an unchangeable nobility above all fashions.

THE FUTURE IN EASTERN ASIA

BY CAPTAIN ARATA OKA*

IN December, 1936, the treaties and agreements which have regulated affairs in Eastern Asia during the past years come to an end, and before that date the position of the Great Powers in the Far East will have to be reconsidered. Moreover, in view of the action taken by the Japanese Government, giving notice to terminate the Washington Treaty in its present form, the Powers must, under Article XXIII., meet in conference within a year of this notice; in other words, during the present year.

Already preliminary naval discussions have taken place. It is not necessary to repeat here the proposals which have been put forward, and which have already been published in the Press. Nor would it be proper to conjecture the lines which these discussions will take, as so much depends on the attitude of the various Powers, not only on those with interests, great or small, in the Pacific, but also on those in Europe, where new problems, such as the rebuilding of a German Navy, will have to be considered. Indeed the European naval problem has been rendered acute by the naval construction programme of the German Government. In 1921 and 1922, when the Washington Conference was held, Europe was exhausted; now Europe is alert, nervous, and arming.

Japan's peaceful proposals, put forward at the recent preliminary talks, still hold good. Japan is prepared for a reduction if other Powers will also reduce. If America does not build a bigger navy, we certainly do not want to build any more. Anglo-Japanese friendship is not a new idea. It has a long and historic background. Ever since English traders reached Japan in the middle of the sixteenth century down to the time when, sharing common interests in the Far East, Japan and Great Britain concluded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance on January 30, 1902, in order to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the Far East, has that friendship endured; and to the present day there is no cause for enmity between Japan and Britain.

Nor is a Japanese-American war within the realms of possibility, whatever scaremongers and propagandists may say. For any naval expert who considers the implications of a war between Japan and America will realize that, for purely naval reasons, it would be

* This article has been written by the Japanese Naval Attaché in London, but must not be regarded as having been contributed by him in his official capacity.

madness. Similarly an economic expert will agree that for economic reasons such a war would be equally suicidal. Japan can inflict little vital injury upon the United States. It will be many decades before New York can be bombed by Japan. Japan cannot invade America. And the United States, even if she ultimately gained her object, could only do so after a terrific and a very exhausting effort for unknown gains. For a naval war, fought across an ocean some 4,000 miles wide, with battleships whose radius of action at full speed is not more than 6,000 to 7,000 miles, must obviously, even to lay minds, be quite a different problem from a war across the narrow and restricted North Sea.

From the economic standpoint, as our Mr. Hirota, Foreign Minister, stated in the Japanese Diet on January 22, 1935: "Japan and the United States are bound by a vital economic relationship of mutual interdependence unparalleled elsewhere." In 1933 Japanese exports to the United States comprised 26.5 per cent. of her total export trade; whilst, on the other hand, Japan provided 51 per cent. of the Far Eastern markets of the United States. According to the most recent issue of the Japan Year Book, in 1932, the last year for which detailed figures are given, out of a total import of raw cotton valued at 447,401,000 yen, as much as 320,751,000 yen came from U.S.A.; whilst out of Japan's total export of raw silk of 382,366,000 yen, 360,148,000 went to the United States.

The results of recourse to war to settle economic and political rivalries are still only too patently apparent in the scars of the last great war, from which the whole world is still suffering. It is, therefore, very wrong to talk in terms of war. *When the Naval Conference between Great Britain, America and Japan is resumed, it must not be in an atmosphere of postponing or avoiding war, but of consolidating peace.* Possibly some wider questions will have to be included in the discussions of the Conference, as was the case at Washington, but that is a political matter. The position held by Japan in the Western Pacific must be recognized. By the circumstances of her position, her experience and her culture, she has been forced, without planning it, into the position of leading nation of the East. It is in the interests of all nations with commercial and other responsibilities in Eastern Asia to maintain and extend the reign of law and order. Japan is only too glad to share with others this irksome duty, of which unfortunately, owing to her geographical position, she has had to carry the heaviest burden, the work of the League of Nations—owing to restricted finances and other causes—having hitherto been almost negligible in the Far East.

It is unfortunate that the League of Nations has not been more successful in its efforts in the Far East; but the League is a young

body and its powers and organs are still in an embryonic form. With so many unsolved difficulties in Europe it is hardly to be expected that the League could achieve very much in the rehabilitation of Eastern Asia. Even the International Labour Office has not been able to be very effective in improving the standard of life of the toiling masses and thereby increasing their purchasing power, although Japan herself has ratified many of the various conventions drafted by the International Labour Office of the League of Nations.

In the case of China and Japan, co-operation is being hastened by the serious financial position of China, largely resulting from the silver policy of the United States, who have refused to modify their policy in spite of frequent protests from China. The Chinese newspaper *Sin Wan Pao* in an editorial on April 29, 1935, said:

“As a result of the American Government’s silver purchasing policy, the price of silver is continuing to increase.

“The Chinese Government has requested the U.S.A. to pay attention to the harm which her silver purchasing policy is doing in China, but the request has had no results.”

In fact, the Roosevelt silver policy was hardly what the Chinese people expected from the country which enunciated the Stimson doctrine. As long ago as February 17 of this year the Chinese paper *I Shih Pao*, published at Tientsin, said:

“It is generally thought the two great problems of China are her relations with Japan and the suppression of communism, but, in our opinion, the gravest issue before China is her economic problem.”

Mr. Hsu Tao-Lin in an article entitled “Friends or Enemies?” which appeared a short time ago in practically every Chinese newspaper published in Shanghai, points out that although both China and Japan may be guilty of mistakes in handling their affairs, yet—

“we cannot consider the Japanese as our permanent enemies, for we have in the long run to co-operate with them.”

These sentiments have been re-echoed by responsible leaders of the Chinese people. It is now realized that lasting peace and prosperity can only come with certainty through real Sino-Japanese friendship. Increasingly the Chinese are looking to Man Chu Kuo as a territory where work and employment are to be found; and, as some indication of this, it should be noted that there has been a very great increase in the number of Chinese studying Japanese and the number of Chinese students in Japan.

Summarizing, then, the following are some of the points to be borne in mind during the months which lie ahead of us:

1. We have to work for a frank exchange of views and seek means to achieve a policy of co-operation and friendly understanding between the Powers in the East, having in mind above all the rehabilitation of great China, the key of the whole problem, realizing that this great sub-continent of China is no entity—as England, France, and Germany are entities. Vast tracts are practically independent of General Chiang Kai Shek's Government at Nanking, some are completely detached, some provinces, such as Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia, are under foreign influences, and long ago Chang Tso-lin, the War Lord of Manchuria (now Man Chu Kuo), virtually cut off this territory, north of the wall, from China.

2. Security in the Far East can only be achieved by the recognition of the geographical position and interests of Japan.

3. The policy of an exclusive Anglo-American alliance directed against Japan is fortunately receiving very little support in responsible British circles, and is largely sponsored by certain groups in America who would like the British taxpayer to pay for the protection, by the British Navy, of their interests in China. Such a policy would undoubtedly tend towards an increased building programme by Japan.

4. An improvement in Sino-Japanese relations is the established policy of Japan and in the long run will profoundly affect the position.

5. It has been said that Japan insists on the recognition of Man Chu Kuo. Man Chu Kuo is, however, an established fact.

CHINA'S PROGRESS AND CHINA'S NEEDS*

BY H.E. MR. QUO TAI-CHI

I SHOULD like to present to you the record of China in economic reconstruction as a prospective pillar of security in the world's future programme. In 1931 the National Economic Council was created as a reconstruction organ of the National Government, and though obviously it was necessary to fit the pattern to the cloth every dollar of national funds that could possibly be found for it has ever since been devoted to the forwarding of its programme. The programme has been elaborately conceived, but careful selection of first projects has always been made, in the first instance, to meet the most immediate needs, and, in the second instance, to dovetail into existing conditions, as in the case of roads and dykes especially, so that the expenditure should link already useful but isolated construction into a comprehensive and continuous system. Roads and dykes and bridges, and railways and civilian aviation and ships, wireless plants and long-distance telephones have been pushed intelligently and consistently for the opening up of communications, with all the advantages to commerce, popular welfare, political administration, international access, and general culture that ampler communication can afford. Dykes to keep out the water of floods, and irrigation to let in the water to semi-fertile and even arid districts have been pressing problems in these recent years of flood and drought and work has centred on them. But as an instance of the broader programme, the year 1936 is to see the railroad connecting Hankow and Canton in actual operation throughout after twenty-seven years of interrupted construction. The establishment of electrical plants for lighting and power and of water-works for domestic improvements in health and convenience is proceeding apace in the various cities.

The fundamental question always for China, the welfare of her preponderant agricultural population, is being dealt with in the new consideration being given to revision of land tenures, in the outlets provided for mass migration to newly irrigated areas, and in the thorough overhaul of cotton and tea and silk culture, from the questions of soil and seed to grading and co-operative marketing. Afforestation and livestock improvement are also in the actual development programme. The growth of basic and secondary industries too is slow but sure. This persistent economic pro-

* Based on the author's speech at the National Peace Congress in London on June 28, 1935.

gramme, not yet so ample as it will become, and yet surprisingly ample and successful in these years of stress, has been aided by experts from various nations and by experts recommended by the League of Nations upon the invitation of the Chinese Government. But the increasing technical personnel of Chinese experts is the backbone of the programme. China's feet are set in the ways of a well-conceived and well-advanced economic reconstruction. The world recognizes it, the facts justify the recognition, and every possible encouragement, I may be permitted to say, has been earned.

The problems of currency, of banking and of credit facilities constitute a field in which the Chinese Government has encountered special difficulties—difficulties in silver that could hardly have been anticipated and that have been piled upon the normal crushing difficulties of this present abnormal world. The services of the League of Nations experts have been most useful in the fields of communication, public health, education, conservancy and agriculture, and also the visit of Brigadier-General Hammond, who has been released from his duties with the Great Western Railway for a term of four months in the interests of Chinese railways, which is now taking place. Moreover, we Chinese especially feel that the impending visit of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross will be regarded as an earnest of British will to co-operation as well as immeasurable technical service.

The improved position of Chinese obligations here in the City of London during the past two years indicates the sound progress in China. China's record in dealing with her difficulties and her obligations has earned and received the appreciation of the City, because among "the problems and policies of China in their bearing upon general international relations and the prospects of peace," the creation of conditions within China, and relations with China internationally by which her supreme importance as a market can be realized must rank as among the very first of the world's immediate problems. Distribution and consumption can nowhere else in the world have so beneficial and prompt national and international results. The meanings for welfare and for peace are startling in their simplicity and possible immediacy.

On the political and administrative sides China since 1927 has given steady proof of improvement. The long tenure of the National Government of China is in itself a great blessing in a world of so many upsets. What government in the world can give a better showing of continuance and consistent practice under anything like equal difficulties? Its very success may be its peril, but it has done much better than merely hold its own through eight years, and as a political factor in the world it has thus earned the world's appreciation as well as its own people's.

It has increased its specific administrative discipline in the central provinces and has extended the range of its governmental influence south-east, south-west, north-west, and otherwise in the vast and varied area of all China with one or two malignant exceptions. It has met the aggression from without and the Communist disturbances within its own population. It has been wary, at once steadfast and prudent, in dealing with both domestic and foreign affairs. Its Fabian policy has been the creation of its necessities, but there has been the patience and far-sightedness of genuine statesmanship in circumstances that would have made futile melodrama a relief to the administrators and the Chinese people. The test and proof of a great nation is that it can endure emersions, dismemberments, delays in fruition, faint-heartedness of friends, disasters inflicted by Mother Nature, and yet at long last reassert itself; that it can contain contradictory elements and merge them; that it can receive alien cultures and extract from them instead of submitting to them; that it can encourage the faculty of self-criticism and yet so believe in itself that it knows the world will not in the long run acquiesce in anything but its freest development. By all these angles of definition the administration of China in these recent years has lived up to the requirements of statesmanship for a great nation in difficult times. It is heartening to note recognition of this from impressively diverse sources. All the difficulties of the National Government have been, taken as a whole, without parallel as an infliction upon any nation in an equal space of time, let alone a nation working out its new social, economic and political systems simultaneously, after paralyzing generations of imperial misrule, and its republican beginnings in the stress of a war that shook the world and handicapped normal international co-operation, and was speedily to be followed by a world depression.

Nevertheless, the policy of independent though internationally co-operative reconstruction will be pursued with every ounce of stubbornness in the Chinese disposition. The motive is social amelioration as much as national organization. We have set out to accomplish not only national integration, but a better way of living for every individual of our vast population. We mean to avoid in such a programme the obvious mistakes and excesses that have been made apparent in the world's industrial development, but we are much more concerned to remedy our own mistakes and neglects of the past. Mass education, of which I might say much as to the actual progress achieved that would surprise you as showing the eagerness and adaptability of even adult Chinese, is a factor in this social programme. The complete eradication within a measurable period of poppy cultivation and the manufacture and sale of opium derivatives anywhere in China's territories is at the

very heart of our determination. For this we shall have to count on international co-operation even readier and more drastic than that we already have. Especially we will have to fight any political relation between opium and encroachments, and see that the enfeebling effects of narcotics shall not be systematically used in border territories to undermine the feeling of resistance in our populations anywhere, and that nowhere in China's interior any locality shall be permitted that might, for the transient illicit gain of a local functionary, military or civilian, introduce or extend the pernicious habit. But mass education, public health measures, and narcotics extermination are matters that must march along with better food, better dwellings, better clothing, more comforts, a few luxuries, more sense of leisure and a deeper sense of economic security in every Chinese family. I should not like to be regarded as talking in platitudes or in a manner of vague benevolence. Nobody appreciates more than we Chinese the difficulties of China's economic reconstruction and the long row ahead to hoe. But we are not daunted by the difficulties and we are avoiding any delay in securing immediate results in our programme, however circumscribed it may be by present circumstances.

Finally, I would allude to a great matter in the intercourse among the nations, that is the underpinning of "general international relations and the prospects of peace," as your agenda phrases it, which is of particular importance to China. It concerns political morality, international good faith, political and juridical soundness, and is perhaps the most fundamental consideration to have its proper place in this National Peace Congress. For the essential difficulty and flaw in the whole international situation, the undermined prop that used to support all conceptions of peace and security, is the significance that attaches to treaties, the reliance on peace and security that can be confidently assumed for treaties. Not for the securing of treaties, but the relying upon them after they are signed, sealed, and delivered. Upon the analogy of the cynical saying that "language was made to conceal thoughts," there is observable a tendency these days to assume that treaties are made to conceal intentions, and that their plain language can with retained credit be ingeniously construed and their valid implications nullified. The question of international good faith arises. Willingness to fulfil obligations as well as to assume them is involved. The fact of a treaty means that fulfilling it may sometimes come to be inconvenient or even dangerous. That is the very reason treaties are made, for times of inconvenience and danger. It would be idle to pretend that treaty-making has not suffered in general esteem as a method of security and peace by reason of the recent history of treaty fulfilment, or treaty evasion, not to speak of treaty violation. China may have suffered from

this more than most countries, but it has dilapidated the whole structure of international peace. The restoration of unequivocal values to treaties is essential for the security and peace of the whole world. Such restoration will be an earnest of greater co-operation and more wholesome interdependability in many other matters than the matters the treaties may cover. A treaty torn up or a treaty denounced is better than a treaty devitalized. We have heard rather too much about the minimum interpretation of treaties. Treaties have a background. Major political treaties have invariably moral political elements, implied where not explicit. They are not assumed to use a formula of terms with the intent of thereafter whittling down their clear import and consequences. Treaties connote ample good faith, and the adjective is as important as the noun. Major political treaties are not cheese-paring instruments. They are not monuments to sharp practices. The points to be stretched and strained should surely be in their favour and not against them, in the light of their intent and purport. Treaties are living organisms. More than that, they are also organs of the international body politic, and injury to such an organ is injury to the entire body. If an organ bleeds from injury it does not bleed by itself alone, but the whole system is diminished of life-giving flow. China's history of the last few years has taught all of us that lesson. Not treaties themselves, not more treaties, but *regard* for treaties, courage and good faith in the treaties we have, is the very condition of our keeping the sanity and health of international political life. That is the only way by which treaties prevent wars. Otherwise, as we are supine with regard to them, they do but breed wars as we timidly try to retreat from them. . . .

We have to seek other ways of confidence among the nations, or we shall all return to international anarchy and perish. For China that other way lies in economic reconstruction and international co-operation. Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the Executive Yuan of the Chinese Government and concurrently China's Foreign Minister, says in his book that has recently been published: "The fundamental solution of national ills cannot be effected by force of arms, but only by the development of the productive power of the people. That is why I have so often pointed out the urgent necessity of developing national productivity as a fundamental solution of our difficulties. . . . But how is a people's productivity to be increased? My reply is that the first necessity is that the people be given an opportunity to lead a peaceful life and fully enjoy the fruits of their labours. . . . In a word, in trying to strengthen our power of resistance we must go deeper down to the fundamental questions of political and social adjustments. For on their solution depends our power to increase

national productivity, and, in turn, our proper military preparedness. . . . China has enemies, but she has also many friends, and them we ask to watch our struggle for national salvation in understanding of and sympathy with our aspirations as a free, progressive, and peace-loving people." I could wish that you might all find occasion to read Premier Wang's book of sixteen chapters, *China's Problems and Their Solution*. The book is without circumlocution and without special pleading; it gets down to bed-rock and it gives one a sense of working through the problems instead of merely viewing them. I venture to say that few leaders of their country in a time of stress have ever presented to their fellow-countrymen a diagnosis so sober and critical and yet fundamentally so encouraging. Courage is not enough, and vision is not enough, and Premier Wang has succeeded in adding to these qualities practical analysis and a working fortitude. China's need is to have her sovereignty, her independence, and her territorial and administrative integrity respected and guarded, thus to be left free to develop further her stable and effective government, her internal consolidation, and her economic reconstruction. China's need is also the world's need. A strong China is a tower of strength for the peace of the world, as well as of Asia alone. She is non-aggressive, peace-loving, and industrious. A democratic China is a main pillar in the world's structure of democracy. A prosperous China is the major element in restoring prosperity for all the trading nations. In China's security rest the hopes of world peace. China's policy is the principle of the Good Neighbour, broadly as well as closely conceived, and it is only the principle of the Good Neighbour, in feeling and thought as well as in act, that can save the world.

JAPAN CROSSES THE GREAT WALL

By C. C. WANG, PH.D., LL.D.

(Former Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway)

THE Tangku armistice of 1933 gave China a respite which the Nanking Government have utilized in clearing off the Communists in the lower Yangtse Valley, where they had set up an independent Government since 1930. Considerable success has been achieved, and China was growing steadily more united. "There were signs," to quote Sir Samuel Hoare, "of progress towards order and stability, and the success of the Central Government's campaign contributed towards the extension of its authority and influence."* Last January the Japanese Government appeared to hold out an olive branch to China, and in April they paid China the compliment of raising the status of the Japanese Legation in China to that of an Embassy. Almost at the very moment when the official banquet was held, on June 1, in celebration of the exchange of ambassadors between China and Japan, and when Mr. Ariyoshi, Japan's first Ambassador to China, was explaining his country's good intentions towards China, a spokesman of the Japanese Army broadcasted to the world that Chinese "insincerity," "pin-pricking," and "provocation" have once more exhausted the patience of the Japanese Army, and that these declarations were immediately followed by action. The speed of the Japanese Army's hammer-blows was not less amazing than their ruthlessness. Fourteen demands were presented on May 30; another six were delivered on June 9. Among other things, these demands included the dismissal of the Governor of Hopei Province and the withdrawal of the troops under his command as well as the troops of the Central Government. For three consecutive days several hundred Japanese soldiers, with tanks, armoured cars, and trench mortars, demonstrated outside the Governor's office and fired several blank shots with the mortar guns.

Another important demand is the suppression of the Kuomintang—the party which has for the last fifteen years been the basis of the whole Chinese Government system, like the Fascist party in Italy or the Nazi party in Germany. The Japanese argument, as given by General Isogai, Japanese military attaché at Peiping, is that a single party system is most suitable for China. The Kuomintang, the general argues, as is reported in the press, is Nationalist; therefore it is anti-Japanese; therefore it must be suppressed.

* *News Chronicle*, June 18, 1935.

At the same time a Japanese major flew to the headquarters of the leading Mongol Prince of Inner Mongolia and demanded, among other things, the right to establish an aerodrome, a wireless station, as well as the removal of the Prince's headquarters and the political Council to a place designated by the Japanese Army.

As soon as these demands concerning Hopei Province had been complied with, new demands were put forth, this time by Colonel Takahasi, assistant military attaché at Peiping, insisting upon China's compliance with all the demands not only in fact but by writing. This final demand drove away General Ho Ying-chin, Acting Chairman of the Political Council at Peiping.

While the atmosphere was thus charged with tension, fresh demands were made by the Kwantung Army in Jehol against Chahar Province. In view of the dangerous situation inside the Great Wall, the Chahar question, according to the *London Times* report from Tokyo of June 16, was settled by Governor Sung Che-yuan's unconditional acceptance of Japan's demands to punish the officials responsible for the incarceration of four Japanese on June 6, to suppress anti-Japanese movements, and to give guarantees for the future control of anti-Japanese elements. But no sooner had Governor Sung accepted these demands than the Japanese Army put forth new and more serious demands, this time including the removal of the Governor himself as well as that of his troops as a punishment for Governor Sung's slowness in meting out the punishments. For several days this demand appeared to be too much for the Chinese Government, but finally Nanking had to give in.

Thus within a fortnight the Japanese Army accomplished by demands and threats the phenomenal feat of dismissing all the important officials, including the governors, of two provinces with an area about twice the size of England, Scotland, and Wales, and a population of about 40,000,000, the removal of the provincial and Central Chinese Government troops from the two provinces, the extension of the demilitarized area, the abolition of the Kuomintang, and the right to construct aerodromes and wireless stations at several strategic points.

The most striking feature of the crisis is the manner in which Japanese generals, colonels, and majors in China, ignoring the usual diplomatic channels, dictated their demands to the Chinese authorities, doubtless under common orders from Tokyo but with complete freedom of personal utterance.*

A number of complaints against China's "insincerity" in general terms were put forth, but the only concrete case cited as the immediate cause for the Japanese Army's drastic action against

* *The Times*, June 25, 1935.

Chahar was the detention at Changpei in Chahar Province of four special service men belonging to the Kuantung Army, according to press reports. These men, without any passports or other papers of identification, while trying to obtain petrol at Changpei, north of Kalgan, were questioned for several hours before being allowed to return to Ichol. This detention of the four Japanese officers was taken to be a challenge to the Japanese Army. In this connection, it may be interesting to recall that almost at the same time when the retention of the four Japanese special service men travelling without passports was considered as a serious offence by the Japanese Army, two ships, the *Christina Moro* and the *Salvador*, reported to be of British registry, which put in at Kaiko, Formosa, owing to shortage of water, were detained not for hours, but several days by the Japanese authorities.* Apparently the Japanese authorities did not realize that their action regarding the two ships could be considered by others as a much more serious offence than the detention of four Japanese special service men without passports.

The specific case given for the drastic action against Hopei Province was the murder of two Chinese newspapermen in the Japanese Concession at Tientsin. Colonel Sakai, the chief of staff of the Japanese garrison at Tientsin, strongly condemned the murder as a breach of international agreement, a "deliberate anti-foreign action," and "a challenge to the Japanese Army." The Colonel explained that the two Chinese newspapermen were pro-Japanese and were in the employment of the Japanese Army, and that their murder was a violation of the Tangku truce, which provides that Japanese Army employees shall not be molested.

We much regret the murder of the two Chinese newspapermen. But we must call attention to the fact that the Japanese concession at Tienstin, where the murder was committed, is garrisoned and patrolled by Japanese military and police forces. It is difficult to understand the Japanese logic in complaining against the Chinese authorities for crimes committed in a place entirely beyond their jurisdiction.

In reply to criticism of Japan's action, Japanese writers are apt to tell us that what Japan is doing in China is similar to what Great Britain has done in the past in Egypt. As China is not able to defend herself and no other Power is in a position to help her, Japan must seize the heaven-sent opportunity to step into China and consolidate the position, as Great Britain did in Egypt and the United States in Panama and Haiti. This argument is in part convincing, because one must admit that there are certain similarities. But the similarities do not go far enough to justify the comparison, because the advantageous position of Great Britain in Egypt and that of the United States in Panama are secured under

* *Manchester Guardian*, June 13, 1935.

entirely different treaty obligations. Neither Great Britain nor the United States at the time were bound by any treaty, such as the Kellogg Pact, the League Covenant, and the Washington Treaties, which explicitly prohibit what Japan has been doing in China in failing to respect her territorial integrity. For Japan to claim justification of her action in China on the ground of British or American precedent, is very much like a Londoner or a New Yorker today trying to justify polygamy by citing Jacob's marriage of Leah and Rachel.

A most significant fact in connection with this latest crisis is that the Chinese Government did not even protest to the League of Nations, from which Japan has withdrawn, or to the governments signatory to the Nine-Power treaty which bound these Powers to respect the territorial and administrative integrity of China. The only and obvious reason for the Chinese Government's silence is the fear that such representation would only draw fresh lightning on their heads without any tangible hope of securing any substantial help. "The Chinese Government has learnt from bitter experience," as Mr. Vernon Bartlett, diplomatic correspondent of the *News Chronicle*, said, "that each new and vain demand for help from the Western Powers merely encourages the Japanese to take yet more ruthless action." Therefore, the Nanking Government decided to keep silent, for fresh hostility with such a mighty Power as Japan would break up the union of Central China which they have so painfully achieved. Already several news agencies have reported indications of Japanese activities in Kwangsi and other parts of China to ferment disunion. Moreover, each of the Powers that signed the Washington Treaty—or, for that matter, the League Covenant or the Paris Pact—knows full well that it has a definite obligation at least to discuss what steps should be taken to stop Japanese aggression. There is therefore a good reason for Nanking not to send any formal reminder to these Powers or the League of Nations, since the only result to be expected would be a hardening of Japanese terms with, at best, only some mild protest on the part of the Western Powers.

Naturally nations with interests in the Pacific are once more alarmed. To quieten down matters, Japan, as before, has given ample assurances of her good intentions in China and her fervent desire to respect all her treaty obligations. General Doilhara, the leading figure in recent events, declared emphatically that Japan has no territorial designs on the Peking-Tientsin region; and describes Japan's aim as "the establishment of a stable pro-Japanese influence in North China." The only reason for scepticism is that one has often heard similar assurances in the past concerning Manchuria and Jehol.

The immediate effect on China is that the prestige of the

Chinese Government has been sorely shaken. China will continue to hold the Provinces of Hopei and Chahar; but she will hold them on sufferance, with weakened forces, and with officials nominated by Japanese soldiers, whose chief pre-occupation will, by the nature of things, be the avoidance of any ground for dispute with the Japanese. The effect of this severe reverse to China's prestige and influence in Inner Mongolia and the distant provinces can easily be foreseen. What is more, the weakening of the influence of the Central Government in Hopei and Chahar is bound to lead in time to disorders which the Kuantung Army might consider as justification for a military occupation.* Therefore, the drawing of the curtain on the recent episode may signify not the end but an interval in the drama.

But what we are anxious to know is: What will be the ultimate consequence? To answer this question we must remove all camouflage and look at the stark facts, which clearly show that there are only two ways open to Japan and China. One is a genuine friendship. This requires mutual respect and mutual understanding. To this end, the Lytton Commission has clearly pointed the way, by the adoption of which Japan will secure all her legitimate interests in Manchuria and will instantly dispel hostile feelings. If Japan does not like the idea of international control as recommended by the Lytton Commission, then some country with no direct interest in the matter, such as Norway, Sweden, or Switzerland, could be asked to supply the administrative machinery and the administrators in place of the International Commission. At any rate, if there is the will there certainly can be found a proper way to meet the situation.

The other course is that which is followed by Japan today. We must remember that Japan is a powerful nation, that she has long adopted an expansionist policy, that she has a multiplying population which is at once the source of her strength and the cause of her ambition, and that the present seems to be a heaven-sent opportunity for the carrying out of her ambition. In three short years, and with practically no loss in a military sense, Japan has conquered Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, with an area as large and resources as rich as those of Germany, France, Italy, and Spain and Portugal combined, with Hopei and Chahar Provinces (about twice the size of England, Wales, and Scotland) lying, demilitarized, at her mercy.

Moreover, as Japan's position in China has been built up with the use of force and maintained by might, territorial conquests will only lead to new defence problems, and the latter, in turn, is apt to lead to further territorial expansion. This is clearly shown by recent events. The defence of South Manchuria led to the

* London, *The Times*, June 11, 1935.

occupation of North Manchuria, the defence of all Manchuria led to the occupation of Jehol and Inner Mongolia, and more recently the defence of the latter led to the *de facto* if not *de jure* occupation of Hopei and Chahar. These are natural steps which have been foretold years ago.

There is a possibility, if not a probability, that this march of events may lead to further expansion of Japanese influence, if not the actual military occupation, of the whole Chinese republic. This can be brought about in two ways. Firstly, Japanese agents both official and private might bring constant pressure to bear upon the Nanking authorities so that only candidates friendly to Japan are appointed to certain posts, and that Nanking's policies concerning economic, military, tariff, as well as international questions will have to be phrased to please Japan. The press and the articulate public would have to fall in line. In the second place, local officials in the different provinces might be constantly reminded of the measures taken with regard to General Yu Hsueh-Chung, Governor of Hopei, and General Sung Cheh-yuan, Governor of Chahar, for their failure to please the Japanese. As these two Governors are well known to be capable leaders with excellent records, their fate is bound to serve as a vivid lesson.

The net result would be hatred, disorder, and more military force. The Chinese market would be largely monopolized by Japan. With her position in Manchuria consolidated, and with the increased revenues from larger portions of China, Japan would be in a position to take further steps either in a northerly or southern direction. In the event of the former, Japan's extension would be practically as near to Alaska as France is to England. In the event of the latter step, Japanese influence would approach that of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands. But let us hope that such unpleasant things may not come to pass.

Within a few years Japan's position might be so consolidated and become so strategically unassailable that some major Powers might be inclined to forget Geneva and find an interest and justification for trying to secure Japan's friendship even by the recognition of "Manchukuo." The stark fact is that if the nations cannot see and go far enough to combine for collective security, they are bound to resort to nineteenth-century diplomacy of secret alliances against antagonistic groups, the result of which in the past has been wars. China still believes in the collective system for peace as stipulated in the League Covenant. The Chinese people have learned by bitter experience and are more ready than ever to do their best before it is too late. They have a genuine desire for an understanding with Japan, but such a friendship would naturally require to be based on mutual respect.

INDIAN VILLAGE WELFARE ASSOCIATION

EASTER SCHOOL, 1935

THE Indian Village Welfare Association held its fourth annual Easter School this year at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, from April 8 to 11.

The School had the privilege and encouragement of being opened by its President, Viscountess Halifax. The Chairman, Sir Francis Younghusband, presided before his departure for America, when his place was taken by Mr. P. B. Haigh.

Addresses were delivered on the various aspects of rural life in India—agricultural, educational, and hygienic. Discussions on such social problems as child marriage and money-lending were also held. The numbers in attendance amounted to 92, which included 39 I.C.S. probationers and 4 vice-principals from the India Office. The Easter School is a social occasion—a large house party, where apart from lectures and discussions opportunity is afforded for informal intercourse between those who have spent their lives in India and those going out to serve.

In his opening lecture on the afternoon of April 8, Lord Dufferin dealt with the problems of rural India, which he considered were hygienic and economic rather than political. Much was done by the Government to further agriculture, but marketing schemes required to be further developed and co-ordinated. The prevalence of disease in the villages was deplorable. Throughout the world the mosquito was a destructive force to men's ambitions, and the conquest of malaria was a difficult matter, but simpler remedies were possible for other diseases, and could be carried out by those on the spot in whom the villager had confidence.

An improved standard of life would lead to a reduced birthrate, as had been the case in other countries. Rising standards again depended on education, in particular that of girls. Broadcasting was an important instrument for rural education. In Siam much Government propaganda to improve the condition of the peasantry had been made possible by this means. The difficulties associated with it were not insuperable.

The same evening an informal discussion was opened by Dr. H. Mann, who maintained that the place of the money-lender in India was not as yet entirely filled. He helped in emergency, acted as banker and shopkeeper, and was often the only person in the village who could keep accounts. In the course of the discus-

sion it was stated that the presence of co-operative societies was a brake upon the rates of interest charged by the money-lender even where they did not entirely eliminate him.

In his address on agriculture on April 9, Mr. Plymen paid a tribute to the Linlithgow Report, on whose valuable recommendation so little action had been taken owing to financial reasons. He spoke of the problems of sub-divided holdings. Mutual consent to their consolidation was necessary for their reform. The soil in India, with the exception of some provinces, was poor, and the difficulty of obtaining good seed was great; there existed no seed market and no firm like Suttons. It was also difficult to improve the quality of animals, largely owing to the fact that they had only draught value. He considered wireless an important development. Village life was dull; entertainment as well as advice was desirable. Too great a variety of advice in the village was given and more co-ordination was necessary. Opportunities for higher education in agricultural subjects should be available, and should be on a level equal to that provided for other callings.

Sir Abdur Qadir, who presided, urged upon the probationers the need for closer contact between the District Officer and his subordinates, and the people of the village.

At the afternoon session the same day, Sir Philip Hartog delivered an address on education. He stated that 50 per cent. of the primary schools of India were single-teacher schools. The teacher might be obliged to take two, three, or even four classes simultaneously. The pay was extremely low, and in Bengal averaged £7 12s. per annum. The increase of scholars since 1919 was encouraging, but the wastage was appalling. Only 18 per cent. of the boys reached class four, where they attained literacy. Amongst girls only 10 per cent. reached the fourth class. He stressed the need for the education of girls, which was of even more vital urgency than that of boys, and received only one-seventh the financial support given by Government to that of boys.

Compulsion could be applied effectively in rural areas where the system of primary education was satisfactorily organized as in the Punjab. In that province single-teacher schools were linked up with larger two-class schools, and then with four-class and with middle vernacular schools. The middle vernacular schools created the teacher. Their expansion was necessary for a sufficient supply of primary school-teachers and was the key to the improvement of village education. Where local authorities were left without central control, education frequently suffered.

There were two critics of education in India—the ultra-British and the ultra-Indian—neither was right. India could not be isolated from Western culture and would not be denationalized by

it, although its own culture should be fostered. The national leaders of India had a great task before them, both moral and intellectual.

Lord Lugard, who took the chair, spoke of the policy of the new education in Africa, where the school was becoming a community centre. Grants from Government depended less on the results of examinations and more on the numbers and qualifications of the staff. Mr. Griffith, an educationalist from Bengal, and Miss Sarangi, an Inspectress from Bihar, urged the need for an encouraging relationship between the District Officer and the schools, in particular the girls' schools.

An informal discussion on village welfare work was opened by Bishop and Mrs. Whitehead the same evening. Bishop Whitehead spoke of the value of drama in the villages as a means of health propaganda. Mr. O. H. B. Starte, Backward Class Officer in Bombay Presidency, Mr. Herbert Manson, and a number of workers home on leave, took part in the discussion, and described local experiments in village welfare. Future District Officers were exhorted to attend baby shows.

A lecture on rural economy which is being published in the present issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* was delivered the following day by Sir Alan Pim, the chair being taken by Sir George Schuster. Sir Alan compared the economic position of rural India with that of Swaziland, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and the Protectorate of Zanzibar, in all of which approximately the same percentage of the population depended on agriculture as in India. In Africa, however, agriculture was more dependent on external markets. There was no ancient and complex civilization as in India, and the social organization was purely tribal. Tribal customs, however, often presented greater hindrances to progress than did caste. There was much idleness, and destruction of arable land was a serious problem. The Arab, with his goats and camels, was the father as well as the son of the desert. The attempt had been made to replace tribal by individual tenure. Holdings were, however, often too small to keep a family without intensive cultivation, which was to them impossible.

Co-operation and marketing were greatly needed. In India the movement had for long been chiefly confined to credit as a deliverance from the money-lender. Co-operative purchase, sale, and "better living" came as a later development. Under South African conditions this order should be reversed.

In Africa, as in India, the supreme factor was the human factor. Technical advancement could not bring welfare without the driving force of the peasant himself.

Sir George Schuster stated that Africa had more to learn from India than *vice versa*. He considered that the rapid changes in

India in recent years were chiefly confined to urban India and did not extend to the villages. The difficulty was to keep rural India in contact with recent advances. The boredom of village life was a real problem. He spoke highly of the co-operative methods employed on Sir Daniel Hamilton's estates in Bengal. The true spirit of co-operation should extend far beyond provision of credit, which was the least important object.

Sir Selwyn Fremantle, in the discussion, urged the formation of panchayets as a key to advance. Their duties should include sanitation, the making of bridges, education, improvement of cattle, etc., they should co-ordinate the work of the departments on the spot, and required a definite income which should be raised by taxation. The District Officer should guide and control the existing panchayets.

Dr. Mann stated that the biggest problem was a psychological one. The peasant required to be given hope, to look forward to an improvement in his condition. Capital as represented by money was lacking in the village, but capital as represented by labour was present in abundance. He spoke of the injury to the soil caused by erosion. In a Bombay village the inhabitants constructed in their spare time an embankment to store water from the monsoon, and thus improved the soil. If labour were properly utilized it should not be impossible to increase production by 50 per cent.

In the absence of Lord Goschen, Sir Malcolm Seton presided at the afternoon session on health. The lecturer, Sir Rickard Christophers, spoke of the prevalence of disease in the village, and the lack of medical relief. He dealt with measures to abate the major diseases. To combat plague more help with the destruction of rats was required from the villager. Houses should be made as rat-proof as possible. The prevalence of malaria presented great difficulties. Villages were surrounded by pits and depressions where anopheles could breed. The Ceylon epidemic was small in comparison to many which had occurred in Northern India. Engineering operations were necessary to prevent endemic malaria, associated with floods after the monsoon. India was the only country where cholera was constantly present. Protected wells were a necessity. There was need of a Ministry of Health to co-ordinate the various efforts to improve the health of India.

Dr. Agnes Scott, former Chief Medical Officer of the Women's Medical Service, who opened the discussion, pointed out that the foundation of health was laid in infancy. She described the life of the village woman, whose time was so largely spent in an un-ventilated mud-hut, cooking over a smoky fire. She was entirely without medical help, and during her confinements was in the hands of an old, dirty, and untrained dai. The Government gave

a small grant of 3½ lakhs to the Dufferin Fund for the provision of medical aid to the women of India. Hospitals for women were needed in every large town, and there should also be centres for the training of dais.

Dr. Kathleen Vaughan said that disease continued in India largely because of the state of the Zenanas, and the ignorance of the women.

At the final session, at which Dr. Mann presided, an address was given by Miss Eleanor Rathbone on methods to overcome the evil of child marriage. She referred to the findings of the Joshi Committee as to its widespread prevalence and terrible effects. The Sarda Act had failed because of the lack of educational propaganda before it was passed, while adverse propaganda had been rampant. The result was an increase of between five and six million child marriages. The Act itself was weak, and did not provide for prevention, but merely penalized the marriage. The court should have power to issue injunctions to prevent marriages. This had already been done in some districts in the Bombay Presidency. The court should take the initiative and prosecute on information obtained from private sources. Registration of births and marriages was necessary. Educational propaganda might be done by various means. Explanatory leaflets in English and the Vernacular (such as have been distributed in India by the Indian Village Welfare Association) should be issued to headmen, teachers, missionaries, and organizations in general.

A number of Indian probationers took an active and progressive share in the discussion which followed, and one of them declared that they were going out in the nick of time to cope with this evil.

In a stirring final speech, Dr. Mann exhorted those going to serve not to be satisfied with a C3 race in India, but to give their services to the people and work for an A1 population.

A. R. CATON.

RURAL ECONOMICS IN INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA: A COMPARISON

BY SIR ALAN PIM, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

DURING the last ten years the pace of change in India has been so bewilderingly rapid that it is very difficult for anyone whose direct contact with Indian conditions ceased five years ago to make any confident statements about the facts, economic or political, of the India of today. It is the more difficult as the local factors affecting rural prosperity all over the world are being more and more overshadowed by the fiscal and other expedients adopted by many countries for the purpose of what Sir Daniel Hall has described as "freezing their peasant social structures." Exporting countries have adopted such fantastic expedients as Brazil burning coffee and the United States ploughing up cotton and paying bounties for reducing the number of hogs. For the preservation of the farmer France keeps the internal price of wheat at three times the export price, Czechoslovakia makes its own people pay more than four times the export price of its sugar, South Africa keeps the internal price of wheat at double the world price and pays export bounties on its dairy produce and various other articles, and almost every little British Colony wants to work in the same direction. When even in Great Britain similar expedients have been adopted rural economics in the wider sense becomes a problem far too complicated for the layman. My aim must therefore be a much more modest one, and as I have had an opportunity during the last four years of seeing at close quarters the economic position in five agricultural or pastoral colonies, including the three South African British Territories of Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Basutoland and the Protectorate of Zanzibar, I thought that it might be of interest to compare with Indian conditions some of the economic problems which confront them and which are for the most part the same problems which arise in India, but in simpler forms owing to differing circumstances and less developed social structures.

All are agricultural and pastoral countries, and in India 73 per cent. of the population in its 685,000 villages depend on these pursuits. Agriculture is therefore necessarily mainly of the self-subsistence type, only modified to a small extent by modern improvements in transport, though jute, cotton, wheat, and oil seeds are produced for the world market.

A large proportion of village transactions are still carried out by barter, or in kind, and there has been a tendency to revert to this system as the result of the catastrophic fall in prices and the resultant increase in the burden of taxes, rent and debt. This was an alternative to the wholesale reduction of rents, and in the United Provinces, for example, these have been reduced by over 4 crores of rupees or three million pounds.

The territories which I have visited are—with the exception of British Honduras—even more exclusively agricultural and pastoral, with an insignificant internal market. Their arable cultivation is almost entirely of the subsistence type, but they depend to a much larger extent than India on external markets for selling some of their products. Zanzibar must sell its cloves, Honduras its mahogany and chewing gum, the South African Territories their cattle and dairy products, wool and mohair, and above all their labour, in outside markets.

In many respects their circumstances are in striking contrast to those of India.

India has its ancient and complex civilization, with a very considerable differentiation of functions. Each village tends to be self-contained, more especially those distant from large centres of population. In each will usually be found some persons holding permanent rights in land, either as owners, or as tenants with hereditary rights. Of these some cultivate all they hold; others let out to tenants, generally on a yearly agreement, a part or the whole of their lands. Below them are the agricultural labourers, usually of different castes, and often cultivating a field or two in addition to working as labourers. Some are hereditary village servants giving their services for customary dues. In all but the smallest villages there are artisans supplying the traditional agricultural implements, and there may very probably be craftsmen, more especially weavers. There are probably traders and moneylenders with organized markets, though a good many of their practices would have been described in a less polite age as forestalling and regrating. Although many transactions are carried out in kind, there is an old standing money economy. There is an established agricultural tradition, including the use of the plough, which is really a cultivator in the Western sense, and skill in the use of water for irrigation where this is available. Cultivation is in general carried on by men, though in some castes women play a considerable part, and the Jatni, for example, is as good as any ordinary man. Religion, caste, and custom play a very large part in controlling economic activities, but there is a living tradition of co-operation for purposes of general advantage often finding expression in panchayats either for the village as a whole or for subdivisions of it, castes more especially. The density of the population is in general

high for an agricultural country, 248 per square mile in British India as compared with 394 in Japan, about 250 in China, 192 in France, and 35 in the U.S.A. The average holdings are therefore small, and even in the Punjab 22·5 per cent. of the cultivators have one acre or less, 15·4 per cent. between 1 and 2·5 acres, 17·5 per cent. between 2½ and 5 acres. Similarly, in China 36 per cent. are estimated to hold less than 1·5 acres, and in Japan only 25 per cent. hold over 2·5 acres. Taking a reasonable plough duty as a standard the large majority of the holdings are not of economic size, and in spite of a considerable diversity of crops not more than about half the time of the cultivator is fully occupied. His economic freedom—an essential condition of his progress—is limited by his bondage to the moneylender. On the other hand, so far as his caste or social customs permit, he is free to go where he pleases in the continent of India and to take up any work within his capacity. If the necessary organization is provided the markets of the world are open to him so far as there are any open markets nowadays.

The general picture is a very different one in the territories of South Africa. There is no ancient civilization, and the social structure is still practically without differentiation so far as occupations are concerned, though there are marked differences of status, and among the Bechuana some small sections are practically serfs.

The social organization is purely tribal. There may be a Paramount Chief with Subordinate Chiefs as in Swaziland and Basutoland, or a number of separate tribes as in Bechuanaland. They may live in scattered hamlets as in Basutoland, or be for the most part concentrated in a central town under the immediate control of the Chief as in Bechuanaland, but this is to a large extent governed by the water supplies. Under the Chiefs and village headmen the families in the larger native sense are the real social units, and the village as such has no corporate life, though there is a very real tradition of family co-operation, and among full members of the tribe a considerable degree of working communism. There are no village servants and no skilled crafts—contrary to what is found in other parts of Africa. An Indian visitor to South Africa asked a leading Bantu why they did not wear their native dress instead of disreputable European clothes and hats. The answer was that he was afraid they would be run in by the police if they did so. Some pottery and basket work is made, but there is no class depending on such work for a living, and the potters' wheel is unknown in South and I believe also in Central Africa. There are practically no native traders, and such requirements as the peasant farmers cannot make for themselves are supplied by European traders. This is partly because they are still unable to adapt themselves to a money economy and therefore make

most incompetent traders, but also largely because the European traders were first in the field to meet the wants largely created by the missionaries, and they strenuously oppose the granting of trading licences to natives. This position is, however, being slowly rectified.

All the land is tribal property, and the arable land is allotted by the Chiefs or headmen as trustees for the tribe, every married man being entitled to lands, usually three in number—the area of each land averaging $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 acres—two of these are definitely for his wife and family, and the wife is supposed to be consulted about their use. The lands are usually situated in different places. There is no legal security of tenure, but a considerable degree of customary security extending to widows and minor children after the death of a cultivator, always provided that there is no infringement of custom in the methods of cultivation. Arbitrary ejections are, however, by no means unknown when a Chief wants some particularly desirable land. Not long ago a leading Zulu held a land near the kraal of the then Paramount Chief, and it was hinted to him that it would be a graceful act to exchange this for another. He declined to do so. Soon after the Paramount Chief fell ill and the witch doctors were called in consultation. They found it a manifest case of witchcraft, and suspicion fell on the recalcitrant Zulu, as reliable evidence was produced that he had been seen at night riding round the Paramount Chief's kraal on a tiger, as a leopard is called in South Africa. He still declined to move, and was too important to be summarily disposed of. A regrettable incident would probably have followed before long, but the Paramount Chief died.

Compared with India, the population is very sparse; taking the Union as a whole the density was in 1921 14·67 per square mile. Taking special native areas, the density in the Transkei reserve of the Union is about 63 per square mile; in Basutoland the average is 49 and in Bechuanaland it is less than one per square mile. As almost everywhere in Africa the question of communications is therefore a very difficult one. Among the Bantu tribes of South Africa cultivation is of a very primitive character as compared with India. They are pastoral by tradition and by inclination, and men's work has been war, the chase, and the care of cattle. They had no plough of their own, and cultivation was entirely carried on by women with hoes. The introduction of the European reversing plough brought the men into agriculture, and as each plough requires eight oxen, a man to drive, and a boy to walk in front, this has involved a considerable demand on the men and on their stock. The change is by no means an unmixed advantage, and much injury has been caused by plough pan and by the increase of erosion caused by careless ploughing. They can deal

with a much larger area than by the old method of hoe cultivation, but the cleaning and weeding of the crops is not done by the women as carefully as before, and parasitic growths take a heavy toll. Among the Swazis, for example, witchweed destroys about a third of their maize and Kaffir corn. Moreover, the new woman has appeared, and a Bechuana Chief complained bitterly that the educated girls were trying to engineer a general strike of women against their heavy labour in the fields.

Hardly any crops were grown until recently except maize, Kaffir corn and some beans, but a greater variety is now being introduced.

Rotation of crops is not practised, and the application of manure is only beginning. In Basutoland there is no wood or other fuel, and cow dung is burned, as in India. They know nothing about irrigation, but indeed the opportunities in this direction are very limited.

The leeway to be made up is therefore much greater than in India. Tribal custom, moreover, places even more serious obstacles in the way of the enterprising man who wishes to improve his methods and to try new crops than do caste or social customs in India. The land belongs to the tribe, and the individual has no legal rights. All grazing is communal, and by custom everyone is entitled to graze his stock not only on the pastures but also on the cultivated areas as soon as the crops are cut. This includes the grazing on the maize and Kaffir corn stems when the heads are removed. A cultivator is not supposed to collect these stalks for his own use, and the Basuto National Council—which in fact only represents the Chiefs—lately decided that anyone who did this lost his right to share in the communal grazing. If a man sows crops ripening at a later time, or if he fences his lands, he will certainly get into trouble unless he is himself a Chief or man of influence. It is much worse if he plants trees, as this is considered to imply claiming rights in the land. In Basutoland, even if Government plants trees along a road they are pretty certain to be destroyed owing to the intense jealousy with reference to the land. If a man applies new methods and is considered to be too successful he may fall under suspicion of witchcraft.

Further, in most areas but more especially in Bechuanaland, there is a considerable amount of compulsory labour for the Chief or for tribal purposes. This is analogous to the "begar," so familiar in India. In Bechuanaland and Swaziland ploughing is not supposed to start until the Chief gives the order, and the first fruits must not be enjoyed until the necessary ceremonies have been performed at the Chief's kraal.

The path of the pioneer is therefore still not an easy one, though these restrictions are gradually breaking down.

The tribes are, however, primarily pastoral peoples except where, as in parts of Bechuanaland, tsetse fly makes the keeping of cattle impossible, and they must perforce do all their cultivation by hand. The position as regards pasture is much worse than it is as regards arable cultivation. Throughout the Union, except in part of the Transkei, a native area may be recognised by the almost complete destruction of the pasture except during and just after the rains. It is much the same in Swaziland. In Basutoland hundreds of thousands of acres of formerly excellent sheep pasture have lost their grass, and it has been replaced by useless scrub. The absence of all incentive to control the number of stock, owing to the grazing being communal, leads to the same vicious circle as in India as regards the increasing numbers of cattle for transport or cultivation which are not worth their keep. There is the additional incentive to indefinite multiplication that by old custom, in the absence of a money economy, wealth is measured by the number of stock, and quality counts for nothing. Above all, the lobola, or brideprice, takes account of number only. Many efforts have been made to control the numbers of stock in the native areas, both in and outside the Union, but none have had the smallest success. There are no religious difficulties such as in India make it impossible for most cultivators—more especially Muslims—to keep pigs, for all the higher castes to keep fowls, and for most Hindus to go in for scientific cattle breeding. On the other hand communal grazing and communal watering make it practically impossible to maintain any advance effected by the introduction of improved stock, or to counteract the strong influences tending to deterioration. The methods of keeping stock differ according to the physical conditions of the various areas. Unlike India, even plough and transport oxen are never fed, though the season for their heaviest work coincides with that of the poorest pasture.

There is little to compare with the Indian traditional co-operation among the residents of a village and the caste or village panchayats. The real units are not the village or hamlet, but the family in its larger native sense, and above it the tribe or section of the tribe under a separate Chief or headman. Each Chief has his Kgotla or place of assembly where justice is administered and affairs are discussed. Every member of his tribe or section is entitled to attend the Kgotla and speak his mind, and in former times, when the position of the Chiefs depended on the support of their people, the Kgotla system introduced a very considerable element of democracy into tribal government. It is somewhat analogous to the Darbar in an Indian State, but without the same feudal background and much more democratic in its character. Under protection the Kgotla system tends to lose its efficacy, the Chiefs cling

tenaciously to all their rights, and are apt to neglect the corresponding duties. In this again I am afraid that parallels will be found in India. The very primitive system of cultivation, the absence of any village crafts, and the disappearance of hunting and raids have made the time of the men hang very heavily on their hands. Even the old festivals and ceremonial observances tend to disappear. The results of so much idle time are bad both physically and morally. Even for the few who are trained to some skilled craft there is very little scope in their own reserves, more especially as the Chiefs and leading men generally forget to pay them. If they want to go further afield into the Union their prospects of obtaining work are narrowly restricted by the jealousy of the white trade unions and even by legislation. This is an obstacle which does not confront the Indian villager. The fact remains that in no part of South Africa can the average native live and meet his cash obligations on the income from his land. He must have money for his purchases from the European traders, for the payment of his taxes—which are very heavy in proportion to his income—for marriage expenses, for agricultural implements, and for seed. Where he has a surplus of cattle, as in Swaziland and Bechuanaland, he has not free access to the open markets of the Union, and in most cases, therefore, he can only obtain the necessary cash by selling his labour to the gold mines if his physique is sufficiently good, otherwise to the coal mines, to sugar plantations and farms, or to domestic service. More than 50 per cent. of the adult males are always absent on work of these types. They cannot take their families, and a large proportion stay away for several years at a time, often because they do not want to return to tribal control and to the boredom of village life. The effects on tribal life of this large proportion of absentees are increasingly serious. There is nothing analogous to this in India. The old systems of indentured labour corresponded to some extent, but were on a relatively insignificant scale. There is, of course, a great deal of migration of labour for industrial purposes, but I do not know of any detailed studies of its effects on Indian village life, though the subject would be a very interesting one for any student of social problems.

In two respects, however, the position of the Bantu is better than that of the Indian villager. He cannot waste money on litigation, and he is not in bondage to any moneylender. His freedom from this bondage is not due to any strength of character, but to the fact that he cannot pledge his land or give security of any kind. What he would do if his land could be mortgaged or sold is shown by the history of the Griquas of Kokstad in the Eastern Cape and of the Barolong in the Free State. They were given considerable farms with the right of transfer. In a very short time

the farms were gone, exchanged as a rule for a pound or two and some brandy. Similarly, Umbandine, Paramount Chief of Swaziland, gave concessions covering the whole of his country, much of it twice over. His tastes lay chiefly in the direction of greyhounds and gin.

The indebtedness of the Bantu is to the European trader, and many go as far in that direction as their credit will allow. The security is almost purely personal and the standard of honesty has on the whole been a very high one, though it is said to have deteriorated of recent years, partly as the result of hard times. The dishonesty is not always on the side of the native, although most of the traders are of a good type. In many cases natives do not get a fair deal as regards the prices given for their commodities any more than the Indian villager gets from his baniya. They are, however, becoming much more wide awake to their own interests in these matters. One common piece of improvidence is to sell their produce to the trader at harvest, and buy it back later at a much higher price. This may, of course, be a case of necessity as it often is with the Indian villager.

I need not say more on the subject of a general comparison of African and Indian conditions, but there are some special problems which are of great importance, more especially in any agricultural or pastoral country of small farmers. The first of these is the actual destruction of arable land or the deterioration in its fertility. Many parts of the world, but Africa more especially, give impressive illustrations of this tendency to the extension of desert conditions as the result of the operations of man and of his domesticated animals. Shifting cultivation and the destruction of trees is said by some good authorities to be leading to a steady extension southwards of the Sahara desert, and Major Jarvis has lately called attention to the advance of the sand dunes towards the interior of the Sinai peninsula caused by the Arab with his goats and his camels. He is as much the father as the son of the desert. In South Africa the destruction of the arable and pasture by overgrazing and careless cultivation has resulted in such an increase of erosion as to cause serious alarm to those who look ahead, such as General Smuts. About one-tenth of the arable area in the lowlands of Basutoland—and the best tenth—has turned into a network of ravines, and the situation is even worse in parts of the Union where preventive measures are now being taken on an extensive scale. Not only are large areas rendered sterile, but the rainfall is no longer absorbed, and the water runs uselessly to the sea, carrying much of the best soil with it. The general fall in the subsoil water level affects much wider areas, and the heated soil surface deprived of its vegetation appears to tend to bring the rain down in sudden violent storms instead of soaking showers.

In the mountainous areas the tendency to plough up and down hill and the absence of any attempt at terracing results in the rapid extension of erosion, more especially when the overgrazing of the higher slopes allows the water to rush down in destructive freshets.

The most spectacular results of uncontrolled erosion are furnished by the United States, in which the Federal National Resources Board have recently reported that 35 million acres of good farm land have been destroyed, chiefly by gully erosion, 125 million acres severely damaged by surface or sheet erosion, and another 100 million acres are advancing in the same direction. These figures do not include the immense damage to the great western grazing areas. In India the destruction is not on this scale, but even so I venture to think that the Royal Commission on Agriculture has not devoted sufficient attention both to the actual destruction by the ravines along such rivers as the Chambal and Jumna and the much more widespread damage by the sheet erosion removing the better surface soil.

So far as the small farmer is concerned the reduction in the productivity of the soil by continuous cropping without the use of fertilizers is a still more serious problem, and even where—as is apparently the case in India—productivity has reached a minimum with the methods employed and is beginning to rise with better seed and improved methods that minimum is too low to afford a reasonable subsistence. Here again the United States gives an impressive warning, and the Federal Resources Board recommend the withdrawal of some 75 million acres from farming, including cultivation and grazing, and the increase in the areas of smallholders' farms to an economic size. This would involve the displacement of more than half a million people.

Even scientific developments may have their dangers unless all the factors are taken into account. Both India and South Africa can produce large areas rendered useless by over-irrigation or the application of water to tracts with an unsuitable subsoil. The clove industry in Zanzibar has twice been in serious danger from well meant scientific or economic advice which a wider science has shown to have been wrong. Fortunately the Arab owners thought they knew better—and they did.

The next question with which I may deal briefly is that of security of tenure. Many parts of the world have recently illustrated the power of the small producer to meet adverse conditions owing mainly to his small overhead expenses. Two examples in rather special spheres are afforded by the history of the rubber combine in relation to the small producer in Sumatra and the tobacco industry in South Africa as affected by the small growers in Nyassaland and in India. The clove plantations in Zanzibar are another case in point. There the large Arab plantation owners

are being gradually replaced by small Swahili or Manga Arab farmers, who take better care of their plantations and are better able to regulate their expenditure by their income. The small grower may, however, only be able to survive by accepting a very low standard of living, and this is a consideration of great importance for the small grower in western countries.

An essential condition to his making the best of his position is, however, a reasonable degree of security of tenure, and India has a long history of attempts made to realize this necessary factor to progress. Even with security of tenure effective working of the cultivator's holding is rendered almost impossible by continual partitions as families increase and by the fragmentation which divides up a holding into minute plots distant from one another. Only in the Punjab has this problem been seriously dealt with as the result of the co-operative movement. These problems take a different form in the tribal areas of South Africa, but a great deal of consideration has been given to the question of how best to secure the position of the progressive cultivator who is menaced by tribal custom or by the caprices of the Chiefs. In the Union of South Africa the tendency has been to replace tribal tenure by individual tenure and the most interesting experiment in that direction has been the Glen Grey Act, which has been applied to the native reserves in the Ciskei districts of Cape Colony and to a quarter of the Transkei. Under this system the arable area was divided into holdings averaging six to eight acres and was demarcated and surveyed. The pasturage was left as a communal holding, and in the Transkei was about four times the total area of the arable. Partition and fragmentation were forbidden, and succession was controlled by a special law. This system has now been in operation for a period long enough to test its efficacy.

It has had definite advantages for the progressive cultivator who was ready to take advantage of the instruction and assistance given to him by an Administration which has been as helpful and sympathetic as the political and material conditions admitted, and has been ready to consult native opinion. On the other hand the magic of property has not turned sand into gold or made a large proportion of those fortunate enough to hold arable land more progressive than they would have been under tribal conditions.

Further, the holdings are too small to support a family without intensive cultivation, which for them is impossible, and with the growth of families there is a practical though not a legal subdivision, and as a result an increasing congestion on the land. The bulk of the adult males must still go abroad for work. Further, the number of men entitled to land but unable to get it is steadily increasing. In one Ciskei district, for example, there are 8,000 arable holdings and 4,000 persons entitled to holdings but

unable to get them. In another there are 1,300 arable holdings and 1,500 candidates. New holdings cannot be created because there is intense opposition to any reduction of the communal grazing area for the benefit of any individual.

Even more important is the fact that the communal character of the grazing leaves no inducement to the individual to preserve the pasture or restrict the number and improve the quality of his stock.

There is no time to enter into the great question of agricultural education and improvement in agricultural methods, more especially as you have had an address by an expert in agriculture. Small holdings can only provide a reasonable standard of living for a family with the aid of a diversified agriculture, access to markets and co-operative marketing, with spare time home employments. None of these conditions are likely to be realized in South Africa, partly for physical and partly for political reasons. Spare time employments also have their dangers. They have probably been most scientifically developed in Japan, where with holdings so small that only 25 per cent. of the peasants have more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres agricultural organizations of all kinds abound—including societies for getting up early and cutting one another's hair—nothing is wasted, fragmentation has been largely abolished, and subsidiary industries such as silkworms employ large numbers. The impression gained from Robertson Scott's remarkable book *The Foundations of Japan* is that the industries large and small exploit the peasant, more especially the women.

India is, however, a long way from the position reached in Japan, and Mr. Gandhi's charkha movement does represent an attempt to meet a real need.

The next subject to which I shall make a brief reference is that of co-operation and marketing. In India the co-operative movement concentrated for a long time on credit societies, as the most obvious need was the deliverance of the cultivator from the bondage of the moneylender. Co-operative purchase and sale and the pursuit of the less definitely economic aims represented by the "better living societies" came as later developments.

The provision of capital is essential to the cultivator, and before the rule of law the moneylender filled a definite want in the village economy. With the rule of law he threatened to become the tyrant of the countryside, but his position is now no longer what it was, largely as the result of the co-operative movement, though its influence is still much less than that of the corresponding organizations in such a country as Denmark.

In South Africa the Bantu suffer from many forms of bondage, but the moneylender is not included. In Zanzibar, on the contrary, the plantation owners large and small, Arab and Swahili,

are in a position similar to that in India, and their creditors are Indians. At the same time there are no peasants in the world who stand in greater need than the Bantu of a training in the handling of money, and even the educated and advanced natives who carry on a co-operative stores in Johannesburg are the despair of their best friends among the Europeans in regard to this side of their operations.

In the Union of South Africa the Government has declined to create organizations which introduced any possibility of individual or collective financial responsibility. Nevertheless, co-operative credit societies have been organized on a considerable scale in the Transkei and elsewhere, largely through the efforts of Father Bernard Huss. Government has taken no responsibility of any kind even as regards securing a proper audit. Official recognition is only now being given to the movement in the Transkei by a Proclamation creating a Central Committee, on which Government is not represented, and imposing on it the duty of arranging for audit. On the other hand, Government has encouraged and co-operated in the formation of Farmers' Associations, chiefly for the purchase and sale of agricultural requirements. There is no attempt to accumulate capital and only a very small subscription to meet necessary expenditure. Their weak point seems to be that it is more a case of officials doing useful work for the Bantu than of teaching them to do it themselves. The associations do, however, inspire their members with the idea of progress, and this represents a substantial step in advance.

In Basutoland an attempt was made to found co-operative credit societies by promising the gift of agricultural implements to the societies when duly formed. There was no real teaching of co-operative principles and practice, and as soon as a society had received its implements that was as a rule the signal for its dissolution.

The difficulty of familiarizing the minds of the Bantu with any of the implications of a money economy are very great, and progress is bound to be slow. The very idea of the possibility of progress or of securing economic advantage by a change of methods has to be created. This is the more difficult so far as sales are concerned when their products go to the world market, a conception quite beyond their power of comprehension. For example, the wool of Basutoland, though containing a large proportion of high grade, is sold in the lump without examination at the market price for the lowest quality, and all the profit goes to the middlemen, including the local European trader and the strong organization of the brokers at the coast. In this again there will be no difficulty in finding Indian analogies.

On the whole, under South African conditions it seems advis-

able to make credit societies the last instead of the initial stage, and to concentrate at first on familiarizing the native mind with the idea of progress on co-operative lines, and illustrating its economic advantages in connection with their main products. These forms of better business will serve almost equally well as preludes to the better farming and better living of the co-operative creed.

As in India again the small size of the holdings as compared with the economic holdings for improved implements offers many opportunities for co-operative working outside what may be termed the natural co-operative unit of the larger native family. Another direction in which co-operative societies can do very useful work is by propaganda in favour of the consolidation of holdings. The development of village industries on a co-operative basis, which is of such importance in India, has as yet little prospect of realization in South Africa, where the traditional industries and inherited skill do not exist.

Whatever aspect of the problem of rural advance is taken up we must, I think, come to the conclusion that ultimately the human factor is the supreme factor, and that in Africa as in India Mr. Moreland is right in holding that the essence of the rural problem is psychological rather than technical, spiritual rather than material. In the words of the Royal Commission on Agriculture: "No substantial improvement can be effected unless the cultivator has the will to achieve a better standard of living, and the capacity in terms of mental equipment and of physical health to take advantage of the opportunities which science, wise laws, and good administration may place at his disposal. Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself." This in the main is determined by his environment, and it follows, therefore, that the success of all measures for the advancement of agriculture must depend upon the creation of conditions favourable to progress. Village life must be improved in all directions, and the recognition of this principle was the essential merit of the Gurgaon experiment, whatever setbacks it may have since experienced. Many departments are concerned in this all-embracing work, but there is only time to deal very briefly with two aspects of the problem—the medical and the educational. Good health is quite as necessary to the cultivator as knowledge of his craft, and the all-India Conference of Medical Research Workers of 1926 considered that apart from the heavy mortality from preventible diseases the average number of days lost to labour by each person in India from such diseases was not less than a fortnight to three weeks in each year, and that the percentage loss of efficiency of the average

person from preventible malnutrition and disease was not less than 20 per cent.

There are, of course, great differences in these respects between the different parts of India, and there has been a substantial increase in recent years in the medical and public health organizations. The social conscience of the people is awakening, and substantial work has been done by panchayats and by private organizations.

These branches of work fall within the sphere of local self-government and, as Sir Philip Hartog has told you, the control over their activities is much less effective than in any western country. Control is, in fact, resented as contrary to democracy.

The position is certainly far from satisfactory, and in native South Africa it is worse.

Hospitals are inadequate both in numbers and in equipment. There is no public health organization outside the towns either for white or black; there is no subordinate native medical service, and there are very few rural dispensaries except some carried on by missions. Preventible diseases take a heavy toll, and deficiency diseases are widespread, the result of inadequate and unsuitable diet. They become more serious as population increases and the supplementary foods derived from the veldt and from cattle become more difficult to obtain.

The only large concentrations of natives who are really well fed are probably those working on the gold mines of the Rand, and their physique is often very fine. In the native areas the difference in appearance between a boy fresh from the cattle posts and one who has lived in the village or town is most striking, more especially in Bechuanaland, where the cattle posts are so far from the central towns that no milk or other products can be brought in. The medical problems of Africa are as difficult as those of India. There are not the same masses of population to be dealt with, but its scattered character, and the absence of communications in many areas, make it impossible to organize an adequate health and medical service without disproportionately heavy expenditure.

It remains to make a brief reference to the subject of education. Taking this in its wider sense it includes a great deal more than schools and to emphasize its scope Southern Rhodesia has christened its education department a Development department. Comparing the position in India with that in South Africa there is a general resemblance, but with some very striking differences. In India the great majority of the schools are Government schools, and about 35 per cent. of the boys of school-going age attend school, but only about 10 per cent. of the girls. A large proportion of the expenditure on primary education must, as Sir Philip Hartog has told you, be regarded as wasted if the aim is to

be the production of a literate people, because of the small proportion who reach the higher classes.

In South Africa there is a general intense desire for education and an insistence that the methods and standards applied shall be the same for black as for white. Unfortunately the system of European education in South Africa is still largely in the Victorian stage of having a purely literary character and being dominated by examinations. It bears no relation to the realities of native life, but any deviation from it is regarded with intense suspicion by the Bantu as intended to keep them down in the social and economic scale. The facilities provided are also very inadequate. In the Union of South Africa there is school accommodation for only 21 per cent. of the children between 6 and 16. Moreover, the wastage is even heavier than in India.

In Basutoland the position is better, as about 65 per cent. of the children of school-going age are enrolled and the average attendance is about 50 per cent., but half the children do not stay long enough to become permanently literate. A remarkable feature of the position almost all over South Africa as compared with India is that the proportion of girls attending school is much larger than that of boys. In Basutoland and in the Transkei girls outnumber boys by two to one in all but the highest classes, because the boys are obliged to stay at the cattle posts. One result is the presence of full-grown men in the infant classes, and another is the growth of new social problems from the larger proportion of educated girls.

In Africa, however, with its primitive peoples, much more than in India, there are, as I have already pointed out, educational needs which must be met if the intellectual stimulus derived from school education is to be effectual in breaking down the main obstacle to economic progress—the mentality of the peasant himself. The natives have to be freed from the paralyzing influences of witchcraft and animism, and this process involves the difficult problem of adapting old customs and conceptions to new conditions, and developing whatever is good in their own institutions. Their whole outlook on life must be transformed, and they must develop a real will to live better before they can be ready to avail themselves of the technical and commercial advances which may be made available to them. Technical advances alone cannot bring welfare, or remove rural depression, without a driving force in the peasant himself, and the development of this force is the function of education in its widest sense.

A new chapter is opening in the history of India, and in the future she must depend more and more on her own efforts and on the spirit which will inspire her peoples. Something may perhaps be learned from the recent history of a country which has within the last few years refashioned its institutions to an extent which

would have seemed incredible a short time ago. I refer to Turkey.

There, although like all agricultural countries it has suffered very severely from the general depression, notable progress has been made in improving the starved existence of the Anatolian peasant and in freeing him from his bondage to usurers. The country at large is beginning to reap the benefit of its natural resources, though progress is necessarily slow. The peasant is taking his rightful place in the nation, and is beginning to realize what that place is. In the words of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal, "The master of the country is the Turkish peasant."

These words may well in the future be true of India in a more literal sense under its new Constitution, though it is to be hoped that less drastic methods will be applied and that no such experiences will be involved as those which Turkey has suffered. With these great possibilities in view the controllers of India's destinies may well take to heart the saying of a British statesman, "Educate your masters."

THE RUBBER PLANTATION INDUSTRY: A SURVEY

By J. G. HAY

PUBLIC interest in the rubber plantation industry dates probably from 1910, the year of the great rubber boom. The advent of the motor-car created a new and greatly enlarged demand for rubber, and although by 1910 over 1,000,000 acres had been planted with rubber in the Middle East, most of it was still immature and exports were then only at the rate of 11,000 tons per annum.

Users of rubber had still to rely mainly on what is termed "wild rubber," coming chiefly from South America, and in that year exports of that class of rubber reached their peak at 83,000 tons. They have since declined and become the smallest fraction of the world's total output of rubber. In 1910 the price of rubber rose to 12s. 9d. per lb., or £1,428 per ton. Up to that time rubber plantation development had been financed by the proprietary planter and by Eastern merchant houses, backed by a small but informed public. A larger and less discerning public, stimulated by the abnormal profits offered with rubber at such a level, rushed to buy rubber shares. Quotations were hoisted to fantastic heights and fresh capital was offered freely for any rubber plantation development.

By 1920 exports of plantation rubber had increased to 316,000 tons per annum, but, owing chiefly to the continued rapid growth of the motor-car industry, world demand was equal to this enormous increase in supplies. Although the price had fallen by that time to less than 2s. per lb., it was still profitable, despite the then higher level of production costs. But 1920 marked the end of a spurious post-war prosperity. The ever-increasing supplies of plantation rubber could no longer be fully absorbed, for by then the area under rubber had expanded to over 4,000,000 acres. In 1921 the price of rubber fell to about 9d. per lb. This was quite unprofitable and the industry was confronted with its first major economic problem.

Representatives of the main producing territories—*i.e.*, British Colonial and Dutch Colonial—consulted together, but no agreement was reached on remedial measures to be adopted. The price continued to fall, and in 1922 a Committee was appointed under Sir James Stevenson, Bart., to consider how the situation could be improved. The Committee reported in May, 1922, that they were unable to win Dutch participation in any practical scheme, and that they could not recommend British Colonial territory being

committed to unilateral action. In October, 1922, a second report was issued recommending "that a scheme of Government intervention should be put into operation in Ceylon, the Malay Straits and the Straits Settlements," it being argued that, since other British producers outside the Empire were willing to co-operate on a voluntary basis, Dutch participation was not essential. So the first rubber restriction plan, known as the "Stevenson Scheme," came into force in November, 1922.

Aided by an unexpected but welcome and sustained improvement in consumptive demand, the scheme was undoubtedly successful in raising the price to a profitable level. This agreeable result did not lead those most closely implicated to lend a ready ear to the criticisms which the scheme merited and received. The scheme had three fundamental defects: (a) A narrow basis—notably in not including the Dutch; (b) it made no provisions for controlling further planting during the existence of the scheme; (c) by making exports pivot on a fixed price, contractions and expansions in supplies were liable to be influenced and were, in fact, influenced by market manipulations. The greatest of these defects was probably the second, since the higher price established under the scheme acted as a stimulus to fresh planting in all territories. Future potential supplies were, therefore, increased vastly and the very problem which the scheme set out to solve—*i.e.*, disequilibrium between supply and demand—was gravely aggravated. These defects became so evident that they could no longer be denied, and the scheme was terminated by the action of the British Government in 1928.

Free from all restrictions, exports of rubber in 1929 amounted to 862,000 tons. This large increase in supplies fortunately coincided with a bigger world demand, and although the price had fallen to 10d. per lb., conditions were by no means intolerable for the average efficient producer. But these propitious circumstances did not continue for long. Trade took a sudden and steep downward turn. The price of all commodities collapsed, resulting in a world-wide economic upheaval. In this catastrophe rubber suffered perhaps more than any other commodity, the price declining with alarming rapidity. By 1932 it realized only the niggardly price of 1½d. per lb., or £15 3s. 4d. per ton.

The industry met this grave situation with unexpected resource. The pressure of necessity brought about reforms and changes which would have been impossible under other circumstances. Labour and others employed in the industry, unable to find more lucrative employment, and recognizing the need, accepted lower payment. All these, together with the adoption of what were admittedly temporary expedients, brought about a reduction in costs to a level hitherto regarded as quite impracticable. Notwith-

standing this, however, the industry was unable to make two ends meet. The demand for some far-reaching measure of control over supplies was again revived. These demands at first—for very good reasons—were not seriously entertained in responsible quarters, but they received a considerable impetus from the pronouncement made in July, 1933, through the World Economic Conference to the effect that the restoration of world prosperity would be assisted by raising the price of primary commodities. Since the Government of Holland was a not inactive participant in this Conference, it was inferred from this pronouncement that that country would no longer resist any proposals for control. Thus the main obstacle to a comprehensive scheme for the regulation of rubber supplies was apparently removed. It was under these more propitious circumstances that negotiations were commenced in the autumn of 1933, and culminated in the present scheme which came into operation on June 1, 1934.

The scheme is probably the most elaborate experiment yet devised in the economic planning of an international industry. The sanction for the scheme rests on the expressed approval of the Governments of each of the following territories: British Malaya (including Brunei and Labuan), Ceylon, India, Burma, the State of North Borneo, Sarawak, the Netherlands Indies, Siam and French Indo-China. The total area under control is estimated at eight to nine million acres, scattered throughout the territories mentioned, the total square mileage of which is more than the equivalent of three-quarters of Europe. The productive capacity of the rubber planted within these territories and coming under the control of the scheme is over 1,300,000 tons. Its ownership comprises men of nearly every race and creed, ranging from the humble Asiatic who owns an acre or so to the large joint stock corporation which may have under its control or influence an area amounting to 200,000 acres. The smallest and the greatest of these is subject to the same close control and stands to benefit in strict mathematical proportion.

The scheme in its conception is simple. To each participating territory basic quotas have been allotted for each of the years 1934-1938. These quotas have been agreed and accepted as representing an equitable estimate of the relative producing capacity of each. A table is given on p. 568 setting out the quotas in detail. Except for experimental purposes, and to an extent clearly defined, further planting of rubber is prohibited during the period of the scheme. On the reasonable assumption that world demand for rubber will continue to increase, by this provision alone disequilibrium between potential supply and probable consumption should be gradually diminished.

QUOTAS, 1934-1938.

<i>Country.</i>	1934. <i>Tons.</i>	1935. <i>Tons.</i>	1936. <i>Tons.</i>	1937. <i>Tons.</i>	1938. <i>Tons.</i>
British Malaya (including Brunei and Labuan)	504,000	538,000	569,000	589,000	602,000
Ceylon	77,500	79,000	80,000	81,000	82,500
India	6,850	8,250	9,000	9,000	9,250
Burma... ..	5,150	6,750	8,000	9,000	9,250
State of North Borneo	12,000	13,000	14,000	15,500	16,500
Sarawak	24,000	28,000	30,000	31,500	32,000
TOTAL BRITISH ...	629,500	673,000	710,000	735,000	751,500
Netherlands India ...	352,000	400,000	443,000	467,000	485,000
Siam	15,000	40,000	40,000	40,000	40,000
French Indo-China ...	22,500	27,000	34,000	44,000	52,000
GRAND TOTAL ...	1,019,000	1,140,000	1,227,000	1,286,000	1,328,500

The administration of the scheme falls naturally into two divisions. First, the work and duties which devolve upon the International Rubber Regulation Committee, with headquarters in London; and second, the obligations which fall upon the Eastern Governments concerned to apply the provisions of the scheme within their respective territories. The International Rubber Regulation Committee consists of delegates appointed by the participating Governments, and on this body the responsibility rests for determining, from time to time, the percentages of the basic quotas to be exported. It is the business of the Eastern Governments to enforce these decisions upon their producers, as well as to limit stocks within their respective territories to a specified proportion of their allotted production. It is, therefore, apparent that the effective administration of the scheme necessitates a close control over the individual actions of every producer.

The scheme has a threefold object—(a) To reduce existing world stocks; (b) to adjust in an orderly manner supply to demand; and (c) to establish and maintain a fair and equitable price level which will be reasonably remunerative to efficient producers.

Against the abuse of the monopolistic powers vested in the International Rubber Regulation Committee, there are two safeguards. First, in the avowal of the objects of the scheme it is made abundantly clear that the price level should be maintained at a figure which is fair and equitable and not more than reasonably remunerative to efficient producers; and, second, in the exercise of its main function—namely, in determining the supplies to be released from time to time—the International Committee has the valuable advice of a panel of rubber manufacturers. It is stipulated that one of these shall represent American interests,

since that country is responsible for nearly half of the world's total rubber absorption. But over and above these safeguards so expressly and prudently provided, there remains this fact which is recognized by those who have a proper understanding of the position. It would be impracticable to maintain for long an effective control over supplies drawn from vast areas where producers work under such diverse conditions at a price so high that it offered too great a temptation to widespread evasion. Whilst admitting the natural desire of the consumer to buy at a lower price and of the producer to endeavour to exact a higher one, both policy and circumstances will dictate that in the actual working of the scheme justice is done to both parties by steering a course between the two extremes.

In order to facilitate the initial administration of the scheme in Eastern territories, the International Rubber Regulation Committee permitted a generous rate of export releases for the first seven months—*i.e.*, June to December, 1934—and, although consumption for that period was well up to expectations, supplies were more than equal to demand and the statistical position underwent little, if any, improvement during that period. Notwithstanding this, however, such was the confidence in the scheme that the price of rubber was raised and maintained at a moderately profitable level for some months. Gradually, however, the weight of abnormal stocks made its influence felt and the price began to decline in the early part of the current year. This decline was not arrested by the decision of the International Rubber Regulation Committee to allow exports at the rate of 75 per cent. of the basic quotas for the first six months of 1935, and at the rate of 70 per cent. for the third quarter. The price of rubber showed further weakness on the threat of strikes in America, and other difficulties incidental to the unsettled monetary and political circumstances in other countries. On March 26, 1935, the International Rubber Regulation Committee issued an announcement modifying their earlier decision and cut down the rate of release for the second quarter of the year to 70 per cent., and for the remainder of the year to 65 per cent. This decision was welcomed by all producers and imparted a much-needed confidence. This confidence rested not only on the evident fact that this revised decision postulated a reduction in supplies for 1935, but also on the fact that the Committee had demonstrated its readiness to modify its decisions to meet changed circumstances and to act with promptitude when the occasion arose.

On the basis of the Committee's decision regarding exports for 1935, it is estimated that supplies of plantation rubber for this year should be limited to approximately 800,000 tons. Assuming that world consumption is maintained at last year's level then there

should be a reduction in world stocks of approximately 120,000 tons. It will thus be seen that progress is being made towards the achievement of the scheme's first object—namely, the reduction of abnormal world stocks.

As regards the second objective—*i.e.*, price—some part of the fall which occurred in the early part of the year has been recovered. If the present price of round about 6d. per lb. does not conform to the second objective—namely, a fair and remunerative price to the average efficient producer—it at least marks an immense improvement on the price which prevailed in the pre-controlled period. The first fruits of that improvement have gone to Asiatic labour in the form of better pay, more employment, better health services and improved housing conditions. The Governments of certain territories where rubber is a major export have not been slow to take advantage of improved conditions. Taxation has been raised, and within the short period of one year's control diminished exchequers have so been replenished that budget deficits have been transformed into substantial surpluses. Ancillary services, too, have demanded and received their share of the benefits. The rubber producer is grateful for the scheme and remains confident in his belief that in the course of time its objects will be fully realized and that for his services in supplying the world with an essential commodity he will be fairly rewarded.

COAL RESOURCES OF CHINA

By J. S. LEE, D.Sc.

(A volume by the author on the Geology and Mineral Resources of China will be published by Messrs. Thomas Murby and Co. this year.)

CHINA is notorious for her hidden treasure. She is generally supposed to possess a vast store of mineral wealth. Geological exploration for more than half a century has, however, brought out the fact that this general assumption is not always well-founded. The metalliferous deposits are anything but rich considering the area of the country and the population that it supports. As may be expected, the ore bodies are largely regional in their distribution. The iron ores are essentially developed in Manchuria and the Great Wall region. Only minor deposits occur in the Yangtze Valley. Auriferous veins and placer gold are sparsely known in the mountainous region of the north and the west. They assume some importance in the southern border of the Jehol province. The source-material for alumina is widely distributed in Shantung and Chekiang, but is generally poor in quality.

Non-ferrous ores of other kinds are almost exclusively distributed in the Nanling Range and the mountain systems connected thereto. In other words, they are only developed in the region lying between the Yangtze and the Sikiang. Even in this region, the ores, though varied in kind, are often none too rich in quality except for tin, antimony and tungsten. For the last two China occupies almost a unique position in the world market.

Petroleum is known to occur in the Red Basin of Szuchuan, Jehol Province and the Shensi Basin. In the last-named area a certain amount of prospecting work was done, but the result obtained was not particularly encouraging. Geological investigation in recent years has, however, assembled facts which promise vast possibilities. This, together with the extensive coalfield already ascertained, renders sufficient colour to the importance of that raised basin and its adjoining plateau in China's economic life.

Of all kinds of mineral resources in China coal undoubtedly comes foremost. In this material that China possesses lies some real significance, at least as far as the immediate future is concerned. We will now first consider the distribution of the coal-fields in China, and then proceed to deal briefly with the present state of coal-mining activity in that country.

A. COALFIELDS

Coals were formed in China in seven different geological periods: Lower Carboniferous, Permo-Carboniferous or Uralian, Permian, Triassic, Rhætic or Lias, Cretaceous and Tertiary. The Permian and Liassic coals are economically most important. Lower Carboniferous and Tertiary coals come next. Uralian and Cretaceous coals are of inferior quality. They are, however, occasionally worthy of consideration. Bituminous shales in the Precambrian and Ordovician formations are sometimes worked by the peasantry with the hope of obtaining coal. Of course, no coal is to be found in such formations. In some places—*e.g.*, in the Tatung Basin, northern Shansi—the Permian and Liassic coals occur together. As a rule, however, they occur in separate fields.

Although the quality of the coal does not vary strictly according to age, a certain broad qualitative resemblance seems to prevail in the coals formed in a given period. The Lower Carboniferous coals are usually impure and rich in sulphur. Permo-Carboniferous coal is often highly bituminous. Permian and Jurassic coals are usually of good quality varying from anthracite to bituminous coal. As a whole the Permian coals seem to contain a higher percentage of fixed carbon, while in the Jurassic coals a comparatively higher percentage of volatile matter is frequently observed. The Cretaceous coals contain an exceptionally high percentage of ash. The Tertiary coals are as a rule rich in volatile matter. They are generally classed as lignite. But in the Fushan coalfield, South Manchuria, the Tertiary coal proves to be bituminous coal of good quality.

Extraction of oil from coal or synthetic production of petroleum are problems of growing importance of late. The absence, or practically so, of productive oilfields in China together with the rapidly growing demand for liquid fuel in that country make these problems more acutely felt. Experiments of low temperature carbonization on certain Chinese coals have been made. The result shows that some of the bituminous variety are admirably adapted for such treatment with a yield of an ample amount of oil, good coke and some other useful by-products. In one series of experiments on Palæozoic coals from various localities a yield of 4 to 11 per cent. of oil and 77 to 90 per cent. of semi-coke was observed when distilled at 600° C.

(a) NORTHERN CHINA

1. *Shan-shen Plateau*

For geographical reasons the numerous coalfields in China may be considered in groups. To the first, and undoubtedly the most

important, group are to be attributed the coalfields of Shansi and Shensi. These regions form a plateau with the Huangho flowing through it from the north to the south. The eastern and south-eastern edge of this plateau is named the Taihangshan Range, which separates the plateau from the vast plain of northern China on the east. The structure of this region is simplicity itself. Broadly speaking, the plateau is divided into three blocks more or less arranged longitudinally. The middle block is sunk to some extent, and is itself subdivided into three separate basins. The southern basin, which is the largest, is co-extensive with the Fenho Valley; the middle one is the Ningwu Basin, and the northern one the Tatung Basin.

In the Fenho Basin outcrops of coal are scarce except in the neighbourhood of the city of Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi Province, and in the southern part of the basin. There is no question that coal was once deposited in the area, but the problem is: how far it had been washed away before the deposition of the young strata. In the Ningwu Basin Palæozoic as well as Mesozoic coals are preserved under the cover of younger sediments. Similar conditions prevail in the Tatung Basin and its neighbouring areas. But here the Jurassic coal is far more important than the Palæozoic seams at present because the former occurs in shallow depth. This does not mean that the Palæozoic coals will be less important when mining activity holds its sway.

The southern part of the eastern block and the western part of the western block are each a vast stretch of almost a single coalfield. In the eastern block the coal measures are only gently tilted and sometimes faulted. They are covered by piled-up strata of sandstones and shales, and are consequently well preserved. Numerous native pits are found along the outcrops. But apart from the Pingting Basin, no part within this area of about 30,000 sq. km. is yet touched by modern methods of mining.

The western block has an axial zone of old rocks of pre-coal-measures age. This wedge-shaped zone tends to become broader toward the north, but thins out, at least on the surface, toward the south. This zone of old rocks constitutes the Luliangshan Range. The eastern slope of this range is comparatively steep. The coal seams are therefore often freely exposed. On its western slope the coal-bearing strata dip, however, only gently towards the west. They are rather deeply buried by barren sandstones and shales, and then again, in the eastern part of Shensi, they are succeeded by a Mesozoic coal-bearing formation which is likewise covered by still younger deposits. A rough estimate shows that this area covers some 120,000 sq. km.

Thanks to the relatively undistributed state in which the coal seams occur, and because of the usual absence of the threat of

underground water, the mining process is exceedingly simple. The roof and floor are usually so firm that timbering can often be dispensed with. There was a time when a marine engineer or anybody who did not mind printing the word engineer on his visiting card was invited to the office of the mining engineer. Here we are only referring to the handling of coal seams occurring in shallow depths. As to the deeply buried coals which have never been touched, the proposition is, of course, quite different.

In each field numerous seams occur. There are, for instance, some 13 seams in the Western Hills of Taiyuan, 7 in the Pingting Basin, 4 or 5 in the Paoteh district and so on. The main seam or seams are often inconveniently thick. In the eastern block and along the border of the Fenho Basin, the workable coal usually varies from 20 to 30 feet in thickness. It thins down to about 4·5 feet in the south-eastern corner of the eastern block. Judging from the several exposed coalfields in the western block, namely in Paoteh, Linhsien, Lihshih and Shihhsien districts, the workable seam also attains 20 to 30 feet in that block. In the central division of the middle block—*e.g.*, in the Ningwu Basin—the workable Palæozoic coal varies from 7·5 to 30 feet in total thickness, while the Jurassic coal is, on the average, 12 feet in thickness. In the northern division of the middle block—namely, in the Tatung Basin and its neighbourhood—the main seams of the Palæozoic as well as Mesozoic coals are each some 18 feet in thickness. The Jurassic coal is only covered by well-bedded sandstones of 2 to 3 hundred feet in thickness. The method of mining now going on is almost a joke. In the native pits lumps of good coal scarcely less than one foot across are thrown away as tailings. Only large blocks that can be barely carried by one man, a piece at a time, in climbing up the incline, are collected by coal dealers.

Latest estimates show that in the eastern block the reserve of anthracite amounts to 34,077 millions of tons,* that of the bituminous coal 17,743 millions of tons, totalling 51,820 millions of metric tons. In the western block the coals are almost exclusively bituminous. Within the province of Shansi the reserve is estimated at 62,622 millions of tons. In this figure are included the coals along the Fenho Valley. The reserve in the adjoining area on the western side of the Huangho is even larger—namely, some 71,950 millions of tons. Of this amount only a minimal portion of that which occurs in the southern part of Shensi Province is anthracite, the rest being all bituminous coal. Only one-seventh of this total amount of coal reserve in Shensi is of comfortably working thickness. The rest is spread in the northern part of the province and the Ordos region in thinnish seams which rarely exceed 3 feet in thickness. The possible existence of Palæozoic coals under-

* In the sequel all tonnage is in metric measurement.

neath this Mesozoic formation is a problem of vital interest. So far, however, no trial boring has been made.

The reserve of lignite of Mesozoic age in the Ningwu Basin, the middle sub-division of the central block, is reported to be 2,498 millions of tons; and the reserve of bituminous coal of Palæozoic age is estimated at 5,374 millions of tons, totalling 7,872 millions of tons.

Now we may examine the estimate of coal reserve in the Tatung Basin. A rather conservative estimate shows that in this basin and its adjoining areas there are some 7,479 millions of tons of bituminous coal of Palæozoic age, and 2,870 millions of tons of bituminous coal of Jurassic age, giving a total figure of 10,349 millions of tons. These, together with a few minor coalfields located in the north-eastern part of Shansi Province, give a total coal reserve in that province of the amount of 127,127 millions of tons. Adding to this figure the coal reserve of Shensi Province we get the total coal reserve in the Shan-shen Plateau amounting to nearly 200,000 millions of metric tons.

The coals in Shansi are usually of good quality with fixed carbon varying from 50 to 80 per cent., volatile matter 20 to 30 per cent., sometimes as low as 3 per cent. or as high as 68 per cent., ash usually a few per cent. to 10 or 15 per cent., rarely as high as 45 per cent., calorific power 5,000 to 8,000 calories. The coals of Shensi are more uniform in composition, having, on the average, about 55 per cent. of fixed carbon, 33 per cent. of volatile matter, 7,000 to 8,000 calories in calorific power. More extensive and careful sampling is, however, required to derive a sound average.

2. Western Fringe of the North China Plain

We have previously referred to the Taihangshan Range as a natural boundary between the Shansi Plateau and the vast plain of northern China. All along the eastern and southern foot of this arcuate range numerous coal basins occur. They extend from the neighbourhood of Peking on the north to the north-western part of Honan on the south. Apart from the coalfields in the Western Hills of Peking all the coal seams occurring in this group of coalfields belong to the Palæozoic. Consequently they are comparable in quality and mode of occurrence with those of the Shansi area. The coal measures are generally underlain by the Ordovician limestone and overlain by sandstones and shales, and sometimes by a hard grit comparable in composition with the Millstone Grit. But it is, of course, of a different age.

These coalfields either form isolated basins, or are preserved in down-faulted blocks. When they are located near the foot of the Taihangshan, the coal seams usually crop out on the mountain

side and generally dive into the loess plain on the east. Sharp folds are rare, but faults with large and small throws are frequent. From such faults and from the fissures in the Ordovician limestone deeper workings often encounter a considerable quantity of underground water.

The plain of northern China is, in fact, a subsiding block as against the Plateau of Shansi on the one hand, and the old massif of Shantung on the other. Tectonic investigation indicates that this subsidence dates back at least from Cretaceous time. The plain is everywhere covered by loess of unknown thickness. In places the loess is known to be underlain by Tertiary sediments, and the latter is, in all probability, succeeded downwards by Cretaceous beds.

In the transitional zone between the Plateau and this sunken block, the coal-bearing strata are thrown into gentle undulation. It is in these somewhat elevated, gentle undulations, or, more strictly speaking, in the troughs of these undulations, that the coal-fields are preserved and exposed. When the Ordovician limestone rises to the surface, and so forms the border of a well-defined basin, then a sharp boundary of a coalfield is visible. But when the coal measures dive into the plain such as in the coalfields of southern Hopei and northern Honan, we have yet no knowledge of how far they may go under the cover of the young deposits. In one case in northern Honan I suggested some years ago to a certain mining engineer to let down a deep bore-hole into the plain well away from the foot of the mountain. After going through some 2,000 feet of barren rocks a good seam of coal was struck. This instance is mentioned to show the possibility of the existence of concealed coalfields in certain suspected regions within that vast territory of North China Plain now entirely covered by young sediments.

For the moment we need not, however, discuss such matters. The exposed fields afford enough material for the mining development in the immediate future. To count the relatively large ones—namely, those having a reserve of more than 35 millions of tons—there are some 41 separate fields in this group. The largest one in this group is the one in the Siuwu district, northern Honan, with an estimated reserve of anthracite of no less than 1,017 millions of tons. The Chungfu Mining Company, a Sino-British concern, has been operating in this field. The next two large coal basins are located in the district of Wuan, again in northern Honan. The estimated reserve amounts to 764 millions of tons in one basin and 692 millions of tons in another. But the disturbed state of the strata makes these estimates somewhat doubtful. And the coal is divided into numerous thinnish seams. The third is the well-known Kaiping Basin with a probable reserve of

700 millions of tons. The Kailan Mining Administration, another Sino-British joint concern, is now developing this area very fully. As to the rest of the coalfields in this group, each rarely exceeds 500 millions of tons in reserve. Usually it varies from 30 to 100 millions of tons.

Anthracite abounds in these fields. But in the Kaiping Basin, the Chaitang Basin, west of Peking, and in several coalfields in southern Hopei and northern Honan bituminous coal also occurs in nearly equally large quantity. Some of these prove to be good coking coal.

Apart from the Kailan Mining Administration, where a modern plant is erected to extract the by-products, the coking process when applied is of an extremely primitive type, something similar to the beehive oven. The valuable gases are simply burnt away. This is done not only for the purpose of producing coke, but to reduce the weight of the fuel in order to reduce the cost of transport.

The total reserve in this second group of coalfields is estimated at 9,695 millions of tons. Of this amount 5,611 millions of tons are anthracite, 4,082 millions of tons bituminous coal and the remaining two million tons are peat. The latter occur in the Quaternary deposit in northern Hopei. This deposit is of considerable scientific interest, but hardly any economic value. Dividing according to political province, 3,071 millions of tons of this reserve belong to the province of Hopei, and 6,624 millions of tons to Honan.

Numerous analyses show that the amount of fixed carbon in the coals of this group of coalfields is rarely less than 60 per cent., usually over 70 per cent., sometimes as high as 90 per cent.; volatile matter sometimes 5 to 9 per cent. and sometimes 17 to 30 per cent.; ash usually from 10 to 20 per cent.; calorific value, 7,500 to 8,500 calories.

3. Eastern and Southern Fringes of the North China Plain

The third group of coalfields are those in Shantung, northern Kiangsu and north-eastern Anhui. The geological conditions governing these fields are much the same as those prevailing in Hopei and Honan Provinces. With the exception of a single field—namely, that of the Fangtze district in Shantung, which is of Jurassic age and often penetrated by volcanic flows—all the coal measures belong to the Palæozoic. Bituminous coal predominates. Anthracite is only known in a few localities. The largest coalfield in this group is the one of the Poshan district in Shantung, which has a reserve of about 730 millions of tons. One hundred and thirty millions of tons of coal is reported to occur in the Chiawang

coalfield, northern Kiangsu, and 100 millions of tons in the Yih sien coalfield in southern Shantung. But repeated failures have been encountered by mining enterprises in the Chia wang coalfield, whereas a spectacular success is recorded by a Chinese company in the Yih sien district. Altogether there are some 2,971 millions of tons of coals in this group of coalfields in reserve. But not all this amount is workable with profit under present circumstances.

The coals of Shantung generally vary from 55 to 85 per cent. in fixed carbon, 13 to 30 per cent. in volatile matter, 7,500 to 8,700 calories in calorific value. The ash content usually amounts to 8 to 12 per cent., but sometimes as low as 5 or 6 per cent., and rarely as high as more than 40 per cent.

4. *The Inshan Range and its Eastern Continuation*

To the fourth group of coalfields we might assign those occurring in the provinces of Suiyuan, Chahar and Jehol. In the Suiyuan Province nearly all the coalfields are located along the Inshan or Tachingshan Range. Both anthracite or semi-anthracite and bituminous coals occur in the Palæozoic as well as Jurassic formations. Quaternary peat also occurs in respectable quantities. Owing to the fact that these coalfields are more or less involved in the mountain zone, the seams are often highly disturbed or shattered. Here and there, however, they are found to be in good workable condition. The total reserve in Suiyuan Province is estimated at 417 millions of tons. In Chahar Province practically all the coalfields are distributed in the southern part of the area. The largest one—namely, the Yungyuan coalfield, with a reserve of 438 millions of tons of bituminous coal—might be considered as an extension of the Tatung coalfield of northern Shansi, for they both belong to the Jurassic; and the main seams are of comparable thickness. The total reserve in this province is estimated at about 504 millions of tons. The largest coalfield with a reserve of 250 millions of tons of Jurassic coal in the Jehol Province is located in the Peipiao district. This, together with the Cretaceous coal of inferior quality in other parts of the province, makes a total reserve amounting to 614 millions of tons. Thus the total reserve in the fourth group of coalfields amounts to 1,535 millions of tons. A relatively large portion of this amount is almost unworkable. The coals are, moreover, relatively low in fixed carbon and consequently relatively low in calorific power.

5. *Manchuria*

The fifth group of coalfields are those in Manchuria. Several coalfields occur in the Sungari Basin. The one in Tangyuan

district has a reserve of 547 millions of tons of bituminous coal with a total thickness of workable seams varying from 90 to 175 feet or more. With the Sungari River flowing by, and the important city, Harbin, situated in its proximity, this coalfield will undoubtedly become an important mining centre. A few years ago members of the Geological Survey of China discovered some 332 millions of tons of lignite in the Chalaïnor district, near Manchuli. It is reported that the lignite seams are only covered by a thin layer of surface deposit, and can be easily mined by open cast. Other large coal basins in Manchuria are those of Mishan with a reserve of 214 millions of tons, Omu with 456 millions in Kirin Province, Fushun with 839 millions, Penchihiu with 226 millions in Liaoning Province. There are numerous other coalfields with smaller reserve, but none the less are well worthy of modern method of mining. As a whole the Manchurian coals are of bituminous nature. Only those occurring in Palæozoic basins in South Manchuria are sometimes anthracite or semi-anthracite. Taking all the workable seams together, be they Palæozoic, Jurassic, Cretaceous or Tertiary, the total coal reserve in Manchuria amounts to 4,996 millions of tons. The coals are usually low in fixed carbon and high in volatile matter. Ash is also rather high.

6. North-Western China

The sixth group embraces the coalfields in the north-western provinces. They usually occur either in mountain-locked basins or along the foot of the high ranges. Because of the enormous difficulty of transport and limited local consumption, very little attention has been paid to these coalfields. According to the latest report of the Geological Survey of China some 6,000 millions of tons are allowed for Sinkiang Province or Chinese Turkestan, and the same figure is allowed for Kansu and Ningsia.

With this very brief account of these six groups of coalfields we have completed the survey of the coalfields in northern China, that is the region to the north of the Tsinling Range. This line of division is not at all arbitrary. Nature has drawn it. China's most valuable coalfields are largely distributed in the area to the north of this range. South of this line the conditions are quite different. The strata are often highly disturbed. Although small coalfields do occur in intermountain basins, they are usually involved in sharp folds or miserably broken up into small patches. Apart from a few cases, the coal is generally rather poor in quality, and occurs in thinnish seams. As a whole, there is no comparison with northern China. A broad survey will make this statement clear.

*(b) SOUTHERN CHINA**7. Red Basin of Szuchuan*

We will now deal with the seventh group of coalfields—namely, those in the Red Basin of Szuchuan. Speculation has been prevalent as to the possible coal reserve in this province. The basin, as is shown on the map, is of a vast size. In the basin, and especially in the south-eastern part of it, there arise rows of sharp anticlinal hills. Flanking those hills is often found a seam of Liassic or Rhætic coal usually bituminous, rarely semi-anthracitic. If we assume this coal extending underground over the whole basin or at least a large part of it, and there is strong geological reason for us to do so, we would have a vast amount of coal stored up in that basin. Detailed investigation shows that the Red Basin actually has some 9,874 millions of tons of coal in reserve. But the great misfortune is that the coal seam is usually only one foot and a half in thickness, rarely attaining 3 feet. The Mesozoic coal in that basin is therefore to be condemned. More hopeful is the Permian coal which is known to occur in the southern part of the basin, probably amounting to 4,452 millions of tons. This coal usually contains some 62 to 77 per cent. of fixed carbon, 17 to 30 per cent. of volatile matter, 7,300 to 8,000 calories in calorific value. It is, however, still uncertain whether all this amount is workable.

8. Central Yangtze Basin

In the eighth group we may include the coalfields of the provinces of Hupeh, Hunan and Kiangsi. Only a few productive fields are found in the western and south-eastern parts of Hupeh. The coals are usually of inferior quality, and the seams are often too thin to be of workable value. The largest coalfield in this province is the one in the districts of Kiayu and Puchih, south-eastern Hupeh, with a probable reserve of 100 millions of tons. But the greater part of this area is drowned by a lake.

More promising are the coalfields in Central Hunan, covering the Ninghsiang, Siangtan, Sianghsiang, Paoching and Hengshan districts. Throughout these districts nearly all the valuable seams belong to the Permian, a few to Lower Carboniferous. A liberal estimate of the workable coal in this area gives the figure of 305 millions of tons of anthracite and 338 millions of tons of bituminous coal. These coals are, on the whole, of fairly good quality. Little is, however, suitable for coking.

A number of coalfields is distributed in a belt across Central Kiangsi from the south-west to the north-east. They are located on the southern side of the Poyang Basin, and are often traversed by navigable rivers. A smaller portion of the Permian coal is

anthracitic. The rest, including the Jurassic, is all bituminous. The total reserve of workable coal in this area is comparable with that of central Hunan.

According to the latest estimate, the total coal reserve in these three provinces in the central Yangtze Valley—namely, Hupeh, Hunan and Kiangsi—amounts to about 5,000 millions of tons.

9. *South-Eastern China*

The ninth group of coalfields—namely, those in the Lower Yangtze Valley and in the coastal region of south-eastern China—are hardly of any importance. In southern Anhui a few coalfields exist in the Kueichih, Kinhsien and Hsuenchen districts. None of them has a reserve of more than 20 millions of tons. In southern Kiangsu and in northern Chekiang there are only two or three coalfields worthy of consideration. The negligible amount of reserve has been tapped under difficult conditions. A coal-bearing formation of Jurassic age is known to occur in the north-western part of Fukien, and some Palæozoic coal rich in sulphur exists in the south-eastern part of the province. Although detailed survey in these areas has not yet been carried out, the general geological condition already known precludes the possible existence of large coalfields.

10. *Peikiang and Sikiang Valleys*

The tenth group comprises the coalfields of Kuangtung and Kuangsi. These provinces are also poor in potential supply of coal. A few small coalfields exist in the upper Peikiang Valley and the western part of Kuangtung Province. They are hardly of workable value. Lower Carboniferous coal occurs in the north-eastern part of Kuangsi; Permian coal in the northern, central and south-eastern parts of the same province; Tertiary coal with a high percentage of volatile matter is distributed along the upper course of the Sikiang or the Pearl River. In all these cases they occur in thin seams, and are of inferior quality. The reserve is also extremely limited.

11. *South-Western China*

The eleventh group, the last of all, affords only a slightly better prospect. In this group are included the coalfields of Kueichou and Yunnan. The general geological structure of Kueichou is just the reverse of that of the Red Basin of Szuchuan. As against that Sinking area here we have a rising plateau. Coal seams of Permian age are extensively distributed in the western and

northern parts of this plateau. Very often they are overlaid by gently inclined strata of limestones. In spite of the fact that some 1,549 millions of tons of coal are stored up in this area, little of it is of economic value, for the seam is generally no more than two feet in thickness.

The province of Yunnan forms the south-western highland of China. Nearly the whole region has been involved in complex folding and faulting. For this reason the coalfields in Yunnan are usually much disturbed. As far as our present knowledge goes, there are over 30 coalfields, large and small, in that province. The coal seams occur in the Carboniferous, Permian, Triassic and Tertiary formations. Nearly all the large coalfields are distributed in the neighbourhood of the lake districts. The coalfields of Fumin, Kunmin, Sungmin, Luliang, Yiliang, Chengkiang, Milo, Ami are all located on the northern and eastern sides of the Kumin lakes; those of the Pinchuan and Siangyun districts are on the southern side of the Lake of Tali. In most of these fields the coal is of bituminous nature, and the seams are usually of workable thickness. Respectable quantities of lignite also occur in the Tertiary basins. Altogether there are some 1,627 millions of tons of coal in reserve. The coals occurring on the south-eastern side of the Lakes of Kunmin are usually high in ash and low in volatile content, with an amount of fixed carbon varying from 50 to 80 per cent.

After this rapid survey it will be clearly realized that the whole region of southern China cannot be regarded as rich in coal resource. It is not to be compared with the northern part of the country. The latest coal census shows that China has altogether 236,287 millions of tons in reserve. Over 80 per cent. of this amount is distributed in the Shan-shen Plateau. Of the rest we have to allow 1·8 per cent. for Manchuria and Jehol Province and about 4·8 per cent. for the remote region in the north-west, where the problem of transport alone would determine its fate at least in the immediate future. Only 13·4 per cent. remains to be distributed in the other provinces. If we further reduce this amount by 5 per cent. of the total reserve in the provinces of Hopei, Honan, Shantung and northern Anhui, we have only 8·4 per cent. allotted for southern China. And it must be remembered that a considerable amount in this portion is unworkable.

B. COAL MINING IN CHINA

Coal industry in China has been greatly handicapped by the difficulty of transport. In the Yangtze Valley the Great River and its navigable tributaries afford some natural facility of conveyance. But without the help of even light railways, some of the coalfields

are practically unworkable. In northern China where none of the rivers is navigable, transportation must entirely depend upon railways. And these, in turn, are bound up with the question of the development of the nearest sea port. Apart from Dairen in South Manchuria, the sea ports in northern China that are best suited for shipping, and are now connected by railways to the coalfields inland, are Chinwangtao in northern Hopei and Tsingtao in south-eastern Shantung. Tientsin, though a well-known sea port, is less favourably placed as a shipping station for coal, for the river Peiho often threatens to silt up its own course. The small port, Tangku, situated at the mouth of the Peiho, is similarly placed in adverse conditions. For this and other reasons, there can be little doubt that both Chinwangtao and Tsingtao will prove in the immediate future to be the most important sea ports in northern China.

In spite of political and economic difficulties, China's annual production of coal has shown a continual increase in the last two decades. She produced some 9 millions of tons in 1912; in 1931 the figure rose to more than 27 millions of tons. The following table calculated upon the data supplied by the Geological Survey of China shows the proportional production in the different regions:

Production of Coal in China (in tons).

		1929.	1930.	1931.
Northern China	...	21,911,937	22,832,768	23,622,305
Central China (Yangtze Valley)	...	2,995,671	2,615,066	3,060,302
Southern China	...	399,856	437,826	412,055

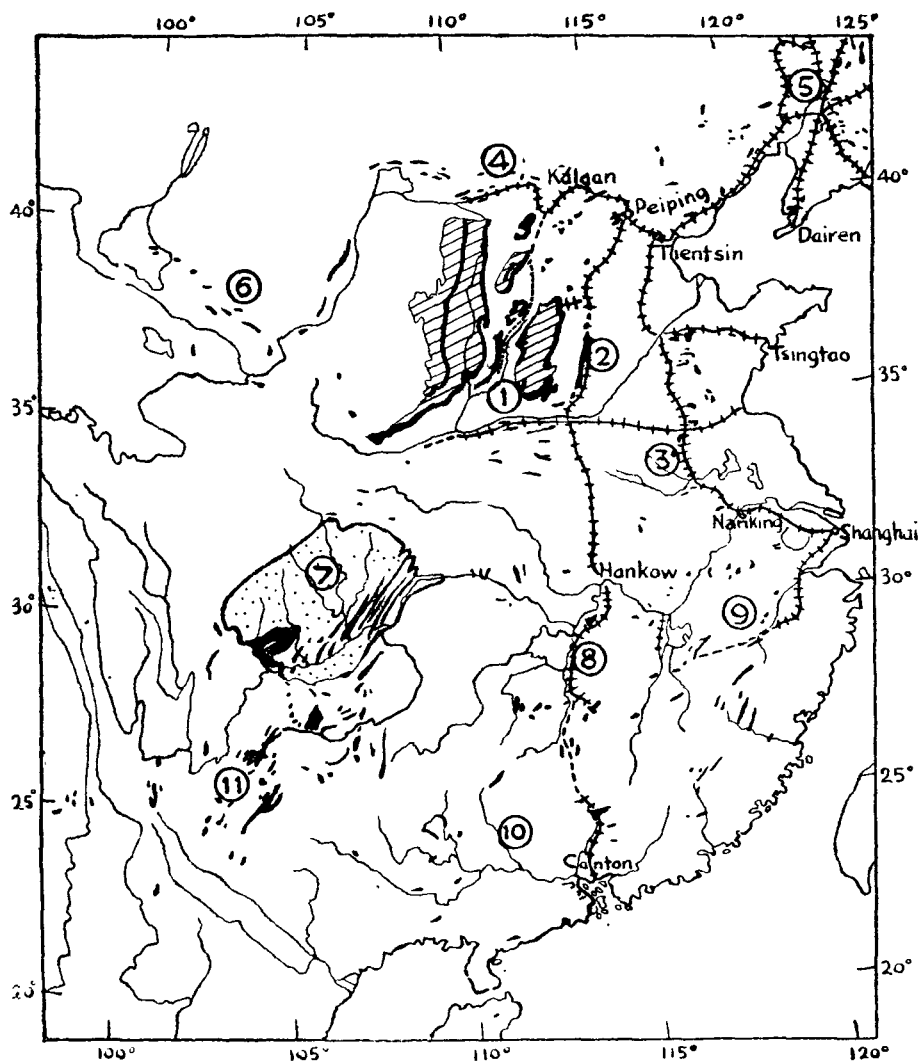
A glance at the above table will make it clear that, of the relatively small amount of coal produced in China, by far the largest portion is derived from the northern part of the country. These figures mean, then, that northern China is not only pre-eminent for its coal reserve, but the coal mining industry in that area is far more advanced than in any other regions throughout China. Two large coal mining companies are now operating in northern China. The one, the Fushun coal mine in South Manchuria, is entirely under Japanese control; and the other, the Kailan Mining Administration, a Sino-British concern, operates in the Tangshan Basin, northern Hopei. The annual production exceeds 6 millions of tons in the case of the Fushun coal mine and 5 millions of tons in the Kailan collieries. None of the other coal mining companies in the country produce one million tons per year. In short, the crisis has reached a climax in the last two years partly owing to the world-wide depression and the peculiar

economic difficulty coupled with political uncertainty in China, and partly from the dumping of Japanese coal in the market.

Domestic consumption still occupies a large proportion of coals produced and sold in China. The young industries that are now struggling for their bare existence in sporadic shipping centres only require a limited quantity of supply. Railways are the principal consumers of coal in northern China, so much so that some of the coalfields lying along the Pingsui Railway (Peiping-Paotuh) are worked by the railway administration for its own use. In the Yangtze Valley shipping takes the place of railways in matter of transport. The shipping companies, together with the manufacturers in a few centres, such as Shanghai and Hankow, form the important customers in the coal market.

As the coal produced in Kuangtung and Kuangsi is extremely limited in quantity, the consumers in these southernmost provinces almost entirely depend for their supply on imported coal. The marked difference in price of this commodity at the important centres in northern, central and southern China eloquently expresses the coal resources in these several regions. From 1928 to 1931 the wholesale price per ton of good bituminous coal and semi-anthracite varied from 10 to 13 silver dollars in northern China, 15 to 23 dollars in the Yangtze Valley and 26 to 30 dollars in Canton.

Although the future of the coal mining industry in China seems to be largely linked up with the development of railway systems and shipping centres it can hardly be gainsaid that the ultimate issue is involved in the complex problem of the industrialization of China as a whole, and in particular of those places where coals are mined. Transport by railway for long distances is very often an unsound economic policy. In this connection our attention is once more drawn to northern China, particularly to the Shansi and Shensi Plateau.



A SKETCH MAP OF CHINA SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF
COALFIELDS

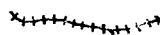
REFERENCE :

Black : Coalfields.

Shaded area : Rather deeply buried coalfields with rich coal seams.

Stippled area : Unworkable coalfields.

For figures refer to the text.



Railway.



Railway under construction.

The railway from French Indo-China to the capital of Yunnan is not indicated.

COTTON TESTS IN INDIA

BY DR. NAZIR AHMAD, M.SC., PH.D., F.INST.P.

(Director, Technological Laboratory, Bombay.)

ONE of the main functions of the Technological Laboratory is to assess by an actual test the spinning value of a cotton. The samples for this purpose come from various sources. The majority of them are received from the Agricultural Officers who are entrusted with the task of improving the quality of the Indian cotton crop. The efforts at improvement usually take the form of evolving, by selection of hybridization, new strains which, as compared with the local cotton, may give a higher yield or ginning outturn, possess a better staple and a higher spinning value, or be more resistant to the onslaught of any pest or disease prevalent in the area. In addition, experiments may be undertaken to find the effect of such factors as (1) manurial treatment, (2) date of sowing, (3) frequency of irrigation, (4) rotation of other crops, etc., upon the yield and the spinning quality of a well-established cotton. Besides these "agricultural" samples, the Laboratory undertakes tests on samples of fair average quality of well-known trade varieties of Indian cottons. Tests are also made on behalf of mills and firms on their payment of certain fees laid down by the Indian Central Cotton Committee.

All these samples which are received for tests from the various sources mentioned above are spun into suitable counts and the strength and other characteristics of their yarns are determined. The manner in which the testing work of the Laboratory has increased since its inception may be judged from the fact that beginning with 54 samples in 1924-25 the number of samples subjected to a spinning test rose to 257 in 1929-30 and to 548 in 1933-34.

In view of the importance of these tests to the Agricultural Officers and the trade, the aim of the Indian Central Cotton Committee has always been to maintain its spinning plant in an up-to-date condition. The equipment of the spinning room has been reinforced from time to time by the acquisition of new ring frames and a fine roving frame. Recently the Indian Central Cotton Committee sanctioned a scheme to overhaul the blow-room plant of the Laboratory.

The old blow-room plant was installed in 1924, soon after the completion of the Spinning Laboratory block. It consisted of a porcupine lattice feeder, a Crighton opener, a hopper feeder and a scutcher. The lattice feeder fed the cotton directly into the

Crighton opener, but a side inlet was also provided for hand-feeding the cotton into the latter in cases where it was felt that more than one passage in this machine was necessary to open and clean the sample. The scutcher lap was divided into four equal parts which were folded one above the other on the scutcher lattice. This was repeated to correspond to the opener, intermediate and finisher scutcher in a mill.

During the last decade or so many improvements have been made in the design and construction of the blow-room machinery as a result of which its capacity to open and clean cotton has been greatly enhanced. This factor was duly considered and in consonance with its policy to keep in the vanguard of progress the Committee decided to overhaul the blow-room plant. This has been done by installing a new horizontal cleaner, a new hopper feeder with three step cone pulleys, new cyclones and improved dust trunks with vibrating grids. The machines are fitted with fast revolving cages and exhaust fans to eliminate dust and small impurities which are often so difficult to remove. Furthermore, the old hopper feeder has been provided with stronger upright and evenner lattices and the old Crighton opener with improved triangular grid bars and a new set of blades.

Samples of cotton which are tested at the Laboratory cover a very wide range both in class and grade. Some are suitable only for 6's yarns, from others 100's and even finer counts have been spun. Some are so clean that they contain barely 4 per cent. trash, others have yielded more than 20 per cent. loss in the blow-room alone. It is necessary therefore that the blow-room plant of the Laboratory should be such as to deal efficiently with this wide range of cottons, fulfilling its function of cleaning them without damaging their fibre. For this purpose bye-passes have been provided in the new plant so that, in the case of clean cottons, one or more machines can be thrown out and the cotton given the treatment which is regarded as correct for it. This feature, coupled with the recently purchased machines, makes the new blow-room eminently suitable for a technological laboratory.

The addition of the new machines has necessitated the enlargement of the blow-room by some thirty feet. This was done by taking in the old cotton samples room, and accordingly a new and bigger samples room has been built. Furthermore, since during the last five years two new ring frames, one fine roving frame and three experimental gins were installed in the spinning room, this room has become overcrowded. Accordingly, two new rooms have been built contiguous to the spinning room to take some of the machinery and relieve the pressure in the latter. Again, in view of the very large increase in the number of samples tested at the Laboratory from year to year, the personnel and the equip-

ment of the yarn testing room had grown steadily in such a manner as to result in overcrowding in this section of the Laboratory. Accordingly, this room has also been enlarged to meet the present day needs of the Laboratory. The cost of all these extensions and the new equipment, borne by the Committee in the cause of improvement of the Indian cotton crop, is approximately Rs. 40,000 (£3,000).

CHINA AND THE SILVER PROBLEM

BY M. C. B. SAYER

WHEN the World Economic Conference met in London in the summer of 1933 the low gold price of silver was one of the many problems which awaited solution. As a commodity the white metal was in exactly the same plight as all other commodities. The raising of the gold value of silver might, therefore, well have been left to be effected as part of the general rehabilitation of world prices. Two propositions had, however, by then secured a large measure of vigorous support in influential quarters on both sides of the Atlantic. They were, first, that the raising of the gold price of silver would increase the purchasing power of China, India, and other silver-using countries and thus expand their capacity to import goods from the industrial countries of the West; and, second, that dearer silver would have the effect of raising the gold prices of other commodities. In consequence, what is now known as the Silver Agreement was signed. It was believed by its author that a stabilization of the price at an appreciably higher level would result if the producing countries were compelled to buy 35,000,000 fine ounces from their mine production annually for four years, while India, China, and Spain agreed to limit their sales from monetary stocks over the same period.

The Silver Agreement constitutes the sole achievement of the London Conference. In the light of events, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that it might have been better for the whole world if the conference had done less, because the Silver Agreement has not merely falsified the hopes upon which it was based, but has also brought something like a financial and economic catastrophe upon China, the chief silver-using country. Indeed, it has merely substituted for an undisturbing, if depressing, problem a more harassing one. In fairness it must be admitted at once that the agreement itself is not directly responsible for the present situation, because the present high gold price of silver has been produced by the Silver Purchase Act of the United States of America. That measure could not, on the other hand, have produced the present rise in the gold price of silver but for the existence of the Silver Agreement.

The Silver Purchase Bill received the assent of President Roosevelt on June 19, 1934—that is, about a year after the signing of the Silver Agreement. Under the Act the United States Treasury is obliged to increase its stock of silver to one-third of

the value of its gold holdings, so that silver might constitute one-fourth of the total metallic reserve of the currency. The object of the Bill was, primarily, to increase the scope for the issue of currency against a metallic reserve in the belief that the increase of the amount of currency would bring about a rise in the gold prices of commodities. But the hopes founded upon the Silver Purchase Act have been as completely falsified as those upon which the Silver Agreement was based. Neither internal prices in the United States of America nor world prices are any the higher today for all that the world has heard about silver during the past two years.

While the American silver-buying programme has at least the sanction of modern monetary theory, the hopes reposed upon the Silver Agreement had no such justification. The belief that a rise in the gold price of silver would occasion a rise in the gold prices of other commodities was quite original. Moreover, no sort of justification of the proposition was even attempted, and it is salutary to remember that China, which, according to Senator Pittman, was going to become 50 per cent. richer through the effective operation of the plan, has so far omitted to ratify the agreement. What is more extraordinary is that anyone seriously entertained the idea that an advance in the gold price of silver would increase the purchasing power of China, India, and other countries in Asia. The sincerity of those who still adhere to the belief has been questioned. Their error, which is very common in economic controversy, lies in supposing that, because the quantity of money in the hands of a holder at an instant of time is suddenly increased, his day-to-day capacity to buy goods is expanded. It is forgotten that the individual's capacity to buy goods is dependent upon the exchange value of the goods or services that he produces, and that the appreciation of the quantity of money that he might hold in his hands at a given moment is an artificial expansion of the value of those goods or services that he can offer after they had been converted into the money. Moreover, when the money artificially acquires an increased purchasing power, it produces a reaction upon the goods or services for which it might be exchanged, as the result of which less of the money is given for the same goods or services. The process is the exact reverse of what happens during a period of inflation. Instead of wages and prices rising, they both fall.

The United States Treasury has certainly not been remiss in implementing the Silver Purchase Act. When the Act was passed there were only 691,482,085 ounces of silver in its vaults. Today there is a stock of approximately 1,200,000,000 ounces. At the present price of 77·57 cents an ounce, it represents a value of nearly \$900,000,000. Now the stock of gold of the Treasury is approximately \$9,000,000,000. Therefore, as the Treasury has to

raise its stock of silver to \$3,000,000,000 it has the authority to buy over twice as much silver as it possesses at the moment, so long as the price remains the same. It must be clearly borne in mind that with every increase of the price the extent to which the Treasury could buy silver contracts. For instance, if the present price is doubled, the extent to which the Treasury could buy silver would be halved.

The present phase of the problem of the gold price of silver began when, under the authority of the Silver Purchase Act, President Roosevelt nationalized all monetary stocks of silver in the United States of America on August 9, 1934. Until then the gold price of silver was still moderate. It is, of course, only the countries which use silver as a money that have been adversely affected by the advance in the gold price of silver, and hitherto the chief, if not the only serious sufferer has been China.

While silver coins are in use almost throughout the whole of Asia, it is not in every country that a unit of silver is the measure of value and the register of price. In several countries the silver coin in circulation is only a token coin, like the subsidiary coinage in Great Britain or France. In such countries no disturbance has been so far caused by the advance in the gold price of silver, because it has not proceeded far enough. India is a conspicuous case in point. The Indian currency is directly linked to sterling and thus indirectly to gold. It is in no way related to silver. The Indian rupee is, however, a silver coin, and the exact part that silver plays in the monetary system was succinctly described by the Hilton Young Currency Committee, when it said that the rupee was a banknote stamped upon silver. Naturally the rupee has a bullion value, apart from its nominal value, which is eighteen pence. Its bullion value, which is, of course, dependent upon gold price of silver, is at present twelve pence. Thanks to the fact that the bullion value of the rupee is still below its nominal or sterling value, India has so far been unaffected by the advance in the gold price of silver, except for the great increase in the value of the large stocks held by the Government.

As a producer of the metal India is to all intents and purposes negligible. Silver mines once existed in Afghanistan, and lead and silver have been found in small deposits in the Khamti Hills of Assam and parts of Southern Bihar; some old workings are still to be seen in the Hoshangabad District of the Central Provinces. Although there are ample evidences to show that the ancient miners, who have gone and left no name, converted many of the deposits into paying propositions, the metal has not yet been discovered in sufficient quantities to make its commercial exploitation profitable—apart, of course, from its association with other metals. As a by-product of gold mining, silver is obtained on a

comparatively small scale in Mysore—between twenty-five and thirty thousand ounces per annum.

The situation of China is very different from that of India. China is not merely a silver-using country, but also a country which uses a silver coin as its measure of value and register of price. In consequence China has felt the full force of the advance in the price of silver. Two reactions have been produced upon China by the silver-purchasing policy of the United States of America. The first was a loss of a very large quantity of the metal to the United States of America. The second has been a sharp fall in the prices of commodities in China in terms of the Chinese silver dollar.

In the month of August, 1934—that is, the month in which President Roosevelt's proclamation was issued—China lost \$79,000,000 worth of silver. In the next month she lost \$59,000,000, and in October \$57,000,000. The country was threatened with the loss of almost the whole of its stock of silver, and the Government was forced to take some action. It decided to check the outflow by raising the duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon exports of the metal to 10 per cent. and levying an equalization charge, the combined effect of the regulations being the elimination of the shippers' profit. Those measures have not proved wholly effective, because the Government has been unable completely to prevent the smuggling of silver out of the country, but they have undoubtedly averted the catastrophe of a loss of the silver coinage.

They, moreover, suggest that, although the Government of China is equipped with an Economic Advisory Council with no less than six foreign experts, it had little understanding of the realities of the problem with which it was faced. The shipments of silver from the country were mainly due to the facts, first, that, because China is a debtor country, foreigners have claims of interest upon her that they are able to use for the purpose of taking silver out of the country, and, second, that they were able to sell goods to China and convert the credits so obtained into silver instead of into exports of China's produce. Had the Government of China used the most efficient administrative department that it controls—the Chinese Maritime Customs—for the purpose of compelling her creditors to receive payment of interest in goods and importers of foreign goods into China to transfer the proceeds abroad in the form of Chinese produce, the outflow of silver would have been far more successfully arrested.

The policy of the Government of China in this regard is, however, not so open to criticism as the steps that it has adopted to check the fall in the internal prices of produce, in consequence of the appreciation of the gold price of the Chinese silver dollar. What the Government sought to do was to isolate China from the effects of the rise in the gold price of silver. It literally sought to build a

wall round the economy of the country, so that—whatever might be the gold price of silver outside China—the silver prices of commodities within China would remain undisturbed. Now in the first place such a policy is unsound, and in the second place it was hardly practicable in a country as unorganized as China. It was an imitation of what Dr. Schacht is doing in Germany, but the conditions in Germany are not the same as in China. The lack of communications in China renders price largely a matter of locality, and that is probably the factor which has contributed most to the protection of the country as a whole from the worst effects of the rise in the price of silver. Thus, more was not expected of the Government than the control of prices in the regions of the ports.

The Government of China has certainly succeeded in preventing the exchange value of the Chinese silver dollar from rising in accordance with the advance in the gold price of silver. It is greatly to be doubted, however, whether the country has thereby secured any advantage. Many British bankers in China have questioned the wisdom of the policy. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that, in repressing the exchange value of the silver dollar, the Government of China has merely taken all the disadvantages of the rise in the price of silver and sacrificed the only benefit. In view of the fact that China is a debtor country which is conscientiously trying to meet its interest obligations, the deliberate depreciation of the exchange value of the dollar is very difficult to justify.

Faced with the practical failure of both those policies, the Government of China has sought to extricate itself out of its situation by the adoption of an even less practicable expedient. That is the encouragement of the importation of silver. It has even gone the length of becoming a purchaser of silver in London, thus taking a part in forcing up the price. In that policy the Government has again showed the same inexplicable failure to appreciate the elementary economic truth that the movement of the precious metals is dependent upon the balance of trade. China, a debtor country, with a large adverse balance of trade, was able to import silver, when silver was literally going a-begging in the world, and foreigners were glad to deposit their stocks of silver in the banks in China and draw interest upon them. When, however, there is a strong and steady pull upon the world's stocks of monetary silver from the United States of America, there can be no hope of the gravitation of the metal towards a debtor country like China, which has the additional disadvantage of an adverse balance of trade.

In pursuance of the policy of importing silver to correct the situation brought about by the loss of stocks during the past twelve months, the Government of China has sought an inter-

national loan. The project is inconsistent with the American silver-purchasing policy, and thus the United States of America could not be expected to participate in such an issue. As no loan was feasible without the co-operation of that country, the project was moribund. It was in any circumstances unsound, because, while the balance of payments is against China, silver cannot remain in the country against the American demand.

Before a loan could be of any use to China, she must put her overseas trade and her foreign obligations upon a sound basis. In the first place, she must come to some arrangement with her creditors, so that the latter would accept Chinese produce in payment of China's interest obligations or forego their claims upon China. There is no other alternative, except default by China. The amount of foreign capital invested in China is relatively small, and it is very unfortunate that the foreign trade and currency of the country should be prejudiced by the failure to arrive at an equitable and common-sense settlement. In the second place, China must put an end to the dumping of goods upon credit upon her by the countries with which she trades. Much of the credit is short-term credit, and the result is that it can be utilized for the export of silver. It is indispensable that the countries which sell goods to China should buy goods from China of equivalent value if the stability of the currency is to be maintained in the face of the American silver policy.

The correction of the adverse balance in the foreign trade of China is thus the first condition of the solution of the monetary problem with which the country is faced as the result of the American silver-purchasing policy. That is, however, the one problem that the Government has hitherto consistently neglected. Until that problem is successfully attacked, the country can only continue to be the passive victim of the American policy. Its economic and financial position is certainly deteriorating, and sooner rather than later a radical solution of the monetary problem of the country will be imperatively called for.

There can be no hope of the abatement of the agonies of China even through the stabilization of the gold price of silver at 77·57 cents an ounce, for the American objective is a much higher price. It is the declared intention of the advocates of a high gold price for silver in the United States of America to secure a price of \$1·29 an ounce. Some demand even a higher price. Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jun., Secretary of the United States Treasury, has publicly announced that the Government would pay any price that the metal fetched in the world market, and it has been very clearly implied that the Government is committed to raising the price to \$1·29 an ounce.

If the value of the pound sterling remains at approximately

\$4·86, a rise in the price of silver to \$1·29 an ounce would raise the bullion value of the Indian rupee above the sterling value of one shilling and sixpence. The fixed rate of exchange between sterling and the rupee would then break down. The moment that stage is reached India will begin to experience precisely the same reactions of the rise in the gold price of silver that China has experienced hitherto. Thus the area of disturbance would be well-nigh doubled. The consequences to India would, in fact, be far more serious, for India is a country the economy of which is far more intimately related to its foreign trade than China. There is hardly a village in India that would not feel the impact of the American silver policy. Indeed, anything like a rise of the gold price of silver considerably beyond \$1·29 would be a catastrophe to India.

While no direct disturbance to the economy of India can arise until the price of silver is at least \$1·20, the advance of the bullion value of the rupee to two-thirds of the nominal value of the rupee has created a somewhat embarrassing situation which is being carefully watched by the authorities. The danger to the rupee exists only during the lifetime of the Silver Agreement, which expires in two years. Moreover, when India has established the gold bullion standard, it is to be hoped that a final solution of the problem of the silver rupee will be found in the substitution of nickel coins or paper for the silver rupee. China will also, no doubt, eventually find a way out of its monetary difficulties through the establishment of some form of the gold standard to which the Government is already committed.

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN FEDERAL INDIA

BY R. W. BROCK

(Late Editor *Capital*, Calcutta.)

PRIOR to, and since, the introduction of the India Bill the political objective of the Indian Nationalist Movement—viz., the early attainment of complete self-government—has been discussed from every angle almost to the point of satiety; so much so that perhaps it would be unduly optimistic to anticipate any further genuinely original comment, even in the House of Lords. There are, however, as indicated in the discussions in the House of Commons, still wide gaps in British knowledge and understanding of the economic objectives of the classes who will control the new Federal and Provincial Government; and *Planned Economy for India*, a candid and authoritative survey of India's economic resources and ambitions by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, one of its elder statesmen, a man of wide administrative and industrial experience, will help to fill them. It is a reasonable inference, in view of the status of the author, the proposals he puts forward, and the warm reception that has already been accorded to them in India, that the economic objectives of Federal India will be self-development and self-sufficiency, and that no powers reserved to the Governor-General, even if they could be applied, will avail to deter or delay development along these lines. In this direction India in any event will only be following the general example, and will be entitled to claim the same freedom to choose her own path to economic perdition—or prosperity. India is as anxious as most other nations to move towards greater industrial development, and her resources in terms of materials, men, money, and markets are adequate to compass much more progress than has yet been achieved.

There is no doubt, therefore, either as to the scope for economic planning or the incentive. A general raising of the standard of income and living in India, in view of the close economic interdependence of all countries, is only a shade less necessary to the rest of the world than to India itself, and differences of opinion are legitimate only as to the methods whereby these higher standards may be attained. Moreover, in India, official leadership is essential, and is conditioned by domestic and international circumstances alike. Owing to its special relations with rural producers, its irrigation works, its ownership and management of most of the railway system, and of many other great public utilities, its inti-

mate association with the banking organization, its tariff policy, and its unique influence as a large buyer of manufactured materials, the Government of India cannot escape a dominant rôle in determining the range and pace of economic progress, and, under the new Constitution, its activity in all these spheres is more likely to wax than to wane. In relation to international trade the general regimentation now in progress imposes new responsibilities, and the Indian Government is already being urged to strengthen its organization and personnel in order to enable it to cope adequately with the additional tasks and obligations thus imposed. Consequently a large amount of "planning" is, in any circumstances, unavoidable, and the control and direction required are only a matter of degree. Indian opinion has a traditional bent in favour of State leadership in promoting every form of economic enterprise, and, under the new Constitution, this desire will probably find full expression, not inconceivably culminating in some form of State Socialism. If so, it will only be necessary to build on the foundations already laid by the British Administration.

Accepting Sir M. Visvesvaraya's programme as fairly representative of the trend of Indian thought and policy, we find, first, a realization of the fact that while the world has undergone, and is still undergoing, great changes in economic structure and outlook, due partly to the many remarkable scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions to which the new era has given birth and partly to the World War, from the effects of which we are not yet free, a disquieting change that is taking place in India is the rapid growth of population without a corresponding rise in production or income. Consequently, it is complained, the population, insufficiently employed even in normal times, is at present experiencing acute distress, owing to the phenomenal fall in prices and loss of purchasing power.

The grave problems created by the rapid growth in the population of India have received inadequate recognition from Western observers. Between 1881 and 1931 the increase was nearly 100 millions or 39 per cent., and, having regard to the rainfall, climatic conditions, present state of production and food supply, it is maintained that the population has outrun the means of subsistence; indeed, as noted in the last Indian Census Report, India now heads the list of all countries in the world in the number of her inhabitants, and this increase "is from most points of view a cause for alarm rather than satisfaction." In the decade ended 1931 the increase was 33·9 million persons, or 10·6 per cent. At this rate of growth, the former Dewan of Mysore calculates, India in 13·5 years increases her population by an amount equal to the entire present population of the United Kingdom, including

Northern Ireland. If calculation be made at the average rate of growth since 1911, the same increase will take place in about 24·5 years. The official figures of cultivated area give a *per capita* average of 0·84 acre of dry crop and 0·18 acre of irrigated crop for the entire population of British India. The total production of India from both agriculture and industries in 1921-22 was about £1,750,000,000, equivalent to £5 10s. per head, and today the figure must be lower. Oversea trade is equivalent only to about twelve shillings per head, or only one-sixth that of Japan, where the average *per capita* income is thrice as high as in India.

It is often assumed that in India in recent years industrialization has gone far, but in actual fact, owing to the vast increase in population, the figures point to progressive ruralization, and unfortunately the agricultural holdings are so small that machinery and modern scientific methods cannot be profitably applied, except in limited areas, to increase their yield. The outstanding defects of Indian rural life, as summed up by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, are: The excessive pressure of the population on the land, the small size of holdings and their progressive fragmentation, the primitive methods of cultivation followed, the waste of farm manure, irregular hours of labour, insufficient and uneconomical utilization of women's services, the lack of finance for farm work, the old-fashioned character of the subsidiary occupations pursued, the crushing indebtedness of the ryot, short employment, universal illiteracy, and phenomenal poverty. "If the inertia of centuries is to be overcome," the Agricultural Commission, presided over by Lord Linlithgow, reported in 1928, "it is essential that all the resources at the disposal of the State should be brought to bear on the problem of rural uplift. What is required is an organized and sustained effort by all those departments whose activities touch the lives and surroundings of the rural population."

It is somewhat disquieting to find that, notwithstanding the immense scope for unremitting constructive activity thus revealed, the author of *Planned Economy for India* devotes no further attention to the problem of rural revivification and reconstruction, but urges concentration of all available resources and effort on the expansion and multiplication of industrial establishments. Such a programme, I venture to submit, ignores the fundamental fact that in India industrial expansion can proceed only *pari passu* with the expansion in the purchasing power of the rural population, whose economic elevation is therefore the first problem to be solved. One of the features of the present world contraction in international trade is the increasing dependence of all manufacturing industries on domestic markets, and in India the value of the domestic market is mainly determined by the margin of in-

come left in the hands of the rural population after meeting prior fixed charges in the form of rent, interest, etc. *Inter alia*, in support of his plea for a fuller development of Indian industries to meet Indian wants, the former Chairman of the Indian Economic Enquiry Committee makes the somewhat sweeping statement that Indian people "at the present time buy from outside the country most of the manufactured goods that they need, including some of their staple wants like clothing, steel, sugar, and salt—commodities which they once manufactured for themselves." Such a statement obviously underrates the extent to which Indian manufactures have already displaced materials formerly imported in respect of all the commodities mentioned. This applies particularly to clothing and sugar of which imports are now small relative to Indian production and are tending towards complete disappearance.

Ignoring the reduced incomes of the rural population, and the consequent necessity of a downward adjustment of the price-level of manufactured goods in order to maintain and extend consumption, Sir M. Visvesvaraya urges that Indian tariffs should be raised still higher—a policy which would inflict a double injury on the Indian cultivators, first, by raising still further the prices of the manufactured goods they wish to buy, and, secondly, by narrowing still further their export markets (the inevitable effect of reduced imports of foreign manufactures) so causing a further decline in their incomes. In brief, economic planning, as expounded by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, appears to consist mainly of devices directed to promoting the further enrichment of the urban manufacturer at the expense of the producers of primary products. On this issue, indeed, our mentor's attitude is not only inequitable but inconsistent, for while in one passage (page 78) he insists that, "So long as foreign competition is keen, protection only discriminatory, and subsidies are practically unknown, new industries have small chance of making headway," on the succeeding page he claims, quite unconvincingly, "That India, given the necessary freedom, will be able to produce manufactured goods for export, is evident (*sic*) from the fact that during the war, when there was little or no competition from Europe, she sent out more manufactured articles than either before or after the war." The reminder that Indian industries were able to produce manufactured goods for export "when there was little or no competition from Europe" is rendered still more irrelevant by the subsequent emergence of Japanese competition, which Indian industries find it difficult to combat even behind a 50 per cent. tariff.

In relation to competition in the shipping trade, it is admitted frankly that "No Indian company, however strong, can hope to thrive in the teeth of competition from powerful vested interests

with their accumulated reserves without the backing of a national government." It is accordingly urged that "Under a new Government, in spite of the opposition from vested interests to which India's public men have by now got accustomed, special attention will have to be paid to encourage Indian shipping in the many ways it is done by national governments of other countries." In brief, both Indian shipping and Indian shipbuilding should be subsidized from Indian revenues. More pertinent is the advocacy of financial support for the development of new air services in India, for at least these provide a new form of transport and equip India with a new amenity, whereas the existing shipping services meet all reasonable requirements. Equally justifiable is the demand put forward for greater vigour in the extension of wireless broadcasting facilities, for here again a new amenity would be provided, and the expenditure incurred would be repaid in terms of rural uplift. A very strong case, as Sir M. Visvesvaraya shows, can also be made for the fuller utilization of India's potential resources in terms of hydro-electric power. Some progress has already been made, but the output compared to that in many countries is negligible, and there is still vast scope for progress. It is, for example, estimated that India has potential power resources equivalent to 27 million horse-power, whereas the power actually developed is under 2 million h.p. It is urged that a comprehensive scheme of development of electric power in India should be launched immediately with a view ultimately to supply cheap electric power for domestic use as well as for industrial and public utility undertakings.

In respect of foreign trade Sir M. Visvesvaraya appears to be on less firm ground, for while he complains that, in proportion to her population, India's foreign trade is the lowest in the world, he overlooks the fact that the net effect of the intensive industrial programme he advocates would be to reduce it still further, owing to the consequent reduction in imports. As all experience attests, sooner or later a country which reduces its imports will suffer a corresponding loss in its export trade; yet the author urges, in so many words, that the proper policy for India in the immediate future should be to steadily reduce the volume of imports by increased industrialization and by restricting imports to luxuries and essential commodities only. Specifically, it is proposed that there should be, firstly, a gradual elimination of such imports as cotton manufactures and refined sugar, which can be produced without difficulty; secondly, the restriction of imports to the extent to which India is able to pay by her own exportable surpluses of raw materials and food grains without entailing any substantial drain on the gold and other resources of the country; and, thirdly, the introduction of an effective policy of protection

to new industries, subject to due consideration of consumer interests. Somewhat inconsistently, having urged the drastic curtailment of imports, including articles of British manufacture, by these various methods, Sir M. Visvesvaraya proceeds sapiently to acknowledge that an increase of trade between the United Kingdom and India "will be of mutual advantage"; a sound contention, but utterly irreconcilable with his definite advocacy of the elimination of British cotton goods and other manufactures such as machinery and motor vehicles, which he advocates that India should produce from her own resources. Steel is included in the ban. India, it is noted, is producing about 500,000 tons of steel and is importing 1,000,000 tons more; and, it is recommended, the tariff should be raised high enough to increase production and render India self-sufficient.

In order to increase production and income rapidly and speed up progress in other directions it is proposed that India should have a Ten-Year Plan, to be evolved and implemented by the Government of India in conjunction with a Central Economic Council functioning as an Indian "Brain Trust." Some conception of the far-reaching character of the programme, which it is contemplated might be carried into effect, may be derived from the suggestion that, in the ten-year period, it should be possible to extend the road mileage by 97 per cent., railway mileage by 29 per cent., to increase electric power plant to twice its present capacity, to develop shipping up to 1,000,000 tons, and to produce nearly all the automobiles required in the country. That foreign manufacturers would not benefit from such a programme is shown by the stipulation that an indispensable preliminary for the rapid extension of railways is the establishment of factories and workshops for the manufacture of locomotives, machinery, and stores required for future extensions. In brief, it is claimed, the general guiding principle should be, as in all modern States, to encourage the export of manufactured articles as far as possible, and to limit to an irreducible minimum the import of foreign manufacturers.

In this very ambitious plan the provision of the considerable financial resources required is presented as not involving any difficulty. It is estimated, for instance, that a loan of about £375,000,000 will be required, in the first instance, partly for productive public works, factories, etc., to be carried out or established under the direct supervision of Government, and partly for financing large-scale factories which may be started by joint-stock companies or private individuals with or without Government co-operation. If, it is assumed, the policies of the new Government command public confidence, there will be no dearth of response from investors, and there will be no need to borrow abroad. The overriding fact, it is pointed out, is that

there are in India seven or eight times the number of people that there are in Great Britain to be fed, clothed, housed, and kept alive, and that in order to be able to do this and to lift her submerged population, India wants freedom to practise whatever industries, occupations, or professions her people find it to their advantage to do. The Indian problem, it is insisted, is fundamentally industrial and should be solved by the same methods as have proved efficacious in the U.S.A., Japan, and Canada, and latterly also in Soviet Russia. India can either be an industrially developed country or a market for foreign manufacturers, but it can never be both. The European community, it is claimed, have welcomed the adoption of a planned economy for India. Broadly speaking, that statement is correct, albeit such approval does not necessarily comprehend the proposals outlined by the author of *Planned Economy for India*, who, however, maintains that the United Kingdom should look for increased business and trade for its people in India in future not by restricting the scope of activities of the indigenous population to primitive occupations done in a primitive way, but by assisting them in the development of new industries and occupations and by increasing the total volume of business in the country for which there is immense scope. The Indian people, it is pleaded, should now have opportunities to build up wealth. There will be room for British trade and also for the services of the British people if rendered in a spirit of equality and friendliness. India, under such an arrangement, is likely to become a new source of strength—commercial and political—to Great Britain in the years to come.

Measures raising the general standard of living and income in India are undoubtedly desirable, but it is open to doubt whether concentration on industrial development, as advocated by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, would achieve that aim. From the standpoint of India as a whole the industrial expansion of the post-war period has brought, perhaps, increased wealth, but, except for an insignificant minority, not increased welfare. As a source of employment, relative to the increase in population of over 30 millions in the decade ending 1931, the industries sustained or created by the imposition of protective tariffs have hardly weighed in the balance; indeed, if we include in our calculations the prejudicial effect on the oversea demand for Indian agricultural produce of the drastic curtailment of manufactured imports, it is probable that, despite the burden imposed on consumers, the net gain, in terms of employment, if not also of hard cash, has been trifling. A rough calculation shows that if all the manufactured goods still entering the Indian market were entirely excluded, in favour of goods of Indian manufacture, the transfer of production would involve the employment of under a million new workers—at the

price of the almost complete elimination of the oversea markets for India's surplus produce.

There is no possibility of Indian industries consuming all the raw materials now exported. To mention only one example, in order to enable the Indian cotton mills to utilize all the raw cotton now exported, it would be necessary for them to double their output: in other words, to produce and sell 6,000,000,000 yards of piecegoods instead of 3,000,000,000 yards. The fundamental hindrance to larger industrial production in India is, in reality, the low *per capita* consumption of manufactured goods, Indian or imported, and that hiatus can be removed only by increasing the purchasing capacity of the rural population: a problem Sir M. Visvesvaraya almost entirely ignores. The purchasing power of the rural population, it is necessary to reiterate, is determined largely by their ability to find oversea markets for their surplus produce at profitable prices; and, in that respect, the incidence of the world depression has been disastrous. Indian exports unfortunately are, moreover, now menaced not only by narrowing markets but by the increasing recourse to scientific substitutes for natural products. At this stage, therefore, there appears to be strong justification for the view that the primary aim of Indian fiscal policy should be, not a further increase in protectionist tariffs, but the rehabilitation of the Indian export trade, in the interests of Indian cultivators and of Indian and oversea industries alike.

THE COURSE OF INDIAN EVOLUTION

BY STANLEY RICE

To a mind attuned to such subjects there is no more fascinating study than the history of primitive man unfolded to us gradually and with painful labour by archæology, by philology, and by mythology. The first shows us how men lived in the far-off centuries, what sort of houses and temples they built, what ornaments they wore and for what occasions, what kind of social order they had and what were their religious beliefs. The second has done much to link up the races of the earth which, as they dispersed and found new homes, found also new tongues and insensibly developed language according to the genius of the country in which they settled, becoming more and more unlike as the branches grew away from the parent stem, yet preserving, if one has the wit to follow up clues, the germ of the ancient speech. Mythology, too, shows us the ancient folk, struggling to express the great natural phenomena in terms of human experience, creating gods out of the manifold appearances of the sun or of the dawn, and less often of storms and rain and wind; and the co-ordination of these mythological tales may well be the measure of our knowledge of the contact of human races and sometimes may even afford the clue by which we can trace early migrations.

But he who would seek to delve into these mysteries must walk warily, for there are many pitfalls. The mere similarity of a word or a legend may lead us far astray, since your scientific philologist will interpose with the fatal objection that an "r" cannot become an "s" or some such thing, and your mythologist will point out that you cannot predicate contact of races by the simple fact that each has a legend dealing with the sun or the dawn, with fertility or vegetation cults, because these are the phenomena which would strike all primitive peoples alike. Nothing, for example, is more obvious even to a primitive intelligence than the passage of the sun across the sky, to sink finally at the close of day into the ocean or below the distant horizon. And once the sun is personified as a god, it would not require any great imagination to suppose that the bright deity drove his chariot and horses across the wide sky, that at his setting he was lost in the waves, to be born again next day, young and glorious as ever. It would be natural enough to those who thought of the dawn as a goddess to fancy her dying in the arms of the sun, who as he mounts the sky quenches the more

gentle light of the dawn; and the ever-recurring miracle of Nature renewing herself could hardly fail to draw attention to the great fact of reproduction.

Mrs. Chaplin is one of those enthusiastic seekers into the meaning of words and legends, and with an industry which is worthy of all admiration she has carefully collected her material from such widely separated countries as Mexico and Scotland, as England and India. She has packed her book* full of information, but has so put it together as to be bewildering and to suggest that she has merely reproduced a notebook, with, of course, some references to those who have worked in the same field. It is difficult to say certainly that her deductions are either right or wrong, for it is very rare that she uses argument. She is content rather, now with assertion, now with a question, now more tentatively with suggestion. A book with so resounding a title leads the expectant reader to anticipate a careful analysis of research that has gone before. But that does not seem to be Mrs. Chaplin's purpose. In dealing with serpent worship, which is widespread, she is inclined to place its original home in Mexico and elsewhere in North America. Some tribes are called snakes, and she equates them with the Indian Nagas. "The sister of Vasuki, king of the Naga tribes, married Jarat Karu, and their son was called Astika, very like Aztec." She offers no further philological connection between the names, nor does she explain what the Mexican form of our word Aztec is.

As a more detailed illustration of Mrs. Chaplin's methods we may take this. She suddenly introduces a Celtic saint called Kentigern, who is connected with the cow cult. He has a birth story "rather like" that of the Hindu hero Karna. Karna, she says, was the son of Surya, the Sun, and Pritha, the Earth, who, being adopted by the ruling Prince of Kunti, took that name. She bore the boy Karna to him as the result of a liaison, hid him in a box which was borne down the stream of the Ganges, and was rescued from the water by a king. He grew up to be one of the heroes of the *Mahabharata*. Kentigern, whose mother was also taken from the water and who was born soon afterwards, became a priest; he was Producer of Crops and Patron and Protector of the Cow, "a feature strikingly Hindu." But Kenti is not unlike Kunti, and "gern" with a hard "g" resembles Karna (pronounced Kern). Characteristically Mrs. Chaplin leaves it there; what are we to make of it? Apparently that there is some undefined connection between the *Mahabharata* and the Celtic legend. But is there really any resemblance between a warrior who was rescued in a floating ark and a priest whose mother was taken

* *Matter, Myth and Spirit*, by Dorothea Chaplin, Simpkin, Marshall (Trade Agents).

from the water? As for the similarity of names we are not told how the "u" became an "e," and that is all-important, as Max Müller has shown. She does not tell us whether it is usual to add the suffix of the son's name to the mother's in Sanskrit, and that again cannot be assumed. Finally, Karna is not pronounced "Kern." That is simply a vulgarized form of the true pronunciation, commonly met with among Englishmen in India in such words. What would Mrs. Chaplin say if one tried to prove that America was founded from Brittany because America is "rather like" Armorica? Drop the "r," as you might easily do if you shortened the first syllable; adopt the rougher American pronunciation Amurrica, and there you are! If there is a legend which resembles the Karna one, it is that of Danaë and Perseus. Danaë was wooed by Zeus in the form of a golden shower, which is almost certainly the sun; Perseus is put into a box (with his mother), rescued by a king, and becomes a warrior. But Greek legends are not Mrs. Chaplin's concern, and it would be irrelevant, therefore, to pursue that theme further. What exactly is Mrs. Chaplin's objective is not very clear. She apparently means us to infer that in the dispersion of the Aryan races some of them migrated to America, or to Ireland and Scotland (as it is generally supposed they did), and that this is proved by similarity of names and legends. It may be so, but Mrs. Chaplin's pages are rather suggestions for fuller treatment than actual proof of anything. The reader is left in a state of suspended judgment. Nowhere is an argument developed or a point driven home so as to carry conviction.

We must now leave the cloudland of mythological speculation for the clearer atmosphere of those times when a settled social order had emerged and a rational conception of law and justice and of the relations of man to man had been evolved. It is characteristic of European writers on the subject of Hindu ethics that, while they do and must refer to the Sanskrit texts for the raw material, they seldom seek for explanations either of doctrines or of moral ideas from Indian writers, who, one would suppose, are better judges of their own systems than foreigners. It may be conceded that they are biassed and that their conclusions must be taken with some reservation; on the other hand, the Western writer too often brings to his studies not only a mind steeped in Western and especially Greek ideas, but an earnest belief in the revelation of Christianity as the only true religion and the only sure way to salvation. This attitude has led to much misconception, especially in what the Hindu would regard as the vital principles of his faith. In matters more directly connected with the social life of every day in the administration of law and justice, for example, and in the treatment of women, we have travelled very

far from the laws of Manu. We no longer award the poetic justice of mutilation of the offending member for particular offences; some of these were certainly barbarous, yet not more barbarous than those species of torture which Christians devised for their fellows in the Middle Ages down at least to the end of the sixteenth century. The social position of woman has changed from one age to another. In the Vedic age woman nearly approached, if she did not actually attain, the position of man, except in regard to rights of property and inheritance. The position of woman, as Sir Sivaswami Aiyar points out,* was largely determined by the customs of the age. In times of turmoil and war, when man was engaged in martial exercises, he became the obvious protector of the weaker sex, and as such his sex attained predominance. Again the patriarchal system, which vested extraordinary powers in the male head of the family, was responsible for the denial to women of rights of property and of inheritance. But at all times the mother and wife have been held in the utmost respect. Marriage was and still is regarded as a sacrament, and whatever legislators may do it is unlikely that divorce will be looked upon with favour for many a year to come. "In its Oriental or polygamous stage marriage is regarded almost exclusively, in its lower aspect, as a gratification of the animal passions," says Lecky in his classic work. One may perhaps doubt whether marriage, considered "in its lower aspect," is ever regarded anywhere as anything else, though modernism tends apparently towards the "gratification of animal passions" without the formality of marriage, and what one reads of certain parts of America does not suggest "the mutual respect and attachment of the contracting parties, the formation of a household, and the long train of domestic feelings and duties that accompany it" which are claimed as among the motives of the Western contract. Our author entirely repudiates the quotation above made, so far at least as it concerns Hindus and Hinduism. "The objects," he declares, "intended to be secured by marriage are offspring, the due performance of religious rites, faithful attendance (service), the highest conjugal happiness and heavenly bliss for the ancestors and oneself." Incidentally Sir Sivaswami disposes of several misapprehensions. "Child marriages," he says, "came into vogue in the Smitri period," and it is therefore not an institution sanctioned by the oldest scriptures, though it must be admitted that it has now taken firm root, especially among the peasantry. There was quite a phenomenal number of such marriages celebrated to escape the consequences of the Sarda Act, and it has even been said that unborn babes have been betrothed on condition that the contract should be null, as,

* *Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals*, Sir P. Sivaswami Aiyar, Calcutta University.

of course, it must be, if the children should be of the same sex. Plurality of wives was never forbidden, but monogamy has always been and still is the ideal. Manu recognized more than one wife, but it was only the first marriage which was regarded "as performed from a sense of religious duty and for religious purposes, and the subsequent marriages were regarded as merely the result of natural inclinations." In one cardinal respect Hinduism differs from Christianity, in that it has never encouraged virginity in either sex. Asceticism did not involve celibacy and woman was never looked upon in India as she was by Eastern Christianity, as a snare of the devil.

Lectures on the evolution of moral progress could hardly be complete without a reference to caste, but it can scarcely be said that on this subject Sir Sivaswami has anything new to say. The weakness of the whole series is that, while it is called the *Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals*, it treats mainly of the ancient scriptures with certain references to modern conditions, but leaves the very interesting period of Mussulman ascendancy almost untouched. Yet during those seven centuries, from the first irruptions to the death of Aurangzebe, the evolution was steadily going on, and in some respects at least can hardly have been unaffected by the impact of a foreign civilization. Although Hinduism as a whole has withstood not only this impact but also many others, it has not entirely escaped the consequences of them. Whether or no the seclusion of women was a direct result of the Mussulman occupation may be open to question, but even if it were looked upon with favour by later Hinduism, it must have received encouragement from the fact that it was practised by the people then in power. It may be that the material on which any opinion can be formed is too prejudiced to afford a sure foundation, and it is certainly true that the early European writers, such as Bernier, whatever value they may otherwise have, cannot be accepted as interpreters of Hindu ideals. For all that we may reasonably complain that the story of the evolution of moral ideas is incomplete when it so largely ignores a period that is almost covered in English history by the Conquest to Queen Victoria. Nevertheless it is probable that ethical ideals were not profoundly modified until India came in contact with the West. And that this should be so is due to two main causes, which may be given in the words of the author. In his introductory chapter he says: "There is, of course, a great difference between the manner in which these questions have been approached by Greek or modern thinkers and the method of approach by Hindu thinkers. While the speculations of the former are based upon the foundation of pure reason, the discussions of the latter are based upon the authority of the scriptures. . . . One great difference between Greek and modern

thought on the one hand and Hindu thought on the other is that the Hindu is satisfied with tracing the origin of rules to some text of scripture or some authoritative tradition, and does not press home the question as to the rational basis of the rule. He is satisfied with an appeal to authority and does not believe that mere unfettered reasoning can furnish guidance in matters of morality." And again in the chapter on Law and Justice he says: "The social order of the Hindus was founded not upon the comparatively modern democratic principle of equality, but upon the conception of a social hierarchy based upon caste and sanctioned by religion. Though the Hindus attached the greatest importance to the virtues of justice and impartiality, their conceptions were deeply permeated by the notion of inequality among the castes and sexes. The only way in which the social fabric could be maintained was by making every individual know his place in the social order and keep to it." In these two principles—the supreme value of authority and the inequality of classes and of the sexes—we get a succinct explanation of Hinduism as we know it today. Whenever a custom is to be supported or condemned, there will always be those who are ready with texts or other extracts from sacred writings to prove that it has or has not the support of authority, and no amount of reasoning, however convincing to the Western mind, will serve to overcome this deeply ingrained reverence for authority. On the other hand, the whole structure of caste is based upon the inherent inequality of man, and the famous doctrine of Karma has its foundation in the same conception, since by it is determined whether a man shall be born again in a higher or a lower scale.

On this same subject of Karma we find here repeated the argument of all Indian writers that it is in essence the Christian doctrine that whatsoever a man sows, that shall he also reap, coupled with the converse that whatsoever a man now reaps, that must he have sown. Mr. John Mackenzie of the Wilson College, Bombay, advances the objection, though "with some hesitation," that the doctrine of Karma "involves a fatalistic explanation of human conduct," and this idea of fatalism is also attributed to Professor Berriedale Keith. Sir Sivaswami declares that it is an entire misconception to confound Karma with fatalism. "The Karma theory implies that a man can by his own actions influence his future destiny. The freedom of the individual to regulate his own conduct by his own rational volitions and by his ability to conquer his own impulses or other obstacles have always been emphasized in the clearest terms by the Hindu sages and law-givers." The idea that Karma is fatalistic seems to rest upon the assertion that "misdeeds are the outcome of the operation of forces beyond his control," but there is nothing in the esoteric doctrine of Karma

which justifies this assertion. It may be that the misdeeds which include "marrying before an elder brother" are not strictly ethical, but the whole point of these lectures is to show how moral ideas have been evolved and how in modern thought such "evil deeds" have ceased to count, unless it be among the unlettered or perhaps the strictly orthodox. Karma is, in fact, the Hindu way of accounting for the existence of evil, and Sir Sivaswami declares that "the doctrine of Karma is a more acceptable theory for staving off the responsibility from the Creator for evil and suffering than any of the rival doctrines of other religions." It is admittedly not perfect; it is admittedly open to criticism; but we may fairly ask whether any doctrine of the same kind, Christian or other, is not also open to criticism. Possibly the Christian would not admit this, but he should ask himself how his own doctrines might appear to an impartial critic, who does not start, as he himself always does and must, with a prejudice in favour of his own religion.

There seems to be no end to this kind of speculation, and after all the Hindu—itself a controversial word, but implying in common parlance one who accepts the cardinal doctrines of the Hindu religion, and especially those derived from the ancient and so-called sacred writings—the Hindu is what we know him. In a little book* that is hardly more than a pamphlet Mrs. Elizabeth Sharpe has sketched some of the types. She has called it *The India that is India*, a challenging title which is not wholly borne out by the contents. For surely the India that is India is not to be found in the bazaars or in the courtyard of a Maharaja's palace, but in the everyday village life of the peasant. To ignore the ryot is surely to write Hamlet without the Prince. Mrs. Sharpe evidently knows Gujarat and at least some parts of Rajputana, and her sketches are based upon her personal experience. She is, however, inclined to generalize, and it is permissible to say that, whatever be the case in some small states, the description is not applicable to the larger and more advanced states. The Arab jemadar and the Huzuri or holder of the privy purse, whom she describes at some length, are not typical of such states as the present writer has seen; the dress of the latter must surely depend on the part of India he comes from. But she concludes with the claim that "this is the India that is India. . . . The genius that defies England today is of England herself; a handful of Indians, educated on English lines—their papers are in English; their speeches imbued throughout with British ideas of democracy; hopelessly defiled themselves, by all the ethics that make their own Hindu orthodoxy—which completely denies them even today the 'darshana' of their old temples and invites them no longer to the feasts of their old caste. Do they really speak for Indians and the heart of India?"

* *The India that is India*, by Elizabeth Sharpe, Luzac, 3s.

That is a question which can be answered in more ways than one. Sir Albion Banerji has tried to answer it in the memoirs of his father,* a much-respected Bengali, Sevabrata Sasipada Banerji, whose name, it is safe to say, is known to very few. He is the embodiment of the modern ideas, of the modern attitude to ethical conceptions, and indeed in some respects he might be called the spiritual father of a Gandhi. He lived strenuously for the cause of female education, for the amelioration of the masses, especially of the depressed classes, and himself abandoned the caste of a Kulin Brahman that he might give himself more fully to the work of his life. That he met with opposition might perhaps be taken for granted; but the feeling against his teaching and his work was so strong that opposition hardened into real persecution. The fruits of his exertions may have been meagre; there was little to show. A pioneer of this kind often has little to show, but the seed he sows bears fruit in the end, even when the sower is forgotten and his very name is unknown. The growth of those more liberal movements with which he was identified must necessarily be slow and their success may be attributed to lesser men. To men like Banerji it was enough to have lived for the causes he had espoused, and the rest they will leave to time and the workings of Providence. We cannot see far into the future, and who knows that the face of India will not be changed by such reformers, and that the little band whom Mrs. Sharpe now derides as denationalized exotics may not be the little leaven that will leaven the whole lump? The whole movement is still in its infancy; it took Christianity some three and a half centuries to rise to the height of its victory.

* *An Indian Pathfinder*, by Sir A. R. Banerji, Kemp Hall Press, Oxford, 2s. 6d.

THE BENGAL HOME INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

THIS Association was founded in 1917 in Calcutta to be a centre of arts and crafts from the many districts in the Presidency of Bengal. Previously it had not been possible to get in touch with any distributing agency and buyers were dependent upon what they might pick up by a chance visit through the districts. Thus, from lack of demand, some of the old hand crafts were in danger of dying out. This was discovered accidentally by the late Lord Carmichael just before he took up his governorship of Madras. He was in the habit of buying large, soft, silk handkerchiefs through Christie's of Edinburgh, with a comic pattern of little ducks. On asking for a further supply he was told there were no more, but he might get some in India. But when he visited the bazaars it was only to find that the handkerchiefs were unknown. At the same time both he and Lady Carmichael were impressed with the memorial to H.M. Queen Victoria, which took the form of an Institute of Arts and Crafts for the province, where many lovely things were always on sale and which was well patronized by visitors.

In Bengal there was nothing similar, and Lord Carmichael made plans to hold an exhibition in Calcutta, but with the outbreak of war all minds were concentrated on war work. It was not until 1917 that Lord and Lady Carmichael were able to establish the Association, and in spite of ups and downs it has survived and grown steadily. Lately, encouraged and supported by the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon, the Association has been enabled to send a first consignment of its work to London, where it is hoped to establish a permanent agency. The private view day organized by Lady Carmichael, on Monday, April 29, at Messrs. Selfridge and Co., Ltd., of Oxford Street, was one of the first events of the Jubilee and, incidentally, the London season.

The hand-printed silks, spun and hand-woven also in Bengal, were delightfully displayed in dress-lengths, scarves, handkerchiefs of different sizes, etc. Most of the hand printing is done at Serampore, and it is now looked on as a speciality of the Bengal Home Industries Association. Many old patterns have been revived, among them the little ducks, which is to be known for all time as the "Carmichael handkerchief"! The silks were very popular; their fine softness makes them less liable to crush and they are easily washed in Lux; further, their colouring is rich, and browns, prunes, greens and crimsons are vivid and suitable for modern times.

From Kosida, in the Dacca district of Bengal, there were

lengths of golden silk embroidery worked by the Muhammadan community there. The silken cloth is woven by the men on hand looms, and the embroidery of a delicate scrolling pattern, close and fine, is done by the women and girls of all ages. This community is in great distress, as previously nearly all their work was exported to Turkey, largely for ritual purposes, until the advent of the Young Turks and their Western leanings. These long lengths could easily be adapted for evening gowns, court dresses, and one might go so far as to suggest altar frontals or decorations. There are other embroideries in crimson and blue by the same community; these, too, are soft and delicate, with a beauty and magnificence that should not be allowed to fade out into the past.

The bright coloured muslins and cottons from Dacca were in lengths or utilized in different ways. There were saris with delicate borders of gold, silver or coloured threads and a motive hand-woven through with very pretty effect; they ranged from cheap flowered muslins, "Napali" gay muslins (especially made for export to Nepal), lengths of white figured muslin, and one sample of exquisite white muslin, so fine that it can only be woven in the early morning when the dew is on the ground to prevent the thread from breaking. There were also soft cotton "summer blankets" useful for light bed covers, children's play crawlers, etc. Tussore silks for suitings and shirtings from the Malda district met a brisk demand. There were a large assortment of saris or finely woven wool chuddars from a Dacca mission, silk saris, and one sari of black silk, hand-woven throughout with gold and silver, really a museum "piece." It is only possible to buy these expensive ones direct from the old families of India.

The Kalimpong Mission sent a variety of arts and crafts from their centre. The late Mrs. Graham—wife of Dr. Graham, head of Kalimpong Homes for Children—started this work among the hill people in the Kalimpong and Sikkim districts. It is now continued by her daughter and son-in-law, Mrs. and Mr. N. Odling. These consisted of woven belts and children's reins, bags, pochettes, lacquered trays, toast racks, ash trays, baskets, etc., and many other things adapted to our modern requirements.

There were also inexpensive ivories from the Murshidabad district, and one powder bowl in particular of elephants and vines was a beautiful piece of carving. Though these ivories can be bought in many other parts of India, the workers almost all come from Bengal. A mission from Rajputana sent an assortment of dolls cleverly dressed in indigenous costumes, and there were clay figures of workers in their huts or busy with trades, etc., from Krishnagar. Enamel fruits, birds, animals, and useful ash trays and pots had been sent from the village school at Santiniketan, started by the great Tagore. Perhaps the highest form

of art was shown in a half-set of Suri bowls or rice measures of polished wood covered in brass of a particularly fine workmanship. These were far above the ordinary brasses from oriental countries, and we are told that the art has nearly died out.

The Association is also acting as agent for the Indian state of Bhutan, adjacent to North Bengal, and there were woven garment pieces and some bags and cushions made out of them; and for Manipur, a small state in Assam, which sent boxes of sandalwood and cleverly carved animals of the same wood, etc., from an arts and crafts centre under the direction of an English lady, brought over by the local Rajah.

ALYSON H. BEANLANDS.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

WARREN HASTINGS. By Mr. A. Mervyn Davies. (*Ivor Nicholson.*) 25s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR ELLIOT COLVIN.)

Warren Hastings was, as near as man may be, the Happy Warrior; but it needed many decades for the world to realize this simple truth. The strength of his character was known in his own day, not its beauty. In this respect, fate was not kind to him. He had to face, first, unpopularity in his own class and service, in the murky moral atmosphere of Bengal of A.D. 1763; then, during his Governor-Generalship, a hostile majority, openly bent on his destruction, including that prodigy of persistent malice, Philip Francis; and, finally, at the time of the impeachment, the cruel and intemperate eloquence of a statesman and orator of the calibre of Edmund Burke. Burke's malevolence was inspired by Francis, and the earlier historians of this period, James Mills and Macaulay, followed in the Burke tradition. The process of clearing the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion that thus hung around the reputation of Warren Hastings has required nearly a century of research. Begun by Gleig in 1841, and continued by other fair-minded writers such as Sir James Stephen and Sir John Strachey, it may perhaps be regarded as completed by Mr. Mervyn Davies's attractive work, now under consideration.

Mr. Mervyn Davies's careful story of Hastings's career is accompanied through all its phases by a sympathetic study of his character and of its development—a study so engrossing that it carries the writer at times into some digression and repetition. He is not blind to Hastings's faults and mistakes, but he shows that these were often rooted in his very virtues or in the compelling force of surrounding circumstances. It is difficult at the end to resist the conclusion that, as an administrator, Warren Hastings was as honest and single-minded as he was persevering, courageous and far-seeing; and that England was amazingly lucky in having a man of such force, such experience and so high a sense of duty to guide her affairs in India through that momentous period of her history.

Warren Hastings's generous nature, his devotion as a husband, his charm of manner as a host, and his buoyancy of spirit, even at the worst moments of the dog-fight between experience and theory in the Council, have been described by previous writers. Mr. Davies, while far from neglecting these, brings into prominence two other features of his character—viz., his keen eye for possible improvements and developments in India and his sympathy with Indians and the Indian point of view. The former is illustrated by his despatch of missions to Tibet and Egypt, his assembling of a body of learned pundits to compile a written code of Hindu law, and his encouragement of education and of art and letters by the founding of the Calcutta Madrasa and of the Asiatic Society. As to the second feature, there are numerous instances in Mr. Davies's pages, such as the advice given to Lord Moira in favour of the wider employment of Indians, and the lines on which Hastings

himself would have developed their sense of responsibility; while the sympathy that flowed towards him from Indians was illustrated, at the time of the impeachment long after he had left India, by the avalanche of petitions in his favour, including one from the Begums of Oude, whom he was accused of despoiling, whose wealth for reasons of State he had certainly diminished, but whose hearts he had later won.

It is strange that Mr. Davies, at the end of his vivid story of Hastings's life, should express the view that his exact place in history cannot be finally settled until the future has revealed its secrets and the Empire is a thing of the past. This statement, when one comes to analyze it, seems to foreshadow a crash for our connection with India, with the spirit of Hastings rising vindicated from the ruins. It is based on the fact, a perfectly true one, that Hastings would have followed a very different route from that which his countrymen subsequently travelled. But, after all, it is the goal surely that matters, not the itinerary. And Hastings saw much further than most men into the mists of time; he always stood for progress and the grant of responsibility to Indians; he sympathized with Indians and understood their nature and their outlook. Who shall say that, had he been alive, he would not have shared the views expressed by Sir Thomas Munro as to the goal, only some six years after his death? Whatever the end of the adventure may be, his work and his place in history surely stand secure, clear-cut, noble in outline, and far beyond the reach of any chance or development or reflection of the future.

Nevertheless, Mr. Davies is to be congratulated on his full-length picture, not only of the Administrator, but of the Man. It has obviously been a labour of love and reverence, and it may safely be predicted that the historical part of it will take its place as a work of reference and as a valuable addition to the literature of that period.

THE GONG OF SHIVA. By Dewan Sharar. (Harrap.) 7s. 6d.

(Reviewed by K. M. PANIKKAR.)

Though the number of books on India published in this country has increased from year to year, those attempting to delineate Indian life have indeed been few. It may almost be said that the only Indian life that the ordinary reader of novels in this country can picture to himself is that portrayed by Rudyard Kipling many decades ago. It is from this point of view that *The Gong of Shiva* is important. Here, for the first time, an Indian writer has attempted to portray the life as actually led by middle-class Indian families educated in Western ways but living a life of internal conflict.

The Gong of Shiva is a straightforward novel which deals with the reactions of English education and European ideas on the changing Hindu society. The scene is laid in a small Mofussil town, where, though the restrictions of caste are still rigid, Western influences have been strong enough to influence social behaviour. The atmosphere of the little town, with its narrow streets, with its temples, with its quarters for dancing girls,

and with its petty intrigues and rivalries, is very successfully conveyed even to a reader not acquainted with Indian conditions, while the families and characters which directly come into the story come to be known in their intimate life. We live in the household of Seth Shivram Das, the local banker, and his masterful wife, anxious to give their children an up-to-date education, willing to break the rules of caste when it comes to her son marrying a Brahmin girl, but shocked and alarmed at her widowed daughter desiring to marry again. We become friendly, though not quite familiar, with Roopvati, the widow of the Brahmin priest, who gets tempted to agree to her daughter being affianced to a Bania's son, but sees in every misfortune the hand of God in thus daring to break the rules of caste. We come to have genuine respect for Dwaraka Nath, the retired Dewan of a neighbouring State, courteous, dignified, and upright. Interesting as these characters and the life they represent are, it is the younger generation, profoundly affected by new ideas but caught, as it were, in the tentacles of Hindu society and struggling to break through, that gives to the story its deeply moving interest. Especially Shanta, the daughter of the Brahmin priest, who, after a vain endeavour to live her own life, resigns herself in all humility to the ways of her caste, is a poignantly tragic figure who wins and holds one's sympathy from the beginning to the end.

Dewan Sharar has produced a remarkable novel—a novel which lifts the curtain on the intimate social life of India and shows the picture of Hindu society as it is today. It is a novel which should be widely read in this country because of the understanding it would give of Indian conditions.

TURMOIL AND TRAGEDY IN INDIA, 1914 AND AFTER. By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. (*Jarrols.*) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT.)

This book is not, like the writer's valuable work on the Indian Mutiny, a carefully considered study of a single subject, but is rather a series of impressionist sketches designed to show clearly the perils and storms through which the good ship India has passed since August, 1914. These should be understood, for they teach valuable lessons; but impressionist historians stand in considerable danger of falling into inaccuracies, and Sir George MacMunn has not been careful to avoid this snare. He is often sound on broad issues, but his flair for the picturesque leads him at times into slipshod English and serious mistakes. The Morley-Minto reforms, for instance, did not establish a non-official majority on the Central Legislative Council (p. 31). Mirzapur (p. 47) should be Murzaffarpur. No Mr. Holmes was murdered by girl students at Midnapur (pp. 48 and 59). Peddie, Douglas and Burge, all district officers, were assassinated there by young men, and Stevens, Magistrate of Tippera, was shot by two girls, one aged fifteen, the other a little younger, the tools of older persons. The Rowlatt Committee was not "a commission of three judges" (p. 159). The losses inflicted on rioters at Ahmedabad in April, 1919, did not exceed, but fell far short of those inflicted at Amritsar

(p. 169). Sir Edward Lyall (p. 130) should be Sir Alfred Lyall, and 1933 (p. 283) should be 1930.

The chapters on Islamic unrest, on Afghanistan, on Frontier troubles, and the Waziristan campaigns are graphic and instructive. The illustrations and map are helpful. The author says: "It must be remembered that when we are confronted in India with Islamic excitement on religious questions, the North-West Frontier, whence can pour 200,000 savage tribesmen into India, is always an anxiety. Pan-Islamic enthusiasms so often mean the beating of the drum ecclesiastic on the Frontier, with the devil to pay all round in consequence. Also in the more fanatical centres of India itself there is always an answering call to any roll of the Moslem drum." There was a striking instance of this the other day when, to quote from the *Weekly Statesman* of April 25, "The influence of the crime at Karachi and its aftermath was plain in the ghastly tragedy at Firozabad, a little town in the United Provinces." Fanaticism, religious or racial, propagated on any pretext, can spread havoc in a country where "nothing is too preposterous to be believed"; and throughout the ages Indian rulers have battled against insidious enemies and underground "forces of disruption and upheaval."

In describing the Ghadr disturbances and explosions in the Punjab in 1915, the author follows Sir Michael O'Dwyer's vivid narrative (*India as I Knew It*). It is certain that, had the conspiracies which caused these outbreaks in "the area from which we drew the large part of our soldiery" been less vigorously and promptly grappled with, they would have produced immeasurable disaster at a highly critical time.

Further on this book describes the Punjab disturbances of April, 1919, and the shooting in the Jallianwala Bagh. A word may be added. There is a chapter on this subject in Mr. Edward Thompson's *Letter from India* (1932), wherein it is stated that in the course of a recent conversation between the writer and Mr. (now Sir) Miles Irving, who had been District Magistrate of Amritsar on the tragic 13th of April, 1919, the latter informed him that in the evening of that day General Dyer came to him "all dazed and shaken up, and said, 'I never knew that there was no way out.'" Dyer explained that when the crowd did not scatter, but held its ground after the firing began, he thought "it was massing to attack him." The exits from the Bagh are described in the Report of the Hunter Committee as "few and imperfect"; and the Parliamentary Papers show that the General and his Brigade-Major Briggs apprehended a rush from the two large groups into which the enormous crowd divided under the volley of bullets. But neither officer said that he had failed until too late to observe the impossibility of any easy or speedy dispersal. Briggs died before the Committee met, but left a statement. Dyer made no attempt to minimize his responsibility. His sole defence was "stern necessity." He had to secure his small force isolated among the narrow streets of a large city already stained with bloodshed and declared beyond the control of civil authority. He had to arrest a conflagration which was spreading over the Punjab. That was his sole plea. He would offer no excuse. He stood before a mixed tribunal in a court filled with angry listeners. It is clear that the interval of months which was allowed to elapse between the close of the disturbances and the formal

enquiry was in every way lamentable. It is certain that had Lord Curzon been Viceroy at the time, he would have promptly proceeded himself to the spot and would not have left it until he had possessed himself fully of the main facts. These he would have set forth in so convincing a fashion that never afterwards would they have been called in question. There would have been no committee of enquiry.

Sir George MacMunn traces briefly the history of terrorism in Bengal. For thirty years revolutionaries have burrowed in the schools and colleges of that unfortunate province. We find Lord Minto mentioning the matter to Lord Morley in November, 1908 (*Minto and Morley*, p. 254). The Bengal District Administration Committee (1913-14) and the Rowlatt Committee (1918) took it up strongly. Terrorist conspirators, however, encouraged by newspapers, politicians, and the spirit of lawlessness and defiance of authority sown broadcast by the non-co-operation and civil disobedience campaigns openly carried on by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, continued to spread their nets. The district officers and police fought the spreading contagion with the utmost courage and steadfastness, but were ill supported by the hand-to-mouth policy of alternate action and inaction so long pursued by the Government. At last a terrible situation was reached which was disclosed by the Under-Secretary of State in the Lords on November 24, 1931. Bengal stood on the verge of ruin. Immediate and drastic remedies were imperative. The enemy must be vigorously and persistently combated in every branch of his activities. Action followed speech; and the civil disobedience movement, of which the country was heartily sick, collapsed like a pricked bubble. Terrorism, however, the growth of years, was more deeply rooted, as appears from the Note and Appendix A dated November 30, 1933, and laid by the Secretary of State before the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Vol. ii., Records, Committee's Report), which state that in Bengal "subversive propaganda and activities have been so rife of recent years that they have succeeded in creating a revolutionary mentality which has permeated every stratum of the literate 'bhadrak' society. To a certain extent the unemployment problem among the educated classes of Bengal has been a powerful accessory to those who have deliberately sought to bring about this result, but the factors which have been chiefly responsible for the propagation of revolutionary ideas are a subversive press and successive organized measures for defiance of laws by methods variously known as non-co-operation and civil disobedience." Further on we read of a "steadily increasing amount of sympathy and support, although much of it may be tacit, which the strenuous efforts of the Government officers are believed in some quarters to be receiving from the public. In other quarters this is ascribed to a realization that the Government are in earnest in their efforts to stamp out terrorism, and it is held that any relaxation of effort on the part of the Government will mean an immediate deterioration of the situation, and a decrease in the amount of sympathy and support for the Government." After these words were written came the outrage on the cricket ground at Chittagong and the attempt on the life of Sir John Anderson, which, in the words of the Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government last March, disclosed "a deep, widespread and well-laid conspiracy in

which men and women were involved." The nature of this inhuman plot and its complete failure have enlisted wider and more active support for the resolute policy of the Government and the splendid efforts of Sir John Anderson and his officers who are labouring so hard in every way to prepare the ground for a happier future.

The Home Member at Delhi recently told the Legislative Assembly that he was assured by the North-West Frontier Government that since the repression of the dangerous Red Shirt movement "political life had developed to a surprising extent on peaceful and constitutional lines," although the province had for some months of 1930-1 been "on the brink of a precipice." In various provinces a small minority of implacables, if allowed to, will, as our author shows, make havoc of constitutional progress and everything else. But if these fanatics are persistently met by a policy of resolute determination, ordinary people will allow no catch-words to prevent them from supporting the action of the Government. Sir George MacMunn relates a story told at Delhi some years ago that when efforts were made to secure a vote of censure for the Government's "repressive measures" against the Moplahs, an aged and distinguished (Hindu) Madrassi legislator "went into the Government lobby shaking his head, and saying that, though he disliked 'repressive measures' exceedingly, he disliked circum-cision more" (p. 250).

Sir George MacMunn observes that, in spite of all the "turmoil and tragedy" which he has passed in review, the caravan has gone on without breaking down, thanks to the old momentum, "the staunch police, the steady army and the great sentiment of good-will" that has always supported the British Raj. One thing is certain about the future. Peace and tranquillity in the great sub-continent, with its always dangerous frontier and deep-seated communal antagonisms, will need to be strongly and resolutely guarded.

H. V. L.

MEDICAL AND SANITARY REPORT OF HYDERABAD STATE FOR YEAR ENDING
OCTOBER, 1932.

(Reviewed by SIR LEONARD ROGERS.)

This 310-page report of the Medical and Sanitation Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government records valuable and progressive work in many directions. During the year an addition of 125 hospital beds was made, and further indoor accommodation is being provided in dispensaries. During the last five years out-patients have increased by nearly 50 per cent., in spite of a great unexplained decrease in the attendance of Indian Christians. The Osmani Hospital in Hyderabad has 449 beds and a staff of 10 medical officers, the report on whose work occupies 40 pages. The year's operations in the various hospitals numbered 65,000, and included 78 liver abscess cases with 74 recoveries, nearly all after aspiration only, and over 1,000 cataract cases were treated. Special institutions include a Zenana hospital, a mental hospital, a tuberculosis sanatorium, and the well-known Leper Home and

Hospital at Dichpali under the Rev. George and Dr. Elizabeth Kerr, which is recognized as the best resident leper hospital in India. Here only cases suitable for treatment are admitted to the 400 beds, and among 732 admissions 179 were discharged with "the disease arrested," and of 459 such discharges in three years after an average stay of twenty months, only 14 per cent. returned with a relapse out of many examined, and most of them did well on further treatment. Intradermal injections of hydnocarpus esters made in the institution are used, controlled by the sedimentation tests, which allows of injurious reactions being prevented. Much of the required rice is grown by the patients on the 250 acres of land available, and they have also carried out efficient anti-malarial and other work.

The work of the Chemical and Bacteriological Department is next recorded, and is followed by that of the Sanitation Department. Registration of vital statistics is still estimated to be 30 to 40 per cent. deficient, but the monthly incidence of the deaths from epidemic diseases doubtless has a relative value, as in other parts of India. The year showed a decreased mortality from cholera, smallpox, and plague, due mainly no doubt to climatic conditions, helped by the following special activities. Great attention is being paid to improving water supplies, the Vaccination Department is efficiently administered, and a special plague staff accounted for trapping nearly half a million rats, while fumigation and inoculation were also used with advantage.

Malaria here, as in most parts of India, is the principal cause of death after allowing for other fevers being returned under this heading, so the work of the special Malaria Research Department is noteworthy, and includes covering and closing wells to limit breeding of the important town carrier, *A. stephensi*, which is also prevalent in Bombay City. The results of the malarial campaigns are reported to be good.

The disinfection of wells by lime to control the prevalent guinea-worm infections, an infant welfare centre and travelling dispensaries are other useful activities.

The long delay in the publication of this valuable report is doubtless largely due to the immense bulk of the statistical tables in it; these might be much curtailed without any loss of interest and much saving in expense. For example, the sixty odd pages of tables of the diseases of different organs seen in each of the numerous hospitals and dispensaries might well be summarized in a very few pages. The usefulness of the report is also much curtailed by the absence of both an index and table of contents, other than an enumeration of the different departments, such as "Part I., Medical, pp. 1 to 90," as this necessitates turning over ninety pages to find information on any important disease. The report, however, reflects great credit on H.E.H. the Nizam's Government and on Colonel J. Norman Walker, I.M.S. (ret.), the Director of the Medical Departments.

MOVED ON! By P. S. Nazaroff. (*George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.*)

(Reviewed by SIR DENYS BRAY.)

Monsieur Nazaroff has given us another capital book of travel, this time from Kashgar over the Karakoram to Kashmir. A little light perhaps, but accurate, vivid, and eminently readable. He has indeed most of the make-up of the gossiping traveller: a keen eye, interest in all he sees and hears, a faithful memory and a willing pen. And his ear seems as keen as his eye—almost too keen perhaps. For it must take a very keen ear to hear the prayer, “Restore, O Allah, the White Tzar to Russia and all will be well” on the lips of Chinese Republicans, even in Kashgar.

But it is just because the book enables us to see country and people through Russian eyes that it is of special value. They are, to be sure, the eyes not of a modern Bolshevik but of a Russian of the ancient régime, always harking back to the good old days when Kashgar was “economically nothing more nor less than part of Russian Turkestan, and Russian influence was extraordinarily great and the most powerful personage was not the Chinese Governor but the Imperial Russian Consul.”

Though he has no good words for the Bolsheviks and many harsh ones for the callous cruelties of local Chinese officials, it is otherwise a very kindly book. The digs at ourselves are of the gentlest; British officers had indeed befriended him to some purpose and his gratitude is undisguised. It is only “the faddists who sit and work in the comfortable offices on the banks of Lake Leman” who rouse his sarcasm. The picture he draws of the results of opium prohibition in a remote Chinese Province may be pretty true to life; but it is, of course, not the whole picture. Nor need we accept his conclusion that it would be better to “leave the millions of Chinamen the League’s own medicine of self-determination.”

Though he was “moved on” from his refuge in Kashgar through Soviet influence, one cannot help feeling that he was heartily glad of it. For he has Wanderlust in his veins, and his enforced travel led him over the beloved mountains into the Vale of Kashmir, which had always had for him the lure of romance. And it as given us a very pleasant book, made all the pleasanter by Mr. C. P. Skrine’s beautiful photographs.

THE INDIAN PEASANT AND HIS ENVIRONMENT. By N. Gangulee, C.I.E.
(*Oxford University Press.*)

(Reviewed by SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

Seven years have passed since the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture presented its report, but beyond establishing the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research comparatively little has been done to attack the grave problems which rural India presents both to the administrator and the politician. The creation of a new constitution has occupied the attention of both during these years, and now that a conclusion to their labours in this direction is in sight, and the people of India are to be entrusted with the responsi-

bility of managing their internal affairs, it is all to the good that those who aspire to play an active part in the new régime should have their attention drawn to the necessity for an active policy to combat the ever-growing pressure of the population on the soil. Mr. N. Gangulee has done yeoman's service to the ryot during the whole of the reign, the Silver Jubilee of which we have recently celebrated, and in *The Indian Peasant*, which has just been published, he presents extracts from journals which he has kept and from letters which he has written, both to the Press and to private friends, which furnish evidence of the existence of much deplorable ignorance, poverty, and oppression, and set forth in rough outline his views as to the measures which should be taken to remedy them. The evils arising from the fragmentation of holdings, the burden of debt, the increase in the number of non-cultivating landowners, malnutrition, illiteracy, inadequate marketing facilities, the lack of subsidiary occupations, and the gross neglect of animal husbandry are all graphically described as the result of personal observations in villages scattered over India, but the application of the remedies suggested is the great problem of the future, and here it must be admitted that Mr. Gangulee has little to offer by way of a solution beyond what has already been suggested in the Agricultural Commissioner's report, which embodies most, if not all, of the recommendations scattered through the pages of this book. As a very earnest and enthusiastic worker for the uplift of the people of India, the Agricultural Commission, of which he was a member, afforded Mr. Gangulee ample opportunity to place before his colleagues the results of his studies, and, though gratifying to him at the time that they were so generally accepted, one can well understand that he views with dismay the comparatively meagre attention that has been bestowed upon them by the political leaders of his country. His book may therefore be considered as an appeal to them to place in proper perspective the urgent needs of the countryside when the administration is placed in their hands. It should, however, be clearly pointed out that it is only the magnitude of the interests at stake that makes the efforts in progress to introduce improvements appear comparatively insignificant. Quite recently Mr. Burt presented the Royal Society of Arts with a remarkable account of the measures which have rendered India nearly independent of foreign sources of sugar supply. Similarly, the Indian Central Cotton Committee has done invaluable work, and great credit is due to the Howards for the rust-resisting wheats which they introduced into Northern India. Irrigation by major works has made great progress, and in the Punjab, the United Provinces, and in the South of India, especially in Mysore, a start has been made with the construction of electric grids which will supply power cheaply, especially for the lifting of water from wells for the irrigation of garden crops. The work of the Braynes in Gurgaon in revitalizing the Indian village, the fostering of a movement for the consolidation of holdings in the Punjab by Mr. H. Calvert, and numerous other similar efforts in all parts of India by disinterested workers yield a sum total of actual achievement and of experience gained which should be invaluable for future guidance.

India is now at the parting of the ways. What lies before those who in the future will control her destinies has been clearly set forth. Will they rise to

the occasion, as we all hope and some few of us perhaps think they will, or will uncontrolled natural forces assert their supremacy and subject the countless millions to dire calamity. The meteorological conditions have been unusually kind for many years past, but there is no guarantee that they will so continue, and a recurrence of bad seasons may well prove disastrous.

THE TIDE. By Vincent Sheean. (*Methuen.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

The question "What would happen to Christ if He returned to the world today?" is one that has often been posed by novelists for their own purposes, but seldom answered in a manner satisfying to their readers. Mr. Sheean in this book is less concerned with what happens to the Eastern Messiah—who, indeed, is so lightly sketched as to be almost impalpable—than with what happens to those who are brought into contact with him in the swirling life of New York. The unknown mystic who has restored a dead man to life on his way across the Atlantic becomes a nine-day wonder; is surrounded by unreasoning adoration which spreads like wildfire among masses of people who have never heard his name and cannot understand his esoteric doctrines. But this bubble reputation, assiduously blown by the press, does not survive the revelation that—albeit without his knowledge—his American trip has been financed by a magnate whose wife desired to oblige the wife of a British official to whom the Messiah was troublesome in his native land. The bubble is pricked with the same cruel and unreasoning rapidity which characterized its blowing. The Messiah fades away, leaving New York as it was before. Not even those who have been brought into personal contact with him, and have for a time acknowledged his influence, retain any permanent impression of his teaching. They revert to their own old ways; his visit is as though it had never been.

Mr. Sheean writes with economy and force. His picture of the inside of a New York newspaper office is admirable; the study of the types which inhabit such grim localities will be read with interest. And despite the depressing nature of his theme, he has written a novel which it is difficult to put down till the last page has been turned.

PETROVKA. By E. M. and F. M. B. Rosenthal. (*Lincoln Williams.*)

(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

It is not often the reviewer has to complain that a novel is overburdened with good material. In general, his grievance is in the reverse direction. But Mr. and Mrs. Rosenthal, in what looks like a first essay in novel writing, have put together between a pair of covers enough ideas, enough adventures, and enough material to stock half a dozen best sellers of the usual type.

Indeed, the difficulty of writing an adequate critique of this book lies principally in the fact that it contains two distinct stories. One is a clever, and indeed intimate, study of the artistic temperament; the other is a hair-raising thriller, of the most lurid type, centring round the peccadilloes of an Indian Prince. These two stories, although ingeniously connected by the plot of the whole book, appeal to very different types of readers; and thus in a manner cancel one another. Frankly, the present writer did not find the Indian scenes very convincing; and it is somewhat in keeping with the unrealities of this portion that a Hindu Ruler should ejaculate "Kismet" as he takes poison. On the other hand, the authors of the book have a keen eye to the risible; a deft hand at description; and an admirable faculty of interesting the casual reader. From the technical point of view, perhaps the most serious defect of the book is its purely episodic character. So many things happen in such quick succession; months and years pass so rapidly within a few pages that there is little space to describe the effect upon the heroine's character of the shattering experiences to which she is subjected. In consequence, the general impression which is given by the narrative is of a number of interesting and exciting things which happen *round* the characters, rather than *to* them. But for any reader who is not too critical, and who desires a few hours of very varied and on the whole skilful entertainment, the book may be cordially commended. Much of it is so interesting, from the point of view of adventure, that it is calculated to beguile even the worst Channel crossing.

THE FAR EAST

THE RECONQUEST OF ASIA. By O. D. Rasmussen. (*Hamish Hamilton.*)
10s. 6d. net.

THE SILVER SUTRA. By Putnam Weale. (*Heinemann.*) 7s. 6d. net.

MING YELLOW. By John P. Marquand. (*Lovat Dickson.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

It would seem to be a task of almost superhuman ability to write a book about the Far East without becoming violently partisan. Mr. Rasmussen's book shows experience, wide reading, and shrewd comment. But the effect is marred by prejudice, sometimes quite erroneously based. He really should refrain from repeating the old legend about "dogs and Chinese"; and his obvious implication that Mr. Justice Feetham was briefed by the Shanghai Municipal Council in 1930 to state a case for their retention of the Settlement is so far from the real facts as to be simply indefensible.

The moral of the book appears to be that the Western Powers, having just not "divided the Chinese melon" by the end of the nineteenth century, must now look on helplessly while Japan swallows it whole. That China was very badly treated by the West during the nineteenth century no impartial critic could deny, though there were faults on the Chinese side. But Mr. Rasmussen seems to ignore altogether the meaning of the Washington Con-

ference and the Nine Power Treaty. These have not worked out as was hoped, but they were a definite ensign to the world that the "bad old days" were over and that China need have no further fear of "imperialist" aggression. So far as the West is concerned, that pledge has been well kept, as witness the scrupulously defensive attitude of the British and other forces sent to guard Shanghai in the Communist rising of 1927. Mr. Rasmussen pooh-poohs the Russian menace of those days. The Chinese do not; and the Bolshevik documents seized at Peking and Harbin sufficiently show what it was. Incidentally, Soviet Russia, who presented the Chinese with that phrase "imperialist aggression," has herself stripped them of Outer Mongolia and is now in process of taking Sinkiang also. Russia's land hunger is never appeased, whatever government reigns in Moscow.

The Japanese are an easy target. But mere condemnation (and their best friends are full of regret and misgiving over their present course) is useless without some attempt to understand their motives. Captain Kennedy has well pointed out that the industrial era has brought about in the past twenty years a revolution almost as momentous as the Meiji revolution of 1868. Until the struggle between the old samurai element and the new industrialists and financiers has been settled Japanese foreign policy will remain the bugbear of the nations.

That, however, is not to say that China and the nations must be helpless before it. And in this connection it is surprising that Mr. Rasmussen pays no attention to the new policy of General Chiangkai-shek and Nanking in the past three years. Actually it is the oldest policy in China, that by which every new dynasty established itself—namely, by "making good" first in one corner of the country and gradually extending its authority. On these lines the progress actually made by Nanking since 1932 is really remarkable. The fact that China has momentarily lost much territory and suffers sad humiliations is immaterial. The same thing has happened before, and always she ends by triumphing over her defeats and her conquerors. She will do so again. The question now is in what way others can help her to shorten the process. There are signs, at the moment of writing, that the attempt is to be made.

Three Russians (two brothers and a sister), fleeing from the Red Terror in Russia, take refuge in a Mongol monastery, which is eventually sacked by bandits. The refugees, however, escape to Shanghai with the secret of the silver mine on which the monastery is built. They sell their secret to one of those conventional "strong" Englishmen of fiction who move from country to country on mysterious errands, dogged by spies, but invariably triumphing over them. The party set out for the silver mine, and, though eventually forced to fly from it, the super-leader mentioned makes a fortune for them all by adroit use of the mine on the Shanghai exchange market.

Such is the outline of the late Putnam Weale's posthumous novel *The Silver Sutra*. It is unequally written, and too many things happen for no particular reason, with results imperfectly explained. But Putnam Weale is always readable. The scenes in the monastery and descriptions of Westernized Chinese life in Shanghai are well done.

Things seem constantly on the point of happening in *Ming Yellow*, by

John P. Marquand. It is only in the last chapter but one that the American millionaire and his daughter are kidnapped. Then they bluff out of it.

Mr. Newall and his daughter come to China to buy Ming yellow porcelain. Failing to find any in Peking, they travel into the interior in search of it. Here he is tricked into paying as much for it as he would have in Peking, and the kidnapping—or, rather, attempted kidnapping—comes after the climax of the book has apparently been reached.

Mr. Marquand uses the strength and simplicity of his writing to good effect in the description of a Chinese inn at night and a ruined temple in the hot sunlight of Northern China, and his drawing of Philip Liu, the Americanized Chinese student, stands out as the best thing in the book.

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BRITISH SOMALILAND*

BY MAJOR H. RAYNE, O.B.E., M.C.

(For some years District Commissioner in British Somaliland.)

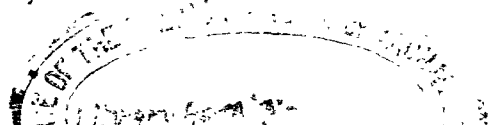
DRAW a line on the map of East Africa from Jibuti (on the Gulf of Aden), south to Lugh, an Italian post on the upper reaches of the Juba River. East of the river, from its mouth near Kismayu to Lugh, and east of the line, right across to the Indian Ocean, lies the dreary, unattractive area, the Horn of Africa, inhabited by the nomadic Somalis. Where inducement, such as permanent water and good grazing, attracted, and where the obstacles in the way were not formidable, these people have crossed the river, and our line, to occupy tracts of country on the western side. Nowadays, however, farther advance in that direction is forbidden.

As the border lines on the map illustrate (not so clearly as regards Abyssinia), the whole Somali territory has been portioned into four areas coming respectively under the influence and protection of the British, French, Italian, and Abyssinian Governments. Although the Somali possesses a strong pride of race, his nation is divided into sections that know no better way of settling their frequent disputes than by battle. In consequence, he does not resent the presence within his territory of alien Governments, and fully appreciates that the reasonable observance of law and order they enforce is entirely in his own interests.

He knows well, too, that no other race than his own could exist under prevailing conditions in Somaliland; that the border lines which divide his lean country may be followed on the ground without disaster and loss of life only by a costly expedition equipped with camel transport, carrying its own supplies and capable of proceeding under desert conditions.

Before the direction of Somaliland affairs was apportioned between the three European Powers Egypt had some considerable hold on the coast, at least from the Red Sea to Berbera (now in British Somaliland). By 1885 she had evacuated Massowa, the port of Eritrea on the Red Sea, and was retiring from East Africa. The Italians, although the freedom of Massowa had been guaranteed by the Egyptians to Abyssinia for services rendered during the Mahdi campaign in the Sudan, were in possession of that port.

In 1884, when a British political officer was sent from Aden to establish an agency at Zeila, there were still Egyptian troops in occupation at Harrar; the garrison was evacuated the following year and Harrar came under a native potentate, the Amir Abdullah, until 1886. In that year the Amir, at the head of six



hundred men, met a party of nine Italians travelling from Zeila to Abyssinia on a scientific and commercial expedition. The Amir disarmed and massacred the lot. The massacre was avenged by the Abyssinians under Ras Makonnen, a cousin of Menelik, who captured the town and province of Harrar. This occupation brought the Abyssinians closely into touch with the Somalis, who were by now beginning to come under the influence of the British Agency at Zeila. Further, the chief outlet for the Abyssinian trade at that time was Zeila; indeed, it was on this trade that the prosperity of Zeila depended.

Meanwhile the French had established themselves on the coast at Obok and in 1888 they landed at Jibuti, there to establish their seat of government and to build and equip a modern port, now connected by railway with Addas Ababa, the capital of Abyssinia. Today the bulk of Abyssinian trade passes through Jibuti, and Zeila has fallen into decay.

But before the foundations of Jibuti had been laid a party of Cossacks—240 men, women and children—landed within the French sphere of influence. Upon the Cossack leader's refusal to evacuate the territory the French sent a war vessel to bombard his camp. Ten Russians were killed before the party surrendered; it then returned to Europe. It was understood that the Cossacks' object was to enter Abyssinian military service.

In 1887 the British Somaliland Protectorate was formally declared, and in 1888 Great Britain and France defined and agreed on a boundary line between their protectorates. In 1889 the Italians proclaimed a protectorate over Somali territory bordering on that occupied by the British. In 1889 various border adjustments were made and the partition of Somaliland between the three European Powers is, approximately accurately, as now shown on the map. The bulk of that part which was apportioned to Abyssinia lies between the line from Jibuti to Lugh and the inland borders of Italian, British and French Somaliland. It is no more in Abyssiana proper than Italian Somaliland is in Italy.

British Somaliland is the cradle of the Somali race. On its coast descended the Arab invaders who defeated the Galla they found there, and captured their women. These women bore their captors children and the latter continued their fathers' work and method of propagation until at long last the Horn of Africa was peopled by Somalis.

The territory possesses no large towns. On the coast the chief of these are Zeila, Berbera, and Las Khorai. Berbera is today the most important of all three and is connected with the interior by a motor track which passes over forty odd miles of arid, sandy plain to the forbidding escarpment, four to six thousand feet high, that bars the way to the cooler but uninviting plateau above. Here

at Sheikh is the headquarters of the Governor. The road proceeds to Burao, the headquarters of the Somaliland Camel Corps and the officers in charge of the district. From Burao one motor track branches off to Erigavu and another to Hargeisa, near the Abyssinian border.

Tribal organization exists as the British found it, and so far as is possible disputes are settled according to tribal custom and law. The larger divisions, or tribes, are subdivided into clans, each under a headman elected by his own people, who is responsible to Government for the good behaviour of his clan. The Somali is a nomad continually on the move in search of grazing and water for his animals, and for convenience' sake practically all business between the clans and Government is transacted on the one side by the headman, and on the other by the District Officer. There are several districts, each with its own headquarters under a District Officer. At these headquarters the headmen meet from time to time to settle inter-tribal affairs, if they can. If they cannot, the District Officer intervenes: there are no great chiefs. As the border clans are sometimes in one Protectorate, sometimes in another, or in Abyssinia, border disputes are frequent. The Somaliland Camel Corps, recruited locally, consists of 500 rifles. There is an armed native police force about the same strength as the Camel Corps, under European officers.

Government provides an excellent but small medical service—there is none other available—which is deeply appreciated by the Somalis. There is no educational department and, as the whole population is staunchly Muhammadan, no Christian missions.

Although the townspeople of Zeila would like to regain the Abyssinian trade, there is little chance of their ever doing so excepting they come under Abyssinian dominion. Undoubtedly they would prefer to remain under the British flag; but ruin stares them in the face unless the seemingly impossible happens and that trade is restored. The writer, who served several years in Zeila, holds the opinion that the Zeilawis would make any sacrifice to get the trade back.

The principal exports today are hides and livestock to Aden. There are less important exports of pearls and myrrh. The value of all seldom exceeds in any one year a quarter of a million pounds. The population—about 350,000—is pastoral, always on the move, with its tents packed on camels' backs, and requires little from the outside world to satisfy its simple wants but cotton cloths, rice, and dates. The total value of imports during 1931 was £311,000.

The climate on the low maritime plain is dry, hot, and as unpleasant as the plain itself. On the plateau above the temperature is decidedly cooler, but, as throughout the whole area, the rainfall is low. Water for human being and animal must be

drawn from deep wells. During the long dry season tens of thousands of camels, cattle, sheep, and goats crowd around these wells waiting their turn to water. In many places even the milking cows are exceptionally fortunate if during this time they drink every second day.

How does the Somali mind view the proposed invasion of Abyssinia by a European Power? The Somali is a Muhammadan, and the real Abyssinian, the Amhara, is a Christian. For centuries they have been enemies, and today there is no love lost between them. Both are coloured men, and the odds are the Somali's sympathy will be with the Abyssinian. But he has for so long openly abused the latter that he would certainly find it difficult now to give expression to that sympathy, even if it did exist.

Although the British Somalis who live all along the Abyssinian border graze and live for considerable periods in Abyssinian territory, none come quite so closely into touch with the Abyssinian authorities as the Aysa and Gadabursi, who live in Zeila district. Before the advent of the Jibuti-Addas Ababa railway, which the Aysa actively opposed, these two tribes held a monopoly of camel transport between Zeila and Harrar; there was a brisk trade, and their camels were lucratively employed. When Makonnen occupied Harrar, and it was recognized by the Powers concerned that part of the Aysa and Gadabursi grounds should come under Abyssinian dominion, Makonnen's political agents naturally first began to work amongst those Somalis whose camels passed daily in and out of Harrar.

If, as has been suggested, Zeila should now be handed over to Abyssinia, so that she may have a port of her own, it is these Gadabursi and Aysa tribes who will be most affected. Zeila is their natural port. They do not, of course, live in Zeila, which is inhabited by people of mixed races. But the suggested corridor which would give Abyssinia clear access to Zeila is Aysa country. Exceptionally worthless country, however; those few natives who graze it can only do so for a few months in the year; the majority then cross into Abyssinian territory.

Should the suggestion become an actual fact, a few Aysa herdsmen will stand in the arid ceded corridor and once again watch their camels laden with merchandise from Harrar wending their way to Zeila, just as their forebears had watched the same sort of thing for centuries before the white man came with his arbitrary border lines and railway. I am certain that any feeling of resentment the sight may rouse in the watchers' breasts will be more than balanced by the thought of the profit the regained transport trade will bring to their own people and to the port of Zeila. As for the latter, it can look nowhere else but towards Abyssinia for the trade that will continue its existence.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA IN TRANSITION

BY PHILIP MORRELL

THERE is no question, I think, that your esteemed Honorary Secretary is one of the two most courageous men living, in having invited me to address this highly expert society on the subject of India, knowing well as he does that the whole of my working acquaintance with that country—the whole time I have spent on its soil—is confined within the limits of a two months' tour. And the other is myself, in having dared to accept his invitation. I am indeed, I think, the more courageous of the two as the more exposed to criticism and attack. For what can I hope to say to you that you do not know already? What right have I to air my views on so difficult a subject? Is it not clear that I am here for one purpose only, to provide material for discussion—to be a target for the expert marksmen in the audience.

But this at least I must urge in self-defence: that the two months which my wife and I spent in the early part of this year on Indian soil do not represent the beginning—any more than they will mark the completion—of our interest in Indian affairs. All my life, so long as I can remember, I have been fascinated by the thought of India and the work which we English have done or tried to do there. I recollect indeed as one of the earliest and most vivid of my childish memories the departure of my father's sister, my Aunt Annie as we called her, to work in a mission school and hospital in Bombay, and the excitement that the letters and photographs she sent home used to give us. She spent the whole of her life in India, in complete self-devotion without any thought of advantage or reward, and died in Bombay not so long ago; and all through my life—at school and at Oxford, and amongst my cousins and relations—I must have had scores of friends and acquaintances, most of them quite unknown and

forgotten—who have given the best of their lives in the service of India, and have done their share of work perhaps quite as truly as those whose names are celebrated.

On the other hand, my wife, who is a great-granddaughter of one Governor-General and the great-niece of another—her grandfather was a brother of Lord William Bentinck and married the daughter of Lord Wellesley—has a proud and memorable connection with Indian history. It was not therefore by a sudden whim, but in furtherance of a long ambition, that we went out to see for ourselves that country of which we had thought and read so much; and I should like to believe that our impressions, though necessarily superficial, were perhaps a little fresher and more vivid, and therefore in some ways more valuable, than if we had spent long years of our life there, as so many of you have done.

CHANGES IN INDIA

I have called my paper “India in Transition,” but you will be relieved to hear that I do not propose to say more than a word or two of the provisions of the new Constitution of which we have most of us already heard enough. All, or almost all, that I want to say about it is contained in two sentences of a speech made by Lord Halifax in the debate on the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee to the effect that what really matters is the spirit in which this new Constitution is given and received.

“The spirit inspiring any constitution,” he says, “is of far greater importance than the dry bones of reports or statutes. . . . The new Constitution will secure for India a full opportunity for the political self-expression and development which those who love India best desire to see.”

That the new Constitution will effect an important political change there is, I suppose, no question; but the transition of which I wish to speak is not so much political as social, a change in custom and habit rather than in political machinery; and indeed one may assert that no political reform is ever of much importance unless it expresses and is accompanied by a social change. Now, to say that a country is in a state of transition is often a mere truism, because human nature as we know is extremely

restless. The world is always in transition. There may be peace in the fixed stars, but there is no peace here. The only difference between one country and another is in the rate of transition, and in India, just at present, if we accept the evidence of competent observers, the rate is unusually high.

"India is undoubtedly changing with incredible rapidity," observed Lord Faringdon in a recent debate in the House of Lords; and Lord Zetland, who knows India as well as any living Englishman, repeats the same familiar refrain:

"In no part of the world have changes in political and social outlook been so rapid and so far-reaching as they have been in India in recent years. Who would have believed it if he had been told only a short decade before that in the year 1930 he would have seen Hindu and Muslim ladies sitting at the Council table at Westminster alongside of the Princes from the native States, delegates from British India, and representatives of the three Parliamentary Parties in this country? Who would have believed that a Commission composed of members of these two Houses would be declaring, as the Simon Report declared, that the women's movement in India holds the key to progress? . . . These things indicate a great ferment . . . a great stirring in the still deeps of Indian life, which it would be madness for us to ignore."

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Consider, for example, the question of purdah. I remember the shock I felt when I first saw in the streets of Hyderabad a strange unhappy-looking creature covered from head to foot with a white garment, with two dark holes for its eyes, threading its way through the crowd, and realized that it was not a ghostly apparition but a woman of flesh and blood like ourselves taking a walk; and how another day we watched the placing of a large white box, looking rather like a giant's coffin, at the door of a railway carriage, and after a short interval during which this coffin was loaded with much precaution and secrecy with the living body of some great lady, saw it carried by means of poles on the shoulders of four men to a dark closed carriage standing outside the station, into which with similar precautions of secrecy the lady was transferred. There is no doubt, then, that purdah still exists. There are still thousands and tens of thousands of unhappy women who through no choice and for no fault of

theirs are undergoing lifelong imprisonment, and of many of them it is said that they have grown so accustomed to their prison life that they would not now come out of it if they could. But everyone knows that in most parts of India the custom of purdah is decaying and dying out; so much so that we were often told that within a space of ten or fifteen or twenty years—the figure varied with the temperament of the speaker—it will have almost entirely disappeared. Or take again the education of girls and women. In old days there was very little education even for boys, and the education of women, except among the upper classes, was practically unknown. In Baroda in 1875 when the present Maharaja came to the throne—and I only give the figures for Baroda because I happen to have them by me—the total number of schools for boys was 55 and there were no girls' schools whatever. In 1881, when he succeeded to power, one of his first acts was to establish a training college for women teachers; and after this women's schools and colleges were gradually set up. Two years ago, in 1933-4, the number of educational institutions in the State was 2,480, and at these 167,000 boys and 98,000 girls were being trained; while the educational expenditure in the last twenty years has risen steadily from 14 lakhs in 1914 to 36 lakhs in 1934. And the same tendency may be observed in a greater or less degree in all parts of India.

Can anyone doubt that the liberation of women which is thus brought about—by the improvement of their education and the disappearance of purdah—is having and must have a profound effect upon the social life of the country? As the Maharaja of Baroda has said, it releases a great potential force which has hitherto been wasted; it is securing for the coming generation the advantage of educated mothers; and it helps to bridge that mental division in the home in which women have hitherto been a great conservative influence, clinging to all that is old, however outworn or irrational.*

Even in the matter of caste prejudice a considerable change is going on. The depressed classes are not so depressed as they were, the caste barriers are not so strict. In Mysore members of the

* *Life of Sayaji Rao III.*, ii., 13.

untouchable class are admitted to the Civil Service; in Baroda a dinner to untouchables at the Maharaja's palace is an annual event. In thousands of schools throughout British India the attendance of the children of untouchables is secured.

And these new tendencies are not only to be found in the big towns. In the villages also the same changes are beginning. In Mysore, in Hyderabad, in Bengal, and in Baroda we found a strong movement to introduce what is called "village uplift"; and from a recent speech made by Lord Linlithgow,* who has a wide knowledge of rural India, it seems clear that this movement is far more widespread than is commonly supposed.

"The rural masses of India," he said, "for so many centuries unchanging in their outlook, are at last on the move. The metalled road and the motor-car are rapidly breaking down the isolation of the village unit. Those who would found their Indian policy upon the conception of a static, unchanging, and intensely conservative countryside are building, not upon a rock, but upon shifting sands."

THE RELIGIOUS HOLD

It would be easy, no doubt, to exaggerate the significance of these changes. With all the growth of education, especially in some of the most progressive Indian States in which the proportion of literates is as high as or higher than in British India, and with all the increasing influence of Western ideas, the strength of custom and heredity is still immense. Above all, there is the strength of organized religion that absorbs so much of the wealth and vigour of Indian life. You have only to go to Benares, which to me, I confess, is a nightmare of a place, to understand how enormously strong the dead hand of religion still is. I was interested, too, to read of a case in the High Court of Calcutta, from which it appeared that in the village of Dhope in a remote part of Bengal a small shrine was receiving not less than £30 sterling a day from the offerings of poor peasants.† There are still millions of untouchables who are entirely cut off from the ordinary decencies of life. The custom of child marriage, in spite of recent legisla-

* In the debate on the second reading of the India Bill.

† *Queer India*, pp. 228-9.

tion, still continues almost unchecked. The amount of poverty is still vast, and amongst the richer classes the absence of any effective public spirit is often deplorably evident. But considering the strength of custom, and the long continuance of old evils, the progress made in recent years is all the more remarkable. There can be no doubt that in many parts of India a new spirit is really at work, opening the doors of prisons and breaking down the bars of ignorance and superstition.

THE BRITISH ACHIEVEMENT

Now it seems to me that we in England—and what is true of us at home is also true of many, though by no means all, of our countrymen in India—do not take sufficient account of this new spirit. We are interested in the old picturesque India, with its temples and palaces and magnificent ruins, the monuments of a distant past; we read books like *Mother India* and *Queer India*, in which strange old customs and superstitions and cruelties are elaborately and often very unfairly described; we like to think of India as a huge, half-civilized country, to which we with our better notions of government have been sent by the mercy of God to introduce order, justice, unity, and many great material improvements. I do not, indeed, deny, nor do I think any intelligent person will underrate, the magnificence of the work that has been done and is still being done by our countrymen in India. Taken as a whole, and in spite of many gross scandals and injustices and mistakes, especially in the early years of our occupation, the British government of India has been a marvellous achievement. Almost all the great improvements that have been effected in recent years and even the criticisms of our critics—as I wrote in a recent article in the *Sunday Times*—have been due directly or indirectly to British and European influence.

But fixing our attention on these material improvements we have failed to appreciate the intellectual and spiritual change that is passing over India, through the system of education which we introduced a hundred years ago; how high are the hopes and ambitions that have been aroused; how strong the determination

among educated Indians that India shall take her proper place in the comity of nations. We have failed to see the significance of such progressive States as Mysore and Baroda, in which Indian rulers—working it is true upon European foundations and often with European assistance—have succeeded in building up communities as well ordered and well administered as any part of British India. And because we have not appreciated this new state of things we have failed hitherto to adapt ourselves to it. We have accepted Rudyard Kipling's stupid assertion that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," when in fact they are meeting and blending, for better or for worse, all the time. In politics, no doubt, a great advance has been made. In a long series of reforms culminating in the present Bill we have shown our willingness to give India the opportunity, as Lord Halifax puts it, of political self-expression and development. And we must all of us welcome the frank statement made only the other day by my friend Sir Mirza Ismail that "the India Bill will rank as one of the greatest achievements of the British Parliament."

SOCIAL CONTACTS

But man does not live by politics alone. Mere changes in political machinery, however valuable and important, are not of themselves enough. Behind and beyond the political problem there is a social question that is even more important and in many ways far more difficult. It is difficult for two reasons: first, because we are the heirs of a bad tradition; and, secondly, because the trouble is subtle and elusive and offence is often taken where none was intended. Consider first the strength of bad tradition. We went to India first, as everyone knows, as traders only, for our own gain and advantage; and even after we had conquered the greater part of it and had become the Paramount Power we held it for many years through a trading company with very little regard to the wishes or interests of its inhabitants. Gradually, however, even under the Company, and still more since the transfer to the Crown, the situation changed. We have recognized that if we are to remain in India we must satisfy the

needs of the country and obtain the consent of its people, and in recent years at any rate our policy has been consistently directed to this end.

But through all the political changes that have occurred some of the old ascendancy spirit has unfortunately survived. There still exists a tendency, though it is no doubt weakening, to treat Indians in their own country, or at any rate in the part of it which is called British India, as a subject race. Nothing indeed struck us more in our recent tour than the frequent complaints which we heard from reasonable and intelligent Indians of European ill-manners. The complaints applied no doubt to a very few people, and most of them were comparatively unimportant. The sympathetic attitude, for example, of the present Viceroy and Lady Willingdon is gratefully recognized; but one act of insolence on the part often of some minor official will still do extraordinary harm and will outweigh, as one of our friends puts it, fifty acts of kindness. Let me illustrate what I mean from three quotations from the Diary of my friend the late E. S. Montagu, who knew and understood the Indian mentality, though his book is not well edited and in places very indiscreet.

"This Indian problem," he writes, on November 30, 1917, "is very much complicated by the fact that it is atmosphere, social and political, rather than anything definite which we have to cope with."

Again on December 1, he writes :

"Ronaldshay then came and talked to me. We found ourselves much in agreement about the fact that it is British ascendancy and subject race feeling that is at the bottom of everything."

Again, on December 2, he writes :

"I came home and had another talk with the attractive Ramaswami Aiyar. He wished to assure me that they used violent language because they were goaded to it . . . that until he talked to me and Lord Chelmsford he had never had the opportunity of speaking frankly as man to man on political matters with any man in high office. . . . He said there was no doubt about the social difficulty. . . . They were sensitive people, and they could not help resenting the feeling of inferiority which they were made to feel when talking to English people."

All this, it will be said, was written nearly eighteen years ago, and the situation since then has no doubt greatly improved; but I must confess that I was surprised to find, from many conversations which we had both with English and Indians, how real the social difficulty still is and how much of the discontent that exists among the educated classes may almost certainly be traced to it.

THE CLUB QUESTION

And this brings me to what I recognize to be a very delicate question: the question of the exclusiveness of some of the English clubs in which so much of this old spirit is enshrined. I know the argument for not admitting Indians, even when highly cultivated and intelligent men—the sort of men whom we meet as friends in England—to English clubs in India. A club, it is said, is a purely private affair, and if Englishmen in India like to have their clubs to themselves, so as to preserve the home atmosphere, what right has anyone to object? But the answer is, I think, that a club composed almost entirely of people in official positions can never be a purely private affair, and the existence of these exclusive clubs tends no doubt to make social intercourse between Englishmen and Indians far more difficult than it would otherwise be. It is a pity that the admirable example set by the present Viceroy in the founding of the Willingdon Club at Bombay has not been more generally followed.

I now come to the second difficulty: that Indians themselves are often over-sensitive and therefore unreasonable; but here again there is a bad tradition to be overcome. If Indians are sensitive, it is because too often in the past they have had their feelings hurt, and because they are not yet convinced that in social matters, as well as in political, the English, who have so many social advantages in India, are ready to disregard differences of race and creed and what is called the colour bar. In the Indian States these troubles hardly exist. In Mysore, in Jaipur, and Indore we found admirable clubs, at which English and Indians met and played bridge and tennis and polo together on perfectly easy terms, and one of the happiest evenings I remember in India

was at a dinner party at Bangalore, in which the members were exactly divided between the two races, and the conversation was as frank and unrestrained as at any English table and in some ways far more interesting. The trouble in fact is the same, though seen from a different point of view. As the ascendancy spirit disappears on our side—as sooner or later it must and will—the over-sensitiveness on theirs will disappear also.

It is now seventy-seven years since the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria in which it was declared that there was to be no distinction of class or creed in the admission of her subjects to political office. That promise has at last has been fully and faithfully carried out; but even political equality loses much of its virtue so long as a spirit of social inequality is maintained. Not until the principle of partnership rather than that of subordination becomes the keynote of our policy can we look forward to realizing fully the hope that was so eloquently expressed in the Queen's Proclamation about her Indian subjects :

“In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.”

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, July 16, 1935, when a paper entitled "India in Transition" was read by Mr. Philip Morrell. Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Homi Mehta, Lady Ottoline Morrell, Lady (Lionel) Jacob, Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. A. Ahmed, Swami B. H. Bon, Mrs. Weir, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mrs. Foden, Swami Purohit, Professor P. J. Thomas, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mr. Sambidananda Das, Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Hamilton, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Dr. K. N. Sita Ram, Mrs. Thumbo Chetty and Miss Chetty, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, K.I.H., Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Norton, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Mr. R. F. Cooke, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Colonel A. S. Hamilton, Mr. W. A. Lee, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Dible, Mr. E. Batchelor, Mr. R. C. Lai, Dr. A. C. Woolner, Mr. J. W. Sheppard, Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta, Miss Hunter, Miss Gunter, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said: I think the East India Association has been very bold in asking two people to be on the platform both of whom bear the stigma of the House of Commons. (Laughter.) Memories of the travels of "Padgett, M.P." have pursued me a great deal. Mr. Morrell was a distinguished Member of the House for, I think, twelve years; and I have been an undistinguished Member for three years. I hope those that have great experience of India will not sneer at those who try to overcome in some measure their ignorance by even the shortest sojourn in India. There is value often in an instantaneous photograph, and I am sure that Mr. Morrell with his great experience of public affairs will have collected certain aspects and certain impressions of India that will be of value even to those who have spent their whole lives in service or in residence in that great sub-continent.

(Mr. Morrell then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: The worst fault a lecturer can commit is to fail to be provocative. I think Mr. Morrell is acquitted on that charge. My own reaction to his paper I will leave till later.

Sir HOMI MEHTA: The lecturer of this afternoon, Mr. Morrell, must be a very, very bold man, when after two months' travel in India he thought it wise to give a lecture on a subject so wide. Though I have been sixty-five years in India, I would not have dared to speak before the public on a sub-

ject like India in a way as if it would make a difference one way or the other. Mr. Morrell has given a picture which exists here and there and which cannot be ignored; but at the same time Mr. Morrell and all those who are present must remember that India is now passing, and passing very rapidly, through a great change. The change has been so rapid that those who were last in India only five or seven years ago cannot recognize the India of today.

In the large cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, and others, there are many educated men who can stand up against any Englishman or any gentleman of any other nation in Europe or America. At the same time one must remember there are millions and millions of people who are absolutely ignorant—so ignorant that they seem only half human beings. That is the great drawback in India. Some say the village life is roused. I have my doubts about it. But, admitting that it is so, one thing is certain: it is not roused in a sense in which the millions can say anything to impress anyone that we are going forward, if not fast enough, even gradually.

The club life does not make India or England. There are clubs in England where even Englishmen cannot enter. If some Englishmen have the prejudice that they should have none but themselves in their clubs, well, they have the choice. Nobody grumbles at that. But when a club well organized and on a large scale refuses admittance, I agree with Mr. Morrell that it creates a very bad impression. Take an Indian of good standing going to the Yacht Club in Bombay and being refused entrance. One would like to know what he has done, what inferiority there is that he should not be allowed at the Yacht Club where the average Englishman can go or perhaps one of much inferior position. But one swallow does not make a summer. One instance like that does not mean anything. We have to take the matter as it comes. Therefore I leave that question aside.

The real trouble in India is the caste, creed, and religious differences which are depriving India of what should be her progress. But I have seen Muhammadan boys and boys of other castes and creeds gathering together taking water from the same tap and same vessel and eating together on the same board. This makes me believe—and I do believe—that within ten or fifteen years all the prejudices of religion, caste, and creed will die out. Then and then alone India will be one homogeneous country, and Indians will hold their own, man to man, woman to woman, child to child, with any Englishman or any foreigner of the Continent or of America. But that spirit which gives you self-respect will never come as long as there is friction among the peoples of India.

In one respect British rule has been very defective. I refer to education, which has been meagrely pursued. Care should have been taken that in your own country every boy and every girl should have some knowledge of the history and geography of India. If I were to ask ten men in the streets of London, nine would be unable to put a finger on either Bombay or Calcutta on the map. If that condition of ignorance prevails the English may rule for some time but not for all time.

They must teach their children that British and Indians have bonds of unity; that we are going to have our resources and fortunes put together,

and both Indians and Englishmen ought to know each other well so as to bring about a feeling of comradeship.

Dr. A. C. WOOLNER, Vice-Chancellor, Lahore University: I agree entirely with the observation of the Chairman that there is always great interest in the impressions of a mature mind that visits India for the first time. And, listening to the eloquent address of Mr. Morrell, I would like to say that I agree with the greater part of it, speaking with thirty-two years' experience, though always in the same place and the same institution, but always closely associated with Indian life and Indian thought. I actually worked there happily under an Indian chief as long as twenty-six years ago.

I agree with Mr. Morrell that there have been enormous changes in India during that time. But the changes are not all peculiar to India, which I think is sometimes forgotten. A great deal is due to world conditions, and the real change in this case is that India is now much less isolated; she has been brought more into the general current of world ideas. Rapid communication by railways and motors, and now aeroplanes, have brought us nearer to the West, as well as the use of telephones, wireless, and cinemas. One is apt to forget that things like bicycles, typewriters, and electricity are comparatively modern introductions in India. They are not peculiar to India but common to the whole world.

Again, largely due to that increased contact with the modern world, thousands of students have been trained in various countries of the West, a good many of them in Great Britain, and have returned to their country. Hundreds of business men of various kinds and even politicians are frequently coming over here. That is a continual influence impinging on India, quite apart from what is deliberately taught in educational institutions.

Again, one has only to think of the enormous changes that have taken place in Asia, in Turkey, and Persia, and particularly in Japan, to realize that that must react on the mentality of India.

In general, with the spread of education and literacy there has grown up in all classes a much greater awareness of what is going on in the world than there used to be. I must admit that there is often a great confusion in individual minds about particular things: not only in the minds of the really ignorant but even of college students who might be expected to know much better.

I will give you one example which a friend of mine gave me from an examination in a certain college. One question was, "What do you know of Simon de Montfort?" Not a very good question, as it might refer either to the son in England or to his father, who was famous in thirteenth-century France. One answer was, "Simon de Montford came to India and made some reforms." (Laughter.)

Mr. Morrell has touched on particular aspects of change that have struck him. In particular he spoke of the position of women and the change due to education and the lessening of purdah. I can say that that is one of the most striking things in my own town. When I first went there and drove about the streets in the afternoon, you hardly ever saw an Indian lady. I

think I only knew one, although I knew a great many Indians. But now they are all over the place, driving cars by themselves, cycling about by themselves; and, as has been mentioned, they are taking their part in various public bodies. Here again as always there is the other side. In country districts you will find that the condition of things is quite different.

I do not know that I can add anything very valuable to this question of social contact, and yet it is a matter in which I have observed a great change, and, speaking for my own part of the country, a great improvement. I think that great improvement has coincided largely with the working out of the present reforms. Power has a way of inspiring respect. Men who work together on equal terms come to understand one another in a way that was not before possible.

The old notion that Englishmen and Scotsmen could not take orders from an Indian has passed away. That is partly due to the reforms, and also to a certain change in the mental attitude of the British officers, particularly those who have come out after the war. I suggest that the red-faced, choleric, Anglo-Indian colonel of fiction has now almost entirely become extinct. Mr. Morrell seems to have succeeded in unearthing one of them. So too with the district officers, whose benevolent despotism in the past has sometimes tended to make them overbearing. Their authority has been sapped by many controls, and I think there is again a marked difference in the outlook of the average district officer, particularly among the younger men.

I rather agree with Sir Homi Mehta that one gains very little by a public discussion of these delicate problems of clubs and dinner parties; but I would like to say that in the Punjab at any rate I think the question is solving itself. With the increased Indianization, it has become impossible to maintain separate European clubs in small stations, and they become automatically clubs of officials of a certain rank. In very many towns it is only the residential club that is definitely exclusive, where, of course, the problem is rather different. I believe once this bugbear of superiority and inferiority disappears, there will be no resentment at an exclusive club of Europeans, so long as that club has not annexed the only possible grounds for its own use, and it does not in itself represent any social standing to belong to that particular club. The great success that Indians have had in sports has brought them automatically into gymkhanas and other clubs. Though no doubt a great deal of harm has been done in the past, I believe the matter is on the way to solve itself.

Although there are some aspects that have been touched on in the paper, there are others that one might add, of course, if one had time for a longer discussion. In connection with the enormous development of education, there is also a renaissance of letters and a revival of classical learning, which is very remarkable, and there is now a production of first-class scientific research which can stand beside any in the world. As a result of all these facts there is now a tremendous improvement in the personnel available for all purposes of the state and society.

Somebody else may speak of trade and industry and the economic change, but I would only say if you are going to take a complete view, then you

must have regard to the economic changes that are going on. It is in that and in the loosening of authority in families with a tendency to question all arbitrary and traditional authority that one does see sometimes the possibility of undercurrents and upheaval which might mar the otherwise favourable picture that one gathers from this view of the rapid change and progress that has been made in India of recent years.

MISS CORNELIA SORABJI: He who must be obeyed—by which I mean our Secretary, Mr. Brown—has called on me. I speak without preparation and will say only a few words.

To begin with, I do agree with what the Chairman said about provocation being compelling. It does make you feel, "Well, I do not entirely agree with that," whereas if the speaker had said everything you thought of yourself, there would be little opportunity for discussion. So, in so far as we have been provoked to think, as well as for his delightful lecture, I do wish to thank Mr. Morrell. "*India in Transition*" is a very good title; we are in transition and have been in transition for some time. We have been thinking of political changes only; but, of course, social changes have been going on for many years, as I, being such a very aged person, can realize.

Yet changes became full-blown only quite lately. Things were moving under the surface, and that is why it has been thought that all changes are due to political influences alone. Politics have influenced certain things. Take, for instance, the purdah. I have been a student of the purdah all my life and am still studying it, but the people who are in purdah now do not represent all the women of India. But do not be misled. You must remember that the people who are out of purdah are largely the educated classes; purdah is still prevalent in India; and no one can force a change. I would like to urge that about the purdah and other social reforms. No changes can be brought about in India by social legislation. The people must desire a change before changes can come in whatever direction. In regard to caste, which was mentioned by one of the speakers, and with regard to social disabilities of every sort, the people who are affected by those disabilities must want a change before a change can come; and you will realize that is true if you consider the question in terms of England.

There is another thing which those of us who, being women, are privileged to go behind the purdah can realize better than men, the terrible difficulty of changing age-long custom; and, secondly, the shock which is experienced when custom has been changed when those outside the purdah go too far. I would like to say a word of warning about going too far, letting the pendulum swing too far on one side. The reaction to this is that the unemancipated draw closer round them the bonds from which they were just beginning to loose themselves.

Furthermore, there must be education behind the purdah before you know how to behave outside it. We have a great deal of work to do there. All the Indian women who have been so marvellous and have come forward in every direction of progress must remember that it is not only getting into Parliament that is the work for us to do for India, but social

service down at the bottom bringing advance to the people where they are. As to caste, I do not hold the opinion that it is altogether bad. It represents sanctions, and sanctions of religion which are good for the people.

One of the speakers said a word of warning about the need for studying India. How many people in England do really know about India? I do not want to charge English people with not studying us, because we do not study ourselves sufficiently. But when you hear an educated American woman saying to you, "When does a Rajah become a Nawab?" (Laughter), you do feel there is need for learning a little more.

For the rest it is frightfully difficult to get facts about India. I remember long ago what was known to lawyers as the "Silver King case" (I remember it well because I then first heard Rufus Isaacs plead); one of the learned counsel told this story. He told it in criticism of his adversary. He said he remembered a Scotch divine, who, when he came to a difficult text, said: "My friends, this is a difficult text. Let us look the facts in the face and pass on." If we could pass on, all would be well. India is passing on, but the difficulty is, she and we cannot look facts in the face because they do not "stay put" for any length of time.

MISS MERCY ASHWORTH: With regard to the delicate subject of exclusive English clubs in India I think perhaps that many Indian gentlemen and the lecturer himself are not aware that this exclusiveness is not intended to operate simply on Indians only. English people suffer under the same disability. Although I had the privilege of serving in India as a member of one of the Imperial Services and was for over seven years resident in the city of Bombay I was never eligible as a member of the Bombay Yacht Club, for which members of the Imperial Service were *ipso facto* eligible, simply because I had the misfortune to be born a woman. Not only was I excluded from this club which forms the English social centre of Bombay as a member, but by a rule of the club which prohibits the introduction of a resident of Bombay city as a guest I was excluded from its hospitality. I was, however, invited occasionally by members and I accepted their invitations, but all the time I was eating my dinner I was conscious of the fact that if any member chose to object to my presence I should have to withdraw.

PROFESSOR P. J. THOMAS (Madras University): Mr. Morrell must be congratulated on having produced a very impartial account of the conditions in India, in spite of his stay in that country having been too short. One may doubt, however, whether he has not rather exaggerated the change that has come over India in recent times. Perhaps the change has been great socially, but in the economic sphere it has not been anything phenomenal, except perhaps in certain cities and industrial centres. Tourists may find parts of Bombay and Calcutta comparable to the most modern cities in Europe, and railways are nearly the same all over the world; but the great majority of the people live in villages, which have not very much changed in spite of the expansion of trade and industry. No doubt, as Lord Linlithgow has pointed out in the passage quoted by the lecturer, the extension of roads

and railways has broken down the isolation of the villages, and the raising of commercial crops has made the Indian rural economy less self-sufficient. But the great majority of villages are still unconnected with railways and metalled roads, and the slow bullock cart is still the only means of transport for many of them. They are still deficient in water supply; good drinking water is still rare in many parts of rural India; malaria and hook-worm are widely prevalent; and plague and cholera take their annual toll.

Government has indeed done a good deal in the last fifty or sixty years. Large irrigation works have been carried out at an enormous capital expenditure; roads have been made, and the Departments of Agriculture and Co-operation have done some pioneering work. But all this has only touched the fringe of the problem, and the average Indian villager is still backward, poor, under-fed, ill-clothed, and badly housed. The towns have benefited by all that Government has done; the industrial, mercantile, and professional classes have all gained substantially under British rule; but the agriculturist, who is the pillar of the Indian economic structure, still remains nearly in the same old condition. He has always been working hard, but the fruits of his labours have largely gone into the mouths of the moneylender, landlord, or other middleman.

The crux of the Indian problem is the low standard of living of the masses; unless the standard rises, dirt and disease will dominate rural life, and India will remain poor and backward. If the standard of living can be raised there will be greater happiness, spiritually as well as materially. India will become a better consumer and a greater producer; and international trade may gain a lasting prop. The standard of living cannot be raised in a day; but at this juncture a judicious increase of expenditure on remunerative public works may give the initial impulse, and private enterprise will then catch it up. In my hand is Mr. Lloyd George's pamphlet, *Organising Prosperity*, published this morning. I do not believe that most of his schemes could be safely put into operation in Great Britain, but I venture to think that many of them can be more profitably given effect to in India—profitably to India, Britain, and to the world as a whole.

It is gratifying to note that the Indian Government has lately taken steps to get a move on in rural development. The grant of Rs. 1 crore (£750,000) for rural uplift work is one of the greatest measures taken by Government in recent times. In Bengal, the Punjab, and other provinces vigorous efforts are being initiated to fight rural poverty. Let us hope the work will spread and that there will soon be a nation-wide campaign for improving the lot of the agriculturist. Now that the India Bill is nearly through Parliament this question must be the first concern of Government and the public; for, without an improvement in the condition of the masses, political power will be of little use to them.

SIR CHARLES ARMSTRONG: The objection at the Bombay Yacht Club to ladies was not on any personal ground whatever. There were certain rules, and those rules had to be observed. The question was very often discussed as to whether those rules should be altered, and it was decided that it was not advisable.

manners was based on my experience of one peppery colonel. My wife and I heard many complaints and often saw instances of want of manners on the part of young Englishmen and others. But I am, as I have said, full of admiration of the magnificent work done by Englishmen in India. It is indeed one of the great advantages of going out to India that you meet a type of Englishman which you do not always meet with here at home, one of the very best types of Englishmen you can have. Therefore, if I have been misunderstood at all, it is perhaps because I have been a little too chary of my time and too anxious not to detain you. I am not going to detain you any more.

SIR MALCOLM SETON: It is my very pleasant duty to ask you to pass a vote of thanks to our Chairman and lecturer. It is much too late and too hot to pursue any controversial topic. I felt the greatest sympathy with both of them. They seemed to apologize for globe-trotting and I also am a globe-trotter. It is eighteen years since I was in India, but I was there six months.

I was particularly pleased with Mr. Morrell's quotation from the published diary of the late E. S. Montagu of a passage which showed how very sound and sane a view the present Secretary of State for India adopted in Bengal. Those who know Lord Zetland will have greeted with joy his advent at the India Office. They know his tact and judgment and the really deep interest which he has taken in problems of Hindu thought which must have been unfamiliar to him until he reached Bengal.

The defects of purdah were brought home to me at a very early stage. At the first dinner party to which I was invited at Madras I had the privilege of taking in to dinner a lady who not only could speak no English—and I could speak no Tamil—but who also would eat nothing. To sit by a dumb and fasting partner through an excellent but long dinner was one of the most trying psychological experiences I have had, and was made no better by my consciousness of how much worse it must have been for her! The world has changed very much since then. It is rather, I think, a British idea—it is not merely a European idea—that social friendship depends very much on eating together. It is hardly the old Indian tradition, and hardly the French tradition. But the first result when ladies came out of purdah was that they were plunged into scenes of hospitality in which they must have been very miserable.

On the question of good manners in India much might be said; there is more than one side to it. For instance, an officer attached to Imperial Service Troops whom I met told me he spent most of his time endeavouring to make his Maharajah return the salute of his own troops. The Maharajah, who died some years ago, was a charming old gentleman, really kind-hearted and beloved by his subjects, but it was not in his tradition that when he received salutes from his soldiers he should take any notice whatever. I think that bears a little thinking about.

I am glad Mr. Morrell said what he did about the question of villages. The Indian Village Welfare Association is not as well known as it ought to be, and one great value about it is this, that it tries to get hold of the

young men of both races who are going out to India in official positions and interests them in village problems and explains to them the basic economics of village life. Big as is the cleavage between town and country life in this country, it really seems deeper in India. The young Indians of towns are more divorced from the life of the country than in England. They are coming to the "schools" the Association holds and take a genuine interest in the problem.

Our Chairman and lecturer both told us things of great interest and we are thoroughly grateful to both of them. I thought that one remark of our Chairman's was rather salutary, that is the hope that our destiny was to be the elder brother to India. It is quite natural that a country in which national consciousness is advancing so quickly should often be impatient even of a fraternal authority. But many of us believe that India is not yet ready to stand alone, and I would venture to remind you of what seems to me the essential wisdom of an old Bengali proverb, "A blind uncle is better than no uncle at all."

GARDEN PARTY AT GREAT FOSTERS

A NEW and welcome feature in the programme of the Association was the Garden Party given to members and others by Mr. C. G. Hancock at Great Fosters, near Egham, Surrey, on Saturday, July 6. Some 400 guests, including several members of the Diplomatic Corps, accepted Mr. Hancock's invitation to meet Sir Malcolm and Lady Hailey, and, favoured by ideal summer weather, the occasion was much enjoyed. Several warm expressions of thanks were afterwards received by letter. Lists of many of the guests were published in the social columns of the newspapers.

A question many of the visitors asked each other was, "What is the history of this place?" The answer is that the sixteenth-century mansion, once the home of Queen Elizabeth, takes its name from having been the official residence of the Chief Forester of Windsor Park, when it formed one of the lodge entrances to the Forest. The royal arms, sculptured with the initials of Queen Elizabeth, and the date 1578 over the porch entrance, show that the central part of the house was built about that date.

The mellow red brickwork of the house, which is the glory of old English architecture, provides an ideal background to a garden picture of real English beauty. A stone terrace runs along the entire length of the house and terminates in a loggia at each end. The stone paving forming the floor of the south loggia was brought from the front of Nell Gwynne's house at Brentford, and the remainder of the terrace is made from old Georgian London pavements. Notwithstanding the dryness of the summer, the moat garden, the pergola walk, and the rose garden provided masses of bloom. The swimming pool near the north loggia was a great attraction to visitors, and other diversions were tennis and archery.

Tea was served in the spacious Tithe Hall, and the opportunity was taken by Mr. Hancock to welcome his guests, and in particular Sir Malcolm and Lady Hailey. Mr. Hancock spoke of Sir

Malcolm's Governorship, first of the Punjab and then of the United Provinces, and aptly observed that there was nothing that he had touched in his career that he had not adorned. He gave the reason for his interest in India.

"It is because, after all, India is one of our greatest markets, and it is also one of our greatest fields for investment; but, more than that, it is because India is a great country, with a great historic past, and has even, I venture to say, a greater future before it. On an occasion like this, it is well to remember that it was a handful of London merchants who laid the foundation of our greatness in India something like three hundred years ago and gave to India greater prosperity and freedom than it had ever enjoyed even in the golden ages of Asoka or Akbar. It is to the genius of Great Britain that is due 'the glory that is India.'"

Sir Malcolm Hailey was in genial mood in his reply, and remarked that he did not wish to spoil anyone's enjoyment by talking of India to any extent, for it was a subject of which he was not at all sure that some of them were not getting "just a little tired." The point of this observation was realized by those who knew that Sir Malcolm had devoted the best part of six months to intensive work in Whitehall on the Government of India Bill, and that he had sat for many hours daily in the cramped official pen behind the Speaker's chair closely following the Indian debates in the House of Commons.

Sir Malcolm said that he preferred to turn from the subject of Indian politics to that of the hospitality and kindness of Mr. Hancock. He had shown his keen interest in India by a notable contribution to public knowledge of the subject. Since he had acquired a controlling interest in the *Near East and India* it had been devoting increasing attention to India, and with the best effect. There was further proof of the interest Mr. Hancock took in India in the hospitality he had extended that day to the members of the East India Association. Sir Malcolm added that after nearly forty very happy years in India, it was a very great pleasure to come again amongst so many old friends, the sight of whom recalled many happy memories: "It is a pleasure to meet them always. It is exceptionally a pleasure to meet under conditions of great hospitality, in a lovely place and on a lovely afternoon."

Lord Lamington, the President, who had assisted Mr. Hancock in receiving the guests, voiced the general feeling of indebtedness to him. He said that, while Mr. Hancock had only recently identified himself with the work of the East India Association, he (Lord Lamington) had previously been the recipient of his kind hospitality to another organization—the Near and Middle East Association. Mr. Hancock had recently embarked upon a very valuable undertaking which would contribute to a better understanding between ourselves and the East. He had acquired the *Near East and India*, which had become an up-to-date journal. The *Near East* was founded in 1911, and soon after there was associated with it the *Indiaman*, but in 1922 they were amalgamated. The joint paper had been acquired by Mr. Hancock, who had very much extended the scope of the Indian section, so that it now gave much useful information about India week by week. Mr. Hancock's efforts had been extremely successful in a very short space of time, and he was to be congratulated on having put the paper on "a very sound and valuable footing." Lord Lamington added a word on the approaching prospect of the passage of the Government of India Bill. He believed that a happy understanding would be maintained between the two countries after so many years of consideration of a scheme of reforms designed to establish a new order of things on a sound footing. It was to be earnestly hoped that these well-intentioned efforts for the welfare of India would meet with their proper reward.

Mr. Hancock acknowledged the remarks made by Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Lamington, and before the company separated Shakespearean sonnets were sung in Elizabethan costume by Miss Edna Thomas. Music was provided from the gallery by the Great Fosters Band, and there was dancing. An exhibition of swimming and diving by experts followed. The arrangements made included provision for motors to meet at Egham Station the many visitors who travelled thither by train and to take them back in the evening.

ADMINISTRATION IN BURMA AND JAVA: SOME POINTS OF SIMILARITY AND CONTRAST*

BY J. S. FURNIVALL

(Late Commissioner of Settlements and Land Records in Burma)

WHEN I was invited to address this old and distinguished Society on the subject of our administration in Burma, I felt greatly honoured, but also rather embarrassed by the difficulty of the task. Perhaps, however, I may best help you to understand our system by comparing it with yours. We shall find, I think, that they show in some respects a close resemblance, and in others a strong contrast, and I want to suggest that both the resemblance and the contrast are not merely fortuitous but significant.

One would expect to find a general resemblance. Burma, like Java, is a tropical country, recently brought into contact with the modern world, where Europeans have taken over the government, are developing the material resources, and have come to recognize a moral responsibility for the welfare of the people. In both countries the task of government is to promote agriculture, industry and commerce, both European and native; to adjust the rival claims of capital and labour, town and country, industry and agriculture, in circumstances where the normal tension between these conflicting interests is accentuated by a corresponding cleavage along racial lines; to build up a new social order in which Europeans and natives may both find a place, and, in short, to find solutions for all those problems which arise in what is termed a dualistic economy. It is not surprising then that in both countries the course of development should follow the same general direction. It does, in fact, run closely parallel; very similar problems emerge and—this deserves notice—at very much the same time. We appointed a Director of Education in 1866, and you in 1867. We began to provide railways and irrigation at about the same time as you. We both started at the same time to build a popular credit service and to improve native agriculture, and of recent years we have both been facing the problem of responsible government. These developments arise obviously and directly out of our common entanglement in world economy. In both countries, also, this leads to the decay of the old social order, and an increasing complexity of administration, which multiplies office work and ties

* Lecture delivered before the Indisch Genootschap (Society of Netherlands India) at The Hague.

the official to his office table. *De strijd tegen den papieren rompslomp* is mentioned in the last number of the *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, with the remark that you are continually appointing an officer of a commission to cut down office work; so are we. And with the same result, that the hydra grows another head. Dr. Meijer Ranneft tells how every year your officers spend half a month reporting what during the previous eleven and a half months they have seen, done and—reported; so do ours. It is strange how closely parallel we run. A few years back, in Burma as in Java, and for much the same reasons, there were circulars urging the importance of amalgamating villages. A little later, again for much the same reasons, there were circulars urging the importance of *not* amalgamating villages. One of the minor problems of a District Officer in Burma was to keep down the closing balance of his local funds; and in Java I found some of your local funds accumulating huge balances. A circular in Java emphasizing the importance of politeness to natives might almost have served for one of about the same date in Burma. Many official circulars, in fact, would serve for both countries with very little difference in the contents; and very little difference in the dates. Now that economy is so essential, in Burma as in Java, we might perhaps save money by establishing a common automatic Secretariat, mechanically grinding out circulars for both countries; they would, of course, be in English, for all of you live, as it were, in a perpetual Pentecost and enjoy more than a double portion of the gift of tongues. Without going quite so far it should at least be useful, if so many of our problems rise out of our common environment, to pool our knowledge and experience; we ought to look outside Burma, and you should look outside Java.

But although I was impressed by the resemblance between our systems, I was impressed still more deeply by the contrast. The resemblance is superficial, accidental; the contrast is organic, essential. "That," you may reply, "we have always understood; one system is centralized, the other decentralized; one is based on indirect rule, the other on direct rule; here is an obvious difference in organic structure which may be found in all the textbooks." Now I wish to suggest that this classification, if I may borrow an analogy from botany, is a Linnæan rather than a natural classification. So far as it is correct, and it is not quite correct, it is misleading, because it does not bring out the essential difference in their nature and vital principle. A good portrait tells more about a man than the photograph and description in his passport, because the artist gives not merely a likeness, but an interpretation of character; he seizes on its vital principle. A caricature may tell us more than a portrait, because it emphasizes and exaggerates the essential character. And I think we can learn something from the

ordinary caricature of your system as a *baboe* (a nursemaid), and ours as a *babu* (a clerk). These caricatures, I would suggest, point to a difference between the two systems that is not merely accidental but essential; a difference of vital principle, finding expression both in organic structure and in character and conduct.

Let us turn then to examine the difference between the two systems in organic structure. But I should first explain that I shall be describing our system as I knew it before the era of reforms; and also that in British India conditions vary greatly, and my remarks are strictly applicable only to the province of Burma. For a province in British India is far more independent than a province in Netherlands India. It is a small matter, but symbolic, that the Governor of Burma has his aides-de-camp and military bodyguard and all the pomp and circumstance of your Governor-General. Although the Army and Navy are common to the whole of India, each province has its own Civil Service. The superior Services are recruited in Europe for the whole of British India, but, with a few exceptions, an officer, once posted to a province, stays there permanently. All other Services are recruited *within* the province *for* the province. Half the revenue, or more, remains in the province. Our basic laws, the Penal Code, the Criminal and Civil Procedure Codes, the Evidence Act, and such like, are common to the whole of British India; but each province has its own High Court, and their legal interpretations of the Codes may differ considerably. And, like all the other provinces, Burma has its own police regulations, its own land law, revenue law, fishery law, forest law, excise law, municipal law, and village law. Let me take one instance. Your Landrente Ordonnantie applies throughout Netherlands India wherever landrente is collected, in Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes, or Timor. An officer of the Landelijk Inkomsten may be transferred from one island to another, but he will still apply the same system under the same law. Our land revenue system in Burma, however, is very different from that of any other province of British India, and in many ways bears a closer resemblance to your system than to any of them.

Burma, then, is a province, but far more independent than any of your administrative units. It is over four times as large as Java and must be divided up for administrative purposes. In Burma proper, excluding the Shan States, there were until quite recently eight divisions, each under a Commissioner. A division contains four to six districts, each under an officer known in law and in the older provinces (the title is significant) as Magistrate and Collector, but in Burma generally termed a Deputy Commissioner. A district contains two or three subdivisions, each under a Subdivisional Officer. A subdivision contains two to four townships, each under a Township Officer. We have no comprehensive administrative

units corresponding to your district and onderdistrict, but each township contains about a hundred villages. I would suggest, as the very loosest of equations, that you may think of the division as a province; the district, our traditional unit of *gewestelijk bestuur*, as a residency; the subdivision as an *afdeeling* with more than one regency; and the township, our traditional unit of *plaatselijk bestuur*, as a regency. The correspondence is fairly close in area, but in population your regency is closer to our district. In function and position our Commissioner resembles your Governor; the Deputy Commissioner may, with innumerable qualifications, be equated with your Resident; but of the Subdivisional Officer and Assistant Resident, the Township Officer and Regent, one can say no more than that they are opposite numbers. But if you will keep these equations, or rather collocations, in mind, you may find it easier to follow my remarks upon our system.

The *four* ranks, Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Subdivisional Officer and Township Officer, are filled by officers of *three* distinct Services—Imperial, Provincial, and Subordinate. Until recently the Imperial, or Indian Civil Service, consisted almost entirely of Europeans; the Provincial Service was for Indo-Europeans, and the Subordinate Service for Burmans; the Indian Civil Servant was Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner or Subdivisional Officer, the Provincial Civil Servant was Subdivisional or Township Officer, and the Subordinate Civil Servant was a Township Officer. You have a rather similar distinction in your A, B, and C scale appointments. But whereas we have three Services, you have only two, and—this is the important distinction—your two Services have different functions. Your European Civil Servant represents European principles and culture, looks after European interests, and in regard to native life does little more than guide, help, and supervise the native officers. Your native Civil Servant is an influential representative of the native community, looks after native affairs, and represents government to the natives. This differentiation of functions is quite foreign to our ideas. When I first went to Burma every officer, from top to bottom, from the Commissioner to the Township Officer, exercised judicial functions, both civil and criminal, and revenue functions; the difference between them lay in the area of their jurisdiction rather than in the character of their work. The organization of our Civil Service is territorial; of yours, functional.

That is only one instance of an essential contrast in organic structure distinguishing your system from ours. Our high officers are eight Commissioners, ruling territorial divisions and exercising the same functions over different areas; yours are six Directors of Departments, exercising different functions over the same area. It is true that we also have Departments. But this is another word

which we use differently. What we call a Department, you would call a Service. Your Department is something that we have not got in Burma; it is a group of Services presided over by a Director who is not only the administrative head for all these Services, but deals also with all cognate matters. Here, again, your functional organization is more elaborate than ours. Your Secretariat, likewise, is practically a distinct branch of administration; ours is managed by officers from the executive side, and it is a tradition that they should not stay in the Secretariat too long. Even in your executive branch you pay homage to the principle of separating functions; we give them to one officer as far, and for as long, as possible.

You may object that I am comparing Netherlands India as a whole with one remote and backward province. But the objection does not cover all these facts. Moreover, even in 1854, when your administration was practically restricted to Java, you provided by law for Departments and Directors. About the same time, when our possessions in Burma were limited to Arakan and Tenasserim, each of them about the size of one of your provinces, there was in each of them its own little administration, small but complete. In recent years you have been making experiments in territorial organization and we in functional organization, but, so far as we have come together, it is from opposite directions, and in the main our organic structure is still territorial and yours functional. I wish to suggest that this classification is more correct than a classification distinguishing them as decentralized and centralized, and that it expresses a difference of vital principle, a difference in their essential nature which is apparent in the work they do, as a man's nature is apparent in his character and conduct.

One can best compare their work where they come most nearly in contact with the people; in the subdivision and township in Burma and in the afdeeling and regency in Java. But the Subdivisional and Township Officers come in contact with the people quite otherwise than the Assistant Resident and Regent in Java. When I questioned your officers about their work and found that none of them did anything that we should consider work in Burma, I recalled Chailley-Bert's description of Java as a Paradise for officials and felt like asking, "But whatever do you find to do all day?" However, it was not long before I realized that, if one of your officers should come to Burma, he also would feel like asking our Subdivisional and Township Officers, "But whatever do you find to do all day?"

I have explained that our Deputy Commissioner is officially Magistrate and Collector. Our officers are magistrates. So, you may say, are yours. They are—in a sense. I know that because I had the privilege of sitting on the Bench with one of your Assistant

Residents. A native officer, the Fiscaal-Griffier, an officer unknown to us, was sitting beside him; in Burma a Subdivisional or Township Magistrate would sit alone. The accused was shown into court and settled himself comfortably on a seat; in Burma he would have been standing in the dock. There was no policeman in court; in Burma policemen would have stood beside the dock. In Burma another policeman, the Court Prosecuting Officer, or a professional advocate, would have conducted the case on behalf of government; there would probably, before a Subdivisional Magistrate, have been another advocate to represent the accused; a string of witnesses would have been examined and cross-examined; the Magistrate would have taken down in his own handwriting the statements of the witnesses, and every question to the accused and all his answers would have been taken down as literally as possible in English and Burmese; the Magistrate would have written a long order summarizing the evidence and explaining his decision. But in Java there was nothing of all this; no witnesses were called, and the trial consisted of a brief and apparently friendly conversation between the Magistrate and the accused; the whole "record" was no more than a note scribbled in blue pencil on the charge-sheet to show the penalty imposed or other order passed. And he worked through his cases at the rate of twenty-five an hour. The whole procedure struck me as delightfully informal and efficient. But what surprised me chiefly was to find a European officer with some fifteen years' service trying such petty cases and imposing penalties so insignificant; ordinarily a fine of half a gulden, or even less.

In Burma an officer of the Indian Civil Service starts as a third-class Magistrate; after six months he becomes a second-class Magistrate, and after another six months a first-class Magistrate, with powers to impose a sentence of rigorous imprisonment for two years, and whipping. (Apparently your code does not provide for whipping.) After about five years he becomes a Deputy Commissioner, and, as District Magistrate, can try any case not punishable with death, and impose a sentence of rigorous imprisonment or transportation for seven years. Officers of the Provincial and Subordinate Services rise in the same manner, but more slowly; most of them within a few years become first-class Magistrates and many become Special Power Magistrates with the powers of a District Magistrate. In many districts, perhaps in most, a District Magistrate without a Special Power Magistrate to share his work would have to sit on the Bench day and night. A Subdivisional Officer is in headquarters for about twenty days a month, and practically every day spends much of his time in trying cases; if he had no first-class Magistrates he would be unable to go on tour at all. The District Magistrate therefore does his best to induce the

High Court to confer higher powers on his subordinates. In Burma all your Regents would be first-class Magistrates, and most of them would have special powers to pass sentences up to seven years; practically all your Wedanas would be first-class Magistrates and so would many of your Assistant Wedanas. Matters such as were tried by the Assistant Resident (if they came to court at all) would be tried by unpaid Honorary Magistrates; in rural areas they would mostly be disregarded and the remaining few be dealt with by the Village Headman under the Village Act and not under the ordinary law. The Honorary Magistrates would not impose such trifling penalties as your Assistant Resident, and any Honorary Magistrate whose records were so scanty and informal would soon be removed from the Bench.

Now, perhaps, you will understand why I find it difficult to take your Assistant Resident seriously as a magistrate. And your Regents and Wedanas can hardly be regarded as magistrates at all, though under the *Inlandsch Reglement* they have minor quasi-magisterial powers such as in Burma are entrusted to the ordinary Village Headman, the *Loerah*. Your officers are not—in our sense—magistrates. On the other hand, they are police officers, and ours are not. Our District Magistrate is head of the police, but the responsibility for police administration and for the detection of crime rests with the District Superintendent of Police, and neither the Subdivisional Officer nor Township Officer has any concern with police work. Here, then, is one significant distinction between the work of our officers and yours; our officers are magistrates and yours are policemen.

Let us pass on to civil justice. When I went to Burma the Subdivisional Officer was also Subdivisional Judge, and the Township Officer was also Township Judge, with jurisdiction (if I remember rightly) up to Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 500 respectively. Now the civil work is usually taken by officers of the same origin and standing who have specialized in civil judicial work. Your Assistant Resident has never been a civil judge. And I was astonished when one told me that he tried five or six civil cases a month. It appeared that people came to him for informal arbitration. That is unthinkable in Burma; it is even more surprising than the lack of formality in the magisterial procedure of your Assistant Resident. With us civil cases must go to civil courts, and sometimes it is necessary to reprimand junior officers for trying informally as revenue cases matters which are cognizable by a civil court. Your Regent and his subordinates have petty civil powers; but here again their powers are such as in Burma may be conferred on a Village Headman.

Then there is revenue work. Here there is some similarity between the work of your officers and ours. But their position

and procedure are very different. Your Treasuries are not under the Civil Service, but under the Finance Department. With us the Deputy Commissioner is personally responsible for his Treasury. On the first of each month he must personally verify the balance; count all the notes, and count or weigh the silver and copper. If a shortage should occur during his tenure of office, even if it be not discovered until some time after he has left the district, he must make it good out of his own pocket, unless he can prove that he complied strictly with all the rules for safe custody and verification. In each township there is a Sub-Treasury, and, in the absence of special arrangements, the Township Officer is in charge. During the revenue season he may be taking in thousands of rupees daily, but he is personally liable for any shortage.

You may not understand, however, what I mean by a revenue season. In revenue procedure, as in criminal and civil procedure, we are much stricter and more formal than you are. In Java people may pay in their revenue in such instalments as they like up to December 20; and nothing very much seems to happen if they do not complete their payments by that date. In Burma there is a fixed date for the payment of each tax. If anyone fails to pay his dues within the time specified, the Headman must apply to the Township Officer much as if he were applying for the execution of a decree of a civil court. The Township Officer issues a formal notice, then a distress warrant, and then, if the tax remain unpaid, he proceeds to execute the warrant by selling the goods or land of the defaulter. It should be observed that the procedure is modelled on that of a civil court. So, as far as possible, is all revenue procedure, which includes not only the collection of revenue, but also the disposal of applications for land for residence or cultivation, the grant of advances for the expenses of cultivation, and everything else which concerns the people in the capacity of tax-payers.

We have dealt with magisterial work, police work, civil justice, and revenue work—*is* there any other work for an administrative officer? We find in Burma that magisterial and revenue work do not leave a Township Officer much time for other work. There are, however, a few odds and ends that we lump together in what we call the General Department. The Township Officer must see to the appointment of Village Headmen. He must also hold a local enquiry in the event of a serious crime, not with a view to detecting the criminal, but to ascertain the responsibility of the village for not preventing the crime or producing the criminal. And that brings us to the end of the really important duties of a Subdivisional or Township Officer. His day's work is over. And you will notice that the day's work of an Assistant Resident or Regent has hardly begun. I have said nothing yet about *klachten* (complaints), nothing about *vergaderingen*, nothing about the

supervision of cultivation, nothing about the inspection of schools, village inspection, and welfare work in general.

Let us take these in turn, and, firstly, *klachten*. When I asked the manager of a volksbank if the Headman or Local Committee did not charge a fee for reporting favourably on an application for a loan, he replied, as if disposing of the matter, "But there would be a complaint!" I saw a whole bundle of these complaints made over to a junior officer for enquiry; in Burma each would have been a separate "case," with a diary of the proceedings, an examination of the complainant and respondent, a summary of the statement of each witness, and a reasoned order, such as the appellate authority could confirm, alter or reverse; very much, you see, the procedure of a civil court. None of the complaints were stamped; in Burma most of them would have borne an eight anna stamp as court fee. But, still more surprising, they were written by anyone and everyone; even by local nationalist politicians. "One good thing about politicians," he explained, "is that they encourage people to bring complaints and help to write them." I cannot imagine that being regarded as a virtue in Burma. And in any case we expect petitions to be written by a professional advocate or a licensed petition writer. You will observe that where you talk of complaints, we talk of petitions; applications to the appropriate officer to take certain action, and grant a certain remedy to which the petitioner is entitled in law. In the ordinary course we do not accept verbal complaints, but every officer is supposed to receive petitions in open court at a fixed hour daily. In almost every matter, the petitioner is entitled to be represented by an advocate, as also is the respondent, if any. And in every matter, so far as the nature of the case allows, the procedure is modelled on that of a civil or criminal court.

But you may be thinking of our advocate as someone like your *wakil*, or *procrol bamboe*; or else perhaps as a lawyer who has been to some school like your Law School or Law High School. But he is neither; he is something between the two. He is a native, often ignorant of English, who has passed an elementary examination in law. You, fortunate people, do not know what they are. In Burma we are flooded with them, and we need no one else, politician or otherwise, to encourage people to come to court with their petitions. You people, of course, do not go to court with a petition; they go to a man with a complaint. With this explanation I think you will not misunderstand me if I say that we have no complaints.

Vergaderingen? We have no *vergaderingen*. (Nor have we, like you, telephones in local offices.) The supervision of cultivation? I once heard a Burman villager say, "Anyone can learn to read and write, but you must be born and bred a cultivator."

And when I found your officers telling your people when and how to cultivate, I wondered what the Burman would have thought of them. Your officers function as school attendance officers. With us an officer may, if he like and can find time, inspect a village school; but nothing will happen if he doesn't. Village inspection? The time of Township Officer on tour is occupied with *really* important matters, with crime and revenue; he may, if he like and can find time, discuss village affairs in general, but nothing will happen if he doesn't. We have a Village Headman, but no village government, no village treasury, no village meeting, no poetoesan. I do not say that we have no village inspection, but your officers would probably think that we have none. One of your Assistant Wedanas described his work. "Sanitation was improved," he said; "I got the people to found schools and build bazaars and provide a polyclinic. And I would not permit bamboo bazaars; if they could not make walls I took care that the posts were of substantial timber and that the roof was sound. I even planted flower gardens, a thing that practically no Wedana has done; and it was all my own idea without pressure from above." I have heard your European officers described as social engineers and your native Civil Servants as welfare officers, and the terms are justified. As I went round your villages and saw the infinite pains you take to conserve village society and build up social welfare I found myself humming a tune. It was a hymn tune. Gradually the words came back to me:

Can a mother's tender care
Cease toward the child she bare?
Yes, she may forgetful be,
Yet will I remember thee.

I thought of the hours and days we spend on the Bench, listening to advocates (trying to mislead us), laboriously taking down evidence (much of it false evidence) and sending poor unfortunates to gaol, and I was filled with envy and admiration of your officers who have the privilege of giving their life to constructive social work as missionaries of Western civilization. Truly, I thought, with Chailey-Bert but in a different sense, "Java is a Paradise for officials." Your Regent can look round his regency and say, "si monumentum requiris, circumspecte." Our energetic Township Officer reviewing his work would take you to his record room and point to Alps and Himalayas of completed cases; here he would say, "si monumentum requiris, circumspecte."

In your offices of equal standing I found no such mountains of proceedings. There would not have been room for them. I remember visiting a Wedana. A broad drive through a walled park of several acres took us to a roomy house with a spacious *pandoppo* or audience hall. In one corner of the park there were two out-

houses. One was a garage, the smaller one I took to be a bicycle shed. But it was not a bicycle shed; it was his office. I do not wish to guarantee the details of this picture, but it represents correctly the general impression that I gathered everywhere. I have heard and read complaints about your office accommodation, and the buildings at Bandoeng and Soerabaya show that things are changing. But until within the last few years you had large houses and little offices; in Burma we have large offices and little houses. Your system is, or has been, personal; ours, mechanical.

I say your system, in comparison with ours, is, or has been, personal. But it still is, and must be, so long as it centres round the Regent, even if in future the Regency Council should gain vitality and strength. Let me give one illuminating example. A Regent pointed casually to some trees. A few years ago, he explained, the people had been allowed to cut down trees. He noticed that this was causing erosion, told the people to plant trees, and showed them the best method of planting. And it was done. With us a Township Officer does not stay in a place for more than a few months; he would not notice the erosion. If it were brought to his notice he might mention the matter in his diary, the Sub-Divisional Officer might comment on the matter, and the Deputy Commissioner might send an extract to the local Forest Officer. Then, you may think, something would be done. Not yet; first of all a good deal must be written. The Forest Officer might hold an enquiry and various departments would play battledore and shuttlecock with the matter, discussing what *should* be done. I do not know myself what *could* be done, and the odds are that nothing would be done. The Regent saw what was necessary, and did it.

That, I suggest, is illuminating. For me at least it threw a new light on all that I had read and heard about decentralization. It had not occurred to me, and I do not remember noticing any suggestion that you are, and always have been, far more decentralized than ever we could hope to be in the days before reform. For your Regent does, to some extent, stand outside the machine. In virtue of his permanent residence, his rank, and his position, ordinarily inherited, he is in his own person an embodiment of social will, and supplies driving power to the administrative machinery. All our officers are part of the machine. If a man is told by a Township Officer to do something that he does not want to do, he can appeal to the Deputy Commissioner and then go on revision to the Commissioner. These may confirm the order of the Township Officer, provided, of course, that it is based on law and that his procedure has been legally correct. But by that time the Township Officer will have been transferred, and there will be no one to see that the order is carried out. And your Regent has

a whole staff of Wedanas and Assistant Wedanas to help him, constantly on tour seeing that the villages are clean and tidy, enquiring into epidemics of men and cattle, telling people when and how to cultivate their fields, and functioning as school attendance officers. There are the Assistant Residents and Controleurs to supervise, assist and help them, and the Village Treasuries to pay the piper. They must all of them have great fun spending other people's money. I may have been exceptionally fortunate in the officers I met, but your European officers as social engineers and your native officers as welfare workers all seemed to enjoy their work. They complained of their office boxes and correspondence and the pressure of routine; that they were becoming mere instruments of "*gezag*." But the registers and the procedure in general seemed to me delightfully informal. I do not know that you could teach us much in administrative efficiency; but our system is not, like yours, a tremendously powerful instrument of government, powerful in the old days for swelling the *batig slot* and powerful now for building up social welfare.

For all the work to which all these officers devote most of their time and energy we regard in Burma as pastime for the leisure hours of busy magistrates. Yet somehow we have cattle pounds, slaughter-houses, ferries, bazaars, schools, hospitals, which in many respects are on much the same scale as your institutions in Java. How do they come into existence and how are they maintained? When we annexed Upper Burma in 1886 it was a popular State with a complex social order not very different from that of Java. But Lower Burma, which we took over in two instalments in 1826 and 1852, was little better than a waste of swamp and forest. An imaginary sketch of the evolution of a Lower Burma district will perhaps explain how we arrive at results similar in many ways to yours, but by a very different method. The first duty of the Deputy Commissioner was to maintain law and order. The maintenance of law and order led to an increase in cultivation. All cultivated land pays land revenue, and on this a cess of 10 per cent. is charged which the Deputy Commissioner can apply to his District Fund for local requirements. As population grows and cultivation expands there is an increase of crime, especially of cattle theft. Cattle pounds and slaughter-houses are useful to prevent theft, and may also be a source of profit. Cattle pounds are not very profitable and are usually allotted to the Village Headman. But the keeper of a slaughter-house may make quite a good income. The police may suggest that in a certain village a slaughter-house would be useful; or some private individual may petition for permission to establish one; or a Township or Sub-divisional Officer may recommend that one should be established. Then a licence to set up a slaughter-house will be auctioned or

given on a fixed fee, and the proceeds will go to swell the District Fund. With a growing population people will move about more and will need ferries to cross the streams. Then, as occasion arises, the right to keep a public ferry under suitable regulations will be auctioned, and more money will come into the District Fund. Similarly bazaars will gradually be provided in the larger villages, and, in due course, furnish the District Fund with a large part of its revenue. Often, and perhaps as a rule, these institutions, slaughter-houses, ferries, bazaars, are due in the first instance to private initiative; they are expected to pay their way, and if they do not yield a profit they will be abolished. The principle on which we act is that if people will not pay for a thing they do not want it. Schools come into existence in a rather similar way. Fortunately we have a tradition of literacy. Most of the boys spend at least some time in the monastic schools, where they can learn to read and write, and perhaps the elements of arithmetic. But they can learn to read and write quicker and better in lay schools under Government supervision. In the larger villages there will probably be someone to teach them who will be glad to earn a few rupees as village schoolmaster. The native sub-inspector (*opziener*) will try to get him a grant from the District Fund. A village with a school and a bazaar may be a sufficiently important centre for a police station, and the police will ask for a small hospital where hurt cases can be treated. If the village still grows it will need better sanitary arrangements and better roads, and require more money than the Deputy Commissioner will wish to spare out of his District Fund. He will therefore (probably despite the protests of the people) ask the Commissioner to get it notified as a town, with a nominated Town Committee and restricted rights of local taxation. If it grows still larger it will become a Municipality with a partly elected committee. When a district is equipped with these institutions the Deputy Commissioner need only go through his budget once a year; see how much is required for the maintenance of existing institutions, and then, within the limits prescribed by Government and with the sanction of the Commissioner where necessary, he can allot the balance as he sees fit.

Thus, by a quasi-natural process, by the play of supply and demand, we arrive at very much the same results as you—with very much less work and worry. But the principle is not the same, the method is not the same, and the results are not quite the same. Your policy is, professedly, ethical; ours, practical. These are not mere catchwords. You try to give the people what they ought to want; we are content to give them what they will pay for. Your method is one of personal influence, gentle pressure, *zachte dwang*, *prentah aloes*; we rely on the economic motive, the desire for gain, working within the limits of the law. The results, I admit, are not

quite the same. Our villages compare very badly with yours in respect of hygiene and roads; it is hardly an exaggeration to say that, outside the larger towns, until the coming of the motor-car, we had no roads. People do not want disease, and they would rather go dry-foot than through mud. But no one can make any money out of hygiene or roads, and not much can be done by a private individual in respect of either. The want for these, and for many other things, is a social want. On the ethical system you aim at organizing social demand; on the practical system we neglect such wants until they threaten to create a public nuisance. Your system works differently from ours.

Let me recapitulate the main points of difference. Our officers are magistrates; yours are policemen and welfare officers. Our methods are repressive; yours are preventive. Our procedure is formal and legal; yours, informal and personal. Our Civil Service is an administrative machine; yours is an instrument of government. Our aim is negative—to suppress disorder; yours is positive—to maintain order. Order—it is a word we both use frequently, but with a significant difference of context. We talk of “law and order” and you of “*rust en order*”; but, in the absence of a common active social conscience, it is hard to distinguish between law and the letter of the law, between *rust* and the placidity of a good baby in its perambulator. The caricature which depicts your system as a *baboe* (a nursemaid) and ours as a *babu* (a clerk) does emphasize a difference in vital principle. You try to keep a man from going wrong; we make it unpleasant for him if he does go wrong. You believe in protection and welfare; we believe in law—and liberty.

It would be interesting to speculate on the reasons for the difference between your system and ours. Many factors have contributed, but to find the original point of cleavage we must, I think, go back to the twelfth century and the birth of the English common law. You have inherited from Roman law a positive conception of kingship. We have been taught to look on Government as the referee in a boxing match, whose function it is to hold the ring and see that the combatants fight according to the rules, to give a fair field and no favour. And what is good enough for us we not unnaturally think is good enough for Burmans. Thus your idea of government is different from ours. Government is another of the terms, like province, department, district, that we use with a different meaning. There is a difference of vital principle which must necessarily be reflected in a difference in organic structure. Again, we have the tradition of a landed aristocracy. The Report of 1803 argues that it was easier for the English in British India than for the Dutch in Java to obtain revenue from taxation rather than from trade, because British India was different

from Java; I suspect that there was more difference between the traditions of England and the Netherlands than between the conditions of British India and Java, and that to depend mainly on land revenue was more in accordance with our ideas than with yours. Also we made most profit by depending on land revenue. Your colonial reformers appealed to the authority of Adam Smith because his arguments were convincing. Adam Smith appealed to us because he was a native product of our country and conditions. At that time we were a generation or more ahead of you in commercial and industrial methods. We had goods to sell at a price with which no one could compete; and we could sell more if the consumers were left free to grow what paid them best. You found it necessary to direct production, and as a logical consequence had to govern the country through its native rulers. This gave a strong government to which, under your tradition of Roman law, you were naturally inclined. The difference is not merely that one system is more centralized than the other. In respect of function we are more centralized, and every Regent is far more autonomous than any officer of ours. You apply Adat law, we have invented British-Burmese-Buddhist law. But these are minor points. The antithesis between a centralized and a decentralized system implies that government means the same thing in both terms. And that is not the case. Our conception of the functions of government is comparatively simple, and, just as animals low down in the scale of life multiply by fission, or by founding colonies, so we tend towards territorial organization. We are now budding off the Shan States as a new province. But you seem to find Dr. Colijn's policy of setting up large provinces in Sumatra, Borneo, and so on, as difficult as it is for a vertebrate to reproduce by fission; you expect more of government and tend therefore towards functional organization.

Here then I offer for your consideration some reflections on our systems of administration. In many ways they are alike, mainly because we are faced with similar problems. In other ways they differ, mainly because a deep-rooted difference of principle, finding expression in organic structure and shaping one on territorial and the other on functional lines, compels us to approach our common problems from different angles and to employ different methods in solving them. If the difference is so deep-rooted, little can be expected from copying one another, dressing up your system like ours, or our system like yours; but there is all the greater likelihood that we can each obtain from the other suggestions which we can adapt with profit to our own requirements.

I have tried to abstain from criticism of either system and have born in mind the remark of Gil Blas quoted by Chailley-Bert, "Je ne trouve point de tout mauvais que vous me disiez votre

sentiment. C'est votre sentiment seul que je trouve mauvais. J'ai été furieusement la dupe de votre intelligence bornée." If I have trespassed, I hope you will ascribe it to my limited intelligence. It is not easy to grasp the working of a foreign institution, and there are probably things on which I have gone wrong, and others where I have failed to make my meaning clear. But I have attempted to compare the two systems and point the difference between them without criticizing them or suggesting that either is the better.

That is a question which time may settle. Each system has its own advantages and disadvantages. I suspect that if a Burman came to live in a Javan village he would say, "How quiet! How restful!" and then, after a while, "But isn't it a little stuffy?" And a Javan in Burma might say, "How bracing! How refreshing! . . . But how horribly uncomfortable!" And both would be glad to get back home again.

THE RAILWAYS OF INDIA AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

BY H. C. SPARKE

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It cannot be said that in the period of incubation of railway projects for India visionaries were non-existent, for a proposal was put forward for an Euphrates, Scinde and Punjab Railway of which *The Times* in February, 1857, stated: It is impossible to refer to the reports of General Chesney and his colleagues on the Euphrates Railway, published twenty years ago, without astonishment that, even at that period, the British Government and people failed to take immediate steps to avail themselves of its capabilities." The proposal was to build a railway from the port of Seleucia to the Euphrates, and another line from Karachi northwards, with a view to providing communication, by means of sea and river steamers and rail, between England and the Punjab. But whatever germs of life the project may have contained, they were effectually killed by the inception and building of the Suez Canal.

As regards India itself, however, there is no evidence that any prophetic Wells foresaw the great future of railways in that country. Doubts were entertained of the commercial possibilities of rail transport, as it was feared that religious and, in particular, caste prejudices would prevent the development of passenger traffic. It was hoped that railways would facilitate and increase the movement of merchandise, but the main preoccupation of the Government in respect to the provision of railways was the military and political advantages that would ensue. Hopes were expressed that railway transport would have a civilizing effect, but the aim of securing improved means of controlling the country was so evident that these hopes were criticized as being intended not for "civilizing" but for "servilizing" the people.

"The first proposals for the construction of railways in India," to quote from the Report of the Railway Board for 1933-34, "were submitted in 1844 to the East India Company by Mr. R. M. Stephenson, afterwards Chief Engineer of the East Indian Railway, and others. A contract for the construction by the East Indian Railway Company of an experimental line of 100 miles from Calcutta towards Mirzapur or Rajmahal, at an estimated cost of £1,000,000, was made in 1849, and a return of 5 per cent.

was guaranteed by the East India Company on the capital; and a similar contract was made in the same year with the Great Indian Peninsula Company for a line from Bombay to Kalyan at an estimated cost of £500,000."

The policy of promoting railway construction by the agency of companies under the supervision and control of Government was accepted in 1854 on the recommendation of Lord Dalhousie, on the grounds that the conduct of commercial undertakings did not fall within the province of any Government, and that owing to the dependence of the population of India on the Government acting as a brake on advance, it was desirable to encourage the introduction of English energy and English capital. The contracts entered into with English Companies for the construction of Indian railways provided for a guaranteed interest on the funds required, with an arrangement that surplus profits should be used to repay sums which the Government had been called upon to furnish as a result of the guarantee. The Government provided the land required, and in return for these concessions retained powers of supervision and control: the decision as to the standard and details of construction; the rolling stock to be provided; the trains to be run; the initial rates and fares to be charged; the expenditure to be incurred; the standard of maintenance; and the form of accounts.

The thousand mile mark of railways open for traffic was passed in 1861, the railways then consisting of 376 miles of the East Indian Railway, 356 miles of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, 206 miles of the Madras Railway, and 90 miles of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway (along the west coast north of Bombay).

The prospectus of a proposed railway to connect Allahabad and Cawnpore furnishes an interesting account of traffic existing on the roads: the yearly road traffic on this section was estimated as 107,613 carts, 172,377 camels, 63,720 coolies (porters) conveying merchandise, 38,619 carriages, 122,751 camels and horses conveying passengers, of whom, in addition, 266,052 travelled on foot.

Each railway developed independently, serving its own territory, but as railways extended, the possibility of conflicting interests arising came up for consideration. In 1868 Government declared that "railways working within the territories of one Local Government may affect railways working within the territory of another Local Government." As regards rates and fares it was accepted that Local Governments could suitably exercise "the powers of Government under the contracts, which are limited to the increase of fares and rates after they have been once fixed, and the fixing of rates and fares on the opening of a railway," but it was laid down that the Government of India should retain control

of (i) the fares of the lowest class of passengers, (ii) the rate of food grains, and (iii) the rate for coal.

The question of what railway rates would prove of the greatest advantage to the country was a matter of controversy. The State was having to find large sums to meet the guaranteed interest charges in accordance with the contracts with companies; in 1871-72 a sum of Rs. 1,58,29,000 was charged to the revenues of the Government of India to make up the guaranteed interest. With a view to limiting such charges on the general revenues of the country, the Government, between the years 1869-1880, entered on a policy of themselves providing the capital for new lines, and, in exchange for forgoing the rights of purchase on the earliest occasion provided in the contracts with railway companies, secured a right to half the surplus profits every half-year, irrespective of amounts paid towards guaranteed interest. Owing, however, to the Government for the time being holding that a limit was necessary to the capital borrowed annually, it was found that progress in new construction was not as high as was desirable. In 1880 the Famine Commission, appointed after the great famine of 1878, laid stress on the advantage to be derived by giving free scope to the extension of railways by private enterprise, and suggested that some substitute should be found for the guarantee system. In consequence, the private building of railways was again encouraged. In some cases this was effected without a guarantee, notably in the case of the Bengal and North-Western Railway (1882) and, where a guarantee was given, the terms were more favourable than under the old contracts. Also, the powers of acquisition in the older contracts were again used to improve the financial position of the Government. In some cases lines were purchased and transferred to State management; in others the method adopted was the reduction in the amount of capital retained by the companies, and a lowering of the rate of guaranteed interest. The Secretary of State secured the right to appoint a Government Director to the Boards of Railway Companies with power to veto all proceedings of the Board.

Company management of railways continued to predominate, and, in 1921, when a Committee presided over by Sir William Ackworth visited India to report on the question of central administration and finance, the position was that the State owned and worked three systems with an aggregate mileage of 9,028 miles, was the predominant partner in systems under Company management aggregating 22,949 miles, and was the guarantor of several minor companies.

The policy of the Government in this matter of the management of railways was, however, reversed by a resolution of the Indian Legislature in February, 1923, in favour of State manage-

ment. Since that date Government have, as contracts with companies expired, taken over the management of State-owned railways, and in April, 1934, the position was: State lines worked by the State, 17,678 miles; State lines worked by companies, 13,999 miles.

As regards the provision of capital for new railways, the later endeavours to finance construction projects had led to the creation of a large number of Branch Line Railway Companies, and the Ackworth Committee, above referred to, reported that the advantages derived had not been commensurate with the disadvantages arising from the creation of numerous companies with conflicting interests. The Committee recommended that the Government should aim at the reduction in the number of companies, and that, in future, the private supply of capital should only be permitted when the State could not, or would not, provide adequate funds. "It is doubtful whether such a position is ever likely to recur in the future," states a Government of India resolution issued in 1925, a resolution which proposes that the Government should float loans for the construction of railways direct, if necessary in the form of short date debentures at a high rate of interest, to be liquidated when the loan market is favourable.

The control and supervision reserved for the Government in the contracts of companies were originally exercised by Governing Consulting Engineers. The railway functions of the Government generally rested with the Public Works Department, the particular official dealing with the subject being designated successively, as the scope and importance of the question increased, Deputy Secretary, Director General of Railways, and Secretary Public Works Department. The department, with the advice and assistance of Consulting Engineers, controlled the State-worked lines.

In 1901 Sir Thomas Robertson, a Special Commissioner appointed at the instance of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, to report on the working and administration of Indian railways, recommended that the administration should be entrusted to a small Board consisting of members with a practical knowledge of railway working. As a result a Railway Board consisting of a Chairman and two members was constituted in 1905. This Board was for a short time subordinate and directly responsible to the Government of India in the Department of Commerce and Industry, but as it was found that work was being hampered under this arrangement, on the recommendation of a Finance Committee presided over by Sir James Mackay (later Lord Inchcape), the appointment of Chairman was changed to that of President, who was given direct access to the Viceroy, and the Board with

its staff became a separate Railway Department under the administrative charge of the Honourable Member, Commerce and Industry Department, as Railway Member of the Viceroy's Council. In 1908, in accordance with a further recommendation of the Special Commissioner's report in 1901, the Consulting Engineers were replaced by Government Inspectors. A Financial Commissioner was added to the Railway Board in 1920, and two years later, as a result of the report of the Ackworth Committee, the President of the Board became a Chief Commissioner, solely responsible to the Government of India for arriving at decisions on technical questions, and advising the Government on matters of railway policy.

The Government control of company railways has, apart from finance, related chiefly to those aspects of railway working affecting the safety of the travelling public. In the management of their lines the companies have enjoyed a very large measure of autonomy. The control of rates and fares has taken eventually the form of fixing maximum charges for the various categories of merchandise and classes of passengers. The Government have the power under the Indian Railway Act to appoint a Railway Commission to deal with complaints of undue preference to a particular description of traffic, or lack of reasonable facilities for the receiving, forwarding and delivering of traffic, but this power has on no occasion been exercised. The Government have, however, appointed a Railway Rates Advisory Tribunal, which has dealt with several references by the public of questions of undue preference, reasonableness of rates and terminals. The findings of this Tribunal are not legally enforceable on railway companies, but the companies have agreed to accept such findings as are approved by the Government of India. The predominant financial interest of the Government in the undertakings led also to the fixing of a minimum charge for the conveyance of merchandise, so as to prevent any cut-throat competition. An Association, the Railway Conference Association, was formed for regulating the interchange of rolling stock, the principles of competitive rate-making, and other matters affecting the interrelation of the railways. Of this Association the State-worked railways have been members; they have been permitted to take part freely in the proceedings of the Conferences and to conform with the decisions arrived at; they have been at liberty to vary their rates within fixed maxima and minima, as in the case of company-worked lines, and generally speaking the Central Government Department has acted towards State-worked lines in a manner similar to that of the directorates of the Company Railways. Even with the large increase in the proportions of State-worked to company-worked lines this position has been maintained,

though signs have not been wanting of a tendency to a more detailed intervention by central authority. It is open to question whether it has not been due to this particular procedure that State management in India, the success of which has been much vaunted in some quarters, has escaped many of the difficulties which have manifested themselves in other countries where the State management of railways has been introduced.

The outcome of the various measures adopted for the provision of railways in India has been the creation of a system totalling in route mileage 42,960 miles and in track mileage 53,210. The average area served per mile of railway is 25 square miles, according to the report of Messrs. Kirkness and Mitchell on Road and Railway competition issued in 1933; and it has to be borne in mind that India is almost entirely an agricultural country with very few large towns. Of the total mileage about 60 per cent. is broad gauge (5 feet 6 inches) (a gauge originally fixed with regard to military requirements as to the dimensions of rolling stock), about 35 per cent. is metre gauge, and the remaining 5 per cent. narrow gauge (2 feet 6 inches and 2 feet). The metre gauge was introduced by Government on the grounds of economy in costs of construction and working. In the Special Commissioner's report of 1901 a suggestion was made that the disabilities arising from a difference in gauge should be overcome by the conversion of the entire system, both broad and metre, to the English standard gauge (4 feet 8½ inches). Owing to improvements in structural design military requirements in stock could be met on the English gauge, but the cost of the conversion was more than the Government could undertake. Instead the policy has been pursued of allowing the metre gauge sections to connect up as far as possible, and a through metre gauge connection now exists, for example, from Hyderabad (Sind) in the west to Chittagong in the east, a distance of about 2,380 miles.

With the growth of railways there came about a development of traffic, both in goods and passengers; the fears that had been expressed that religious prejudices might prevent passengers from travelling by railway were found to have been unwarranted. The railways from being a burden on the general revenues of the country became, under the improved contract terms, an asset. Under a convention arrived at in 1924 the railway budget was separated from the budget of the Government of India, and the railways accepted a liability to make a contribution to general revenues. During the five years 1924-25 to 1928-29 the railways showed an annual average net profit, after payment of all interest charges, of 9.72 crores of rupees (a crore = £750,000). So favourable were the returns that passenger fares and coal rates were reduced to the estimated annual value of one crore of rupees.

India, however, has not escaped the world depression. The year 1929-30 showed a net profit after paying interest charges of Rs. 4·04 crores, but in the three following years there was a deficit. For the first seven years following the Separation Convention railways contributed an annual amount of Rs. 6 crores to general revenues, but in the last three of these years, to make these payments, Rs. 22 crores had to be drawn from the Depreciation Fund, which was thus reduced to Rs. 10 crores. For the following three years no contributions were made by railways to general revenues, leaving them with arrears of Rs. 16 crores to make up under the convention.

The peak year for traffic was 1928-29, when the gross earnings of all Indian Railways reached the figure of Rs. 119 crores. In 1933-34, though there had been an improvement on the earnings of the previous year, the gross earnings were only Rs. 99·58 crores. Goods traffic accounts for about two-thirds, and passenger and coaching earnings for about one-third of the total.

India is a land of great distances. The railway milages from the capital at Delhi to the chief ports (the junction of the large railway systems at Delhi fulfils the old Indian saying that all roads lead to Delhi) are: to Karachi via the North-Western Railway, 907 miles; to Bombay via the Great India Peninsula Railway, and via the Bombay and Central India Railway respectively, 957 and 861 miles; to Calcutta via the East Indian Railway, 902 miles.

In spite of these long distances the average distance travelled by a passenger is only 35 miles. There are four classes on most of the lines: first, second, intermediate and third. About 97 per cent. of the passengers travel third class. The intermediate class, and to a less extent the second class, are used by wealthy Indians. The first class is availed of almost entirely by Europeans and Indian Government officials. The fares are low; the average receipts per passenger mile work out at 0·31d., less than half the figure, 0·74d., for English railways.

The average distance traversed by merchandise is much higher than the passenger figure, being 244·5 miles. About 30 per cent. of the traffic conveyed is coal, and this moves long distances, as the main supply of the country is from the western portions of Bengal. There is also a large export and import traffic to and from the ports: exports of cotton, grain, oil-seeds, manganese, jute; and imports of cotton manufactures, iron and steel manufactures, hardware, and mineral oils. The charges for goods traffic are also low compared with English standards: the receipts per goods ton mile average 0·62d. as against the English figure of 1·39d.

Experiments have been initiated in the form of reduction of

third-class fares on the North-Western Railway, and of reduced third-class fares on the Eastern Bengal Railway. The passenger earnings generally do not yet show any signs of recovery, but there has been a distinct improvement in goods traffic, and we learn from the Honourable Member's speech introducing the Railway Budget in the Assembly in February of this year, that it was estimated that the gross earnings of State railways for 1934-35 would amount to Rs. 90 $\frac{3}{4}$ crores, that the deficit on the interest on railway capital would be Rs. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ crores, which would be met from the Depreciation Fund, leaving that fund at a figure of Rs. 11 crores. The estimates for 1935-36 anticipate a gross earnings figure of Rs. 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ crores, of interest charges of Rs. 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ crores, of which the net earnings will provide Rs. 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ crores, that, in fact, the commercial lines will pay the whole interest charges thereon, and that the deficit will apply only to the strategic railways. "A review of the results," said the Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore, in the course of his budget speech, "if it is to be of any value, must extend over a sufficiently lengthy period to eliminate the distorting effects of temporary causes and give a true picture of the whole. Taking the broad results it will be seen that in the twelve years ending 1935-36, six years of prosperity and six years of adversity, the net result of the working of all State-owned lines, commercial and strategic, will, if our present estimates prove correct, be a surplus of Rs. 14 crores and an accumulated balance in the Depreciation Fund of Rs. 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ crores; in other words, during this long period of varying fortunes we have earned a net income of over a crore a year after meeting working expenses, providing for accruing depreciation and paying interest in full on borrowed capital."

THE INDIA BILL

In the constitutional and political changes which will affect India in the near future, railways receive particular consideration. The underlying principle of the Government of India Bill at present before Parliament is the placing of the control and administration of Indian railways in the hands of a non-political body, the Federal Railway Authority. The Bill takes account of three categories of railways: Federal, Indian State, and minor railways. A minor railway is defined as "a railway which is wholly situate in one unit (Governor's or Chief Commissioner's Province, or a Federal State), and which does not form a continuous line of communication with a Federal railway, whether of the same gauge or not." Minor railways are set down in the Provincial Legislative List, except "in respect of safety and the responsibility of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers," for which they come into the Federal List. In this latter List are

included Federal Railways and "the regulation of all railways other than minor railways in respect of safety, maximum rates and fares, station and service terminals, interchange of traffic, and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers."

The Federal Legislature may not alter the provisions of the enactment with respect to the appointment, qualifications and conditions of service of the Federal Railway Authority without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in his discretion, nor may a Bill for regulating railway rates and fares be introduced in the Federal Legislature except on the recommendation of the Governor-General. At least three-sevenths of the seven members of the Authority, including the President, are to be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion; the Authority's chief executive officer, the Chief Railway Commissioner, is to be appointed by, and he cannot be removed from his office without the approval of, the Governor-General exercising his individual judgment. The Authority's Financial Commissioner is to be appointed by the Governor-General and he cannot be removed from his office except by the Governor-General exercising his individual judgment.

The Federal Government will perform functions for securing the safety of the travelling public and the persons who operate the railway, will enquire into the causes of accidents, will prescribe rules relating to proposals for the construction of railways, and regulate the acquisition and disposal of land by the Authority, but the Federal Railway Authority will exercise generally the executive authority of the Federation in respect of the regulation, construction, maintenance and operation of railways. The Authority will be deemed to owe the Federation the money provided out of the revenues of India, or of the Federation, for capital purposes in connection with railways in India, and shall pay interest thereon to the Federation out of their receipts on revenue account. The Authority must establish a Railway Fund to which their receipts will be credited and from which their expenditure will be defrayed. The Authority may invest any money in the Railway Fund, subject to conditions prescribed by the Federal Government; money not immediately needed must be entrusted to the Reserve Bank of India, and the Authority must employ that bank as their agents for all transactions in India relating to remittances, exchange and banking.

The Bill enumerates the expenditures the Authority shall meet out of their revenue receipts, and provides for a division of surpluses between the Authority and the Federal Government. The receipts and expenditure of the Authority are to be audited by the Auditor-General, and the Authority shall publish annually a re-

port of their operations during the preceding year, and a statement of accounts in a form approved by the Auditor-General.

The Authority may enter into contracts and working agreements and may sue and be sued.

The Bill provides for the provision of reasonable traffic facilities without unfair discrimination by the Authority and by Federated States, and enjoins on the Authority and the Federation in the discharge of their railway functions business principles and due regard to the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce and the general public. Provision is made for the constitution of a Railway Tribunal to be appointed and selected by the Governor-General in his discretion (the President shall be one of the judges of the Federal Court) to settle disputes between the Authority and Federal States with regard to the provision of reasonable traffic facilities, unfair discrimination, uneconomic competition and the construction of railways.

The Governor-General may from time to time appoint a Railway Rates Committee to give advice to the Authority in connection with any dispute between persons using a railway and the Authority as to rates and traffic facilities.

The rights of railway companies in respect of arbitration under their contracts is preserved. The power of the Secretary of State with respect to the appointment of directors of Indian Railway Companies is to be exercised by the Governor-General in his discretion, after consultation with the Authority.

The provisions of the enactment "relating to the special responsibilities of the Governor-General, and to his duty as regards certain matters to exercise his functions in his discretion or to exercise his individual judgment, shall apply as regards matters entrusted to the Authority as if the executive authority of the Federation in regard to those matters were vested in him, and as if the functions of the Authority as regards those matters were the functions of the Ministers, and the Governor-General may issue to the Authority such directions as he may deem necessary as regards any matter which appears to him to involve any of his special responsibilities, or as regards which he is by or under this Act required to act in his discretion or to exercise his individual judgment, and the Authority shall give effect to any directions so issued to them."

FOUR YEARS OF DEMOCRACY IN CEYLON

BY T. REID, C.M.G.

(Ceylon Civil Service, retired)

Four years ago on August 9, 1931, Ceylon's new Constitution was in being. The half-century old demand of educated Ceylonese for self-government had been met in post-war days by palliatives culminating in 1924 in the establishment of a Legislature in which elected Members were in a huge majority without responsibility, while permanent British officials, though in a minority, held the portfolios. And this Constitution was imposed on a country where the racial question pervaded all public problems! The disastrous consequences proved, even to obscurantists, that there were limits to illogicality. The present Constitution, set up in 1931, which squarely faced the issues, was the result.

Hitherto a Governor, appointed and controlled by the British Government, with his bureaucracy dominated the scene. Now a sort of dyarchy prevails. In internal affairs the Legislature, called the State Council, is all-important; in external affairs the Governor still dominates the administration. Ceylon has not received full responsible Government. The State Council can debate all subjects and has the power of the purse in all, but the Governor and three Officers of State (hitherto trained British officials), all appointed and removable by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, have direct charge of Foreign and Military affairs, the administration of the Public Service and of Justice and Finance. The underlying idea was to give direct charge of internal affairs to the Legislature, while reserving direct charge of external affairs to the Governor. A hard-and-fast dividing-line was impossible, and the vital departments of Justice and Finance, which pertain to internal and external affairs, were reserved for experts directly responsible to the Governor, he in return being responsible to the Secretary of State, who is responsible to the British Parliament.

It will thus be seen that Great Britain retains great power in the governance of Ceylon; and when it is remembered that the Ceylon Constitution was set up by an Order in Council and that it can be altered in a moment by a similar Order framed by the Secretary of State without submission of the instrument to the House of Commons, it will be realized that he holds great sway and that Ceylon is still a Crown Colony. The Ceylon Congress, the chief political organization, had vaguely demanded self-government, but had never seriously pressed its demands to their logical conclusion.

The old Legislative Council, though elected on a restricted franchise by a narrow majority of two, accepted the proposed new Constitution in 1929, the official members not voting. Had there been adult suffrage, the majority in favour would have been far greater, for the champions of the poorer classes strongly desired co-operation with Great Britain in the task of governing Ceylon, a democratic franchise, and therewith representation of labour, all of which the proposed Constitution promised. No association and practically not one individual desired severance from the British Empire. Ceylonese politicians were quite frank on the subject. They knew that they could not defend unaided their gem of an island. They were only about 5,500,000 in numbers, all peace-loving, while the total annual revenue would only suffice to buy a single battleship. They had no rancour against King or Parliament. They desired to be rid of British domination on the spot, to acquire political self-respect, power and office, Great Britain always acting as guardian against would-be bellicose foreign marauders. In its Imperial aspects the Constitution met the situation; and the genuine and exuberant welcome given to the Duke of Gloucester last year when he visited Ceylon to restore the throne of the last King of Kandy bore testimony to the fact that Ceylonese respond to a square deal and to the priceless gift of liberty.

Let us now turn to the elected element in the Constitution and thereafter see how it and the non-elected side coalesce. The Constitution is of the unitary type. In a little island of 25,000 square miles a federal system was unnecessary unless the Sinhalese of the south and west were to have one Legislature and the Tamils of the north and east to have another, thus perpetuating communal discord. It is also a one-chamber system; a second chamber would appear even to advocates of the dual chamber system to be an unnecessary encumbrance where the Legislature is not a sovereign body, does not control the whole administration, and where the Governor is no mere figurehead, but possesses large revisory powers. The State Council consists of fifty elected Members, eight Members nominated by the Governor to represent otherwise unrepresented people and the three official Officers of State, sixty-one Members in all. The elected Members are elected by all persons of both sexes over twenty-one years of age. Here was a veritable revolution. The electorate was suddenly increased by about 1,000 per cent. and women received the vote for the first time. As about half the voters were illiterate, the system of voting by colours assigned to candidates was introduced for the first time in history and with complete success. Hardly anyone in Ceylon had asked for adult suffrage, but its establishment asserted the principle that the State exists for all, not for a minority intelligentsia. This innovation rode roughshod over racial, communal, religious, caste,

sex, wealth, and educational distinctions. It set up wholesale democracy at the polling stations. There are women Members in the Council at present.

The State Council elects its own speaker and has standing Committees for legislative functions. But it is also an executive body and all the Members are split up by secret ballot into seven Executive Committees approximately equal in numbers. Each Committee elects its Chairman, and he is Minister for the subjects and functions of government assigned to his Committee. The divisions of internal administration are: Home Affairs; Agriculture and Lands; Local Administration; Health, Labour, Industry and Commerce; Education; Communications and Works.

The Executive Committees deliberate *in camera* and submit their decisions to the State Council for decision *coram populo*, the Minister acting as his own *rapporteur*, thus avoiding the continental system where the Minister is outside the Chamber and somewhat overshadowed by his *rapporteur*. The decisions of the State Council require the ratification of the Governor. Theoretically the Minister is but the mouthpiece of his Committee, but in fact he is much more than that: a full-time officer in direct contact with the Governor on one side and controlling his departments on the other.

The Donoughmore Commission who designed the Constitution realized that there were no real political parties in Ceylon other than communal groups: British, Sinhalese (the majority), Tamils, Indians, Burghers (descendants of Dutch, Portuguese, etc.), Muhammadans. The Committee system was a well-tryed device for securing the cohesion needed in governance by discussion and the training in responsibility so greatly required. It also secured control by the Legislature over the Ministers, and, above all, provided for the expeditious discharge of business by small groups and for discussion in privacy amongst a people unduly sensitive to public criticism.

There is not collective responsibility among the Ministers, and a Minister need not resign if defeated in Council, though he can be dismissed by a general resolution of no confidence, a stricture that has not occurred so far. If collective responsibility existed where a Government has no party behind it, General Elections might be frequent owing to the desire for portfolios.

Provisions were made for joint discussions between Committees where a question affected more than one, and there are very clear rules to decide between conflicting claims of Committees to handle any question, where the detailed lists or subjects and functions assigned to each do not suffice. It is a written Constitution, but there are many general provisions for dealing with the unforeseen.

The Governor's decisions are passed on by him to the Ministers and thence to the departments. The procedure seems cumbrous, but it does not apply to routine administration, much of which is sanctioned by the passing of the Budget, or by any other large measure. And even in matters not generally sanctioned by a money vote or resolution, the Council can delegate its authority and Executive Committees have freely acted on their own responsibility. Heads of departments are also empowered to act on their own authority in cases of emergency. They also have the right to attend the meetings of Executive Committees dealing with their activities.

A résumé of the relevant facts relating to any question before the Council is given in advance to every Member. This enables them to understand the issues and is a blessed handicap on the intransigent Member who would trade on their ignorance of the subject-matter of debate. Unfortunately nothing has availed to keep motions, questions, and general loquacity within reasonable bounds.

There has not been remarkable harmony between Ministers and Members, but Members have not forced a dissolution by throwing out the Budget, an act which would necessitate a General Election. No Member can guarantee his own re-election, for there is no party system and, moreover, there are no party funds. This is a very serious matter for the professional politician where elections must be held at the expiration of a period of four years. The rabid communal cleavages of the past have survived so far; the old political unity cemented by common Ceylonese antipathy to British domination has weakened. There is no sign of divisions on questions of political principle proper. Ceylon for the Ceylonese is still a genuinely popular slogan as regards offices sorely needed where many educated Ceylonese are unemployed, but British Civil Servants are no longer being recruited, and in the near future practically the whole Government Service will be Ceylonese. This change will be one of the crucial tests of Ceylonese capacity. Loquacity in Council wastes time, but does not matter greatly if the good work of administration goes on effectively.

The principal Officer of State, the Chief Secretary, is entitled to attend all meetings of Executive Committees. He is also the Chairman of the Board of Ministers, composed of the seven elected Ministers and the three Officers of State. This Board has collective financial responsibility and is a sort of Finance Cabinet. The Chief Secretary is thus the chief co-ordinating authority in the Administration before questions are submitted to the Legislature. He has not a vote in the Legislature nor in the Executive Committees. He and the other two Officers of State are advisers

except in their own special departments. They administer without Executive Committees.

The Board of Ministers also co-ordinates most of the activities of the Government, for nearly all have financial implications which must come before the Financial Secretary and the Board. Finally, the State Council and the Government control and co-ordinate the administration. Experience has proved that, though a decentralised system into ten groups of subjects and functions of administration was set up in 1931, both Governor and Council can keep in touch with all important developments in a small territory with very up-to-date communications.

The chief task of the Board of Ministers is the preparation of the Budget, which it places before the Legislature, the Leader of the House, the elected Minister for Home Affairs acting as *rapporteur*.

At the head of the Administration is the Governor appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In all matters dealt with by the seven elected Ministers and their Executive Committees his authority is "supervisory rather than executive," and he is required not to act contrary to the advice of the Council, Board of Ministers, or Executive Committees unless the principles of the Constitution or his own responsibility require him to do so. The underlying idea here is that the elected authorities should not be interfered with if possible.

The Governor has very important Constitutional responsibilities. He has access to all documents. He has power to summon the Council at any time to address and to dissolve it. His consent is necessary to validate resolutions of the State Council. He can defer approval for a period, refer back for further consideration, insist on a two-thirds majority in respect of Bills involving an important question of principle, and can, if he considers "that it is of paramount importance to public interest or essential to give effect to any of the provisions" of the Constitution, "that any Bill, motion, resolution, or vote which the Council is empowered to pass in the exercise of either its Legislative or its Executive functions should have effect," cause such measures to be proposed in the Council and pass them by mere certification. This power has not been used so far except to protect the conditions of service of Public Servants from the Council, but it is wide and undefined. Furthermore, the Governor may not assent without the authority of the Secretary of State to Bills affecting the rights of Public Servants, Currency, Banking Associations, financial stability of the island, differential tariffs, military forces, defence, extraordinary measures affecting trade, shipping, rights and property of non-residents, harbours, communal, racial and religious rights, the administration of Justice.

The Governor has emergency powers by which he can assume

in a crisis control of any department. In fact, the police have been placed in charge of the Minister for Home Affairs, and no trouble has resulted. This assuredly was better than it would have been to place them in a false position politically under an Officer of State, while depriving the elected Minister of his responsibility, that of keeping law and order. It has not been necessary so far to use these emergency powers, for executive work has proceeded smoothly. There has been no turmoil and not a trace of anything in the nature of sedition.

An unsound Bill to relieve debtors was vetoed. But on the whole the reserve powers have seldom been requisitioned. Their use would no more be a condemnation of the Constitution than would be that of America by the rejection by the Senate or President of the United States of measures passed by representatives. But frequent resort to reserve powers would show that the elected and non-elected authorities in Ceylon had forfeited each other's confidence, which fortunately is not the case.

The State Council rejected certain preferential Customs Duties deemed detrimental to Ceylon, while voting for others deemed advantageous. The Secretary of State surmounted this difficulty by imposing the duties by an Order in Council. Little trouble ensued, as it was well known that the Councillors had merely left the unpleasant responsibility to the non-elected side of the Government. But the details recorded above indicate the difficulty of combining democratic rule with bureaucratic rule. Indeed, there is no logical half-way house between them. An ingenious compromise has been set up in Ceylon, leaving much to the tact and good sense of both sides.

The Tamils of the north, disliking the prospect of rule by the majority community, the Sinhalese, declined to elect Members in 1931, but did so in 1934. Every community is represented in Council and most of them amongst the Ministers. It would be idle to pretend that there has been great unity of purpose such as often prevails in a party Cabinet, but there has not been any serious disruption. Few elected Ministers or Members have acquired prestige; few have been failures. None of the breakdowns or inefficiency predicted by pessimists have materialized so far.

An unprecedented financial depression prevailed in 1931 and for some years thereafter, but the new Government, by retrenchment and measures to salve the chief industries, rose to its responsibilities. Some measures of social insurance for the benefit of the poor have been passed. The new democratic Council introduced income tax, long overdue. It had been rejected by its predecessor, which was dominated by those representing the people who would have to pay. With the return of partial prosperity, substantial surplus balances equal to a quarter of the annual revenue have

been accumulated, while the debt only amounts to about one year's revenue. The Legislature are now nibbling at large and difficult problems of banking, land development, credit, poor relief, and the like. But this is for the future. The General Election will be held early next year, and possibly many new men will be in Council thereafter to deal with problems big and small.

It is too early yet to say that the new Constitution will be a success. It has been a success so far. It was a bold but not a reckless experiment, and the combination of the elected and the non-elected elements has helped to secure stability. Four years have shown that the Donoughmore Commissioners who designed the new régime, the like of which exists in no other country, while anything but slaves to tradition, British or otherwise, had a very just appreciation of the problem and combined practical wisdom with imagination and a generous desire to relieve Ceylonese of much of the British domination and tutelage which caused resentment.

They transferred a large measure of self-government to the governed people on the spot, the principle which Lord Durham introduced into Canada, thereby laying the foundations of the present British Empire.

The demand for fuller self-government is still heard at times, but it is surprising how few changes are requested, a proof that the novel Constitution has largely stood the test of experience so far. The State Council passed a resolution asking for the removal of the three Officers of State and their replacement by two elected Ministers and for curtailment of the Governor's powers, though he was to be left in charge of foreign affairs, presumably without a seat in the Council or a representative there. This showed the desire of the more advanced of the Sinhalese section to absorb nearly all power, while leaving the problem of defence to Britain. Every single Member of the minority communities opposed this resolution, and the proposal has never been submitted to the electorate. It was rejected by the Secretary of State probably with the secret approval of nearly everyone in Ceylon who knew of it, for the majority of the people are poor, ignorant, and apathetic in political affairs.

The Ceylonese have in the past fought for political liberty by constitutional methods. They never resorted to sedition or violence, and they are not likely to in the future. Once the psychological blight of domination from outside is removed and the people on the spot given self-respect, the blessed gift of responsibility and the right to shape largely their own destinies, such people (as has already happened in Ceylon) tend to desist from bitter criticism of the British and to criticize their own people instead. Indeed, should the few thousand Britons resident in

Ceylon take a genuine interest in the Ceylonese, and so desire, they may easily enter politics. Two out of three such persons were elected in 1931 in preference to Ceylonese by Ceylonese votes.

The checks imposed in the new Constitution have all proved effective, such as the clause forbidding the impairment of the prospects of public servants without the sanction of the Secretary of State. The checks against partiality to race, community, class or creed will prevent injustice to the poor *inter alia*. But in fact the poor now have votes, and the ballot-box will probably be a sufficient safeguard against the rich.

It is probable that a reversion to a more autocratic form of government would take place in future if misrule made the pursuit of wealth difficult or impossible, for the world will insist on getting from Ceylon its special products needed overseas, such as tea, rubber, and coconut palm produce. It is unlikely that such a misfortune could occur under the present Constitution, though there might easily be a collapse in a system of full responsible government.

Oriental and Western folk must fight each other, wrangle or establish a *modus vivendi*. In Ceylon the latter is in a fair way to being established politically and otherwise. The Ceylonese are a cultured people with a great past and thousands of years of civilization behind them. They have manners and kindness of heart. Their best ideas are not incompatible with the best thought of the West. In practical affairs it is to their interest to cleave to Britain, and it is Britain's interest strategically, economically, and otherwise to keep Ceylon within the Empire.

This lovely little isle may lead the way in the settlement of the problem of East and West. Only a fanatic or a would-be domineering but short-sighted commercial exploiter could desire the people living in Ceylon to fail or wish to deprive them of a chance of shaping their own future in their own way, of their own accord. That future may not be shaped by Ceylonese alone. The Briton resident in Ceylon, who has not a superiority complex, and takes an altruistic interest in the Ceylonese, can enter the Legislature and also gain a hearing elsewhere. In fact, the British in Ceylon are personally trusted, and with good reason. Those of them who are also politically trusted can have a great influence for the public good of all.

INDIAN LABOUR LEGISLATION, 1911-1935

By N. M. JOSHI, M.L.A.

AMONG the many developments that have taken place in India during the first twenty-five years of King George V.'s reign, one of the most important relates to changes in the domain of labour legislation. It is true that, even prior to his accession to the throne, a beginning in this direction had already been made, but the main characteristic that differentiates the earlier laws from those which were enacted after 1911 is that the dominant motive of the former was not primarily the protection of labour. Thus, the earlier Assam Labour Acts, the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act of 1859, the Employers' and Workmen's (Disputes) Act of 1860, and the provisions relating to criminal penalties for breach of contract contained in the Indian Penal Code of the same year were all conceived in the interests of the employers in order to supply them with a docile labour force. Somewhat later, the growing cotton industry of Bombay began causing anxiety to Lancashire, and the obvious abuses connected with the work of women and children in Indian factories in those days were availed of by Lancashire to insist upon India adopting the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891. The earlier Act ordained that children between the ages of 7 and 12 should work only 9 hours a day and should have 4 holidays in the month, while the latter limited the work of women to 11 hours and of children to 7, and protected both classes against night work. As a result of the Berlin Conference of 1890, the first Mines Act was passed in 1901, but it concerned itself mainly with the provisions of certain safety and sanitary measures. By 1908, owing to the laxity in the administration of the Factories Acts and the absence in them of any legal limitation of the working hours of adult males, working hours had become so intolerably long that two commissions of enquiry had to make a thorough investigation of the labour conditions prevailing in factories.

It was of good augury that the very first year of His Majesty's reign saw the adoption in India of a measure which registered a significant advance in labour legislation. Act XIII. of 1911 was the first legal attempt to limit working hours, which were not to exceed 12 a day. A compulsory rest interval after 6 hours of continuous work and the reduction of children's hours from 7 to 6 in textile factories were also notable features in the new Act.

The post-war period in India has been an era of progressive

labour legislation, and this is not surprising when we consider the new forces that are now at work in this country to accelerate the pace of social reform. One of the most outstanding facts from the point of view of labour during this period is the birth of the Indian trade union movement. The grave economic difficulties to which industrial labour was exposed during the latter period of the war and the years which succeeded it had led to the formation of a large number of trade unions, and in 1926 the Indian Trade Unions Act was passed for the registration and protection of trade unions. This growth in working-class organization has been accompanied by a desire on the part of labour to be represented in the legislatures of the country. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced, an attempt was made to meet this desire, with the result that today labour is assigned 10 nominated seats in all the provincial councils taken together, and a practice has been established by which one of the nominated seats in the Legislative Assembly is given to a labour representative. An additional powerful urge in favour of progressive labour legislation during this period has undeniably come from Geneva. India's desire to prevent being classed at the International Labour Conference as a backward country in matters of social policy has led to the initiation of labour measures which might not otherwise have come up for consideration at all. Another important factor in promoting the growth of labour legislation was the appointment in 1929 of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, and the recommendations of this Commission have already resulted in a crop of labour measures.

The Indian Factories (Amendment) Act of 1922, which came in consequence of the Washington Convention, was a great improvement on its predecessor in that the number of persons necessary to constitute a factory was reduced from 50 to 20, the ages of children were raised to 12 minimum and 15 maximum, and no person was allowed to work for more than 60 hours per week or 11 hours per day. The extent to which we have since travelled in this direction on account of the recommendations of the Royal Commission is indicated by another measure (Act XXV. of 1934) adopted in 1934, which limits working hours in the case of adult workers to 54 in the week and 10 a day, gives them a weekly holiday and a rest interval after 6 hours' continuous work, provides for the grant of certificates of fitness for non-adult workers between the ages of 12 and 17, and lays down that no child between 12 and 15 years of age shall work for more than 5 hours a day.

Prompted by the decisions of the International Labour Conference, the Mines Act of 1901 was amended in 1923 and provided for a weekly holiday, for the limitation of hours of adults above

ground to 60 weekly and below ground to 54, and for the prohibition of the employment, whether below or above ground, of persons under 13 years of age. Another measure in 1928 laid down that no person shall be employed in a mine for more than 12 hours a day, and in March, 1929, the Government issued administrative regulations to exclude by stages women from work underground. Finally, a Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly on January 22, 1935, which proposed to limit the hours of work in mines to 54 weekly and 10 daily above ground, and 9 daily below ground, and to raise the minimum age of employment of children in mines from 13 to 15, has just become law.

All the earlier laws regulating recruitment for the plantations, particularly in Assam, were based upon the principle of indenture. But the evils of the system had become so clamant that by 1915 the provisions relating to indentured labour contained in the Assam Labour and Emigration Act VI. of 1901 had to be withdrawn. The Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, to which reference has already been made, was also finally repealed in 1923 with effect from 1926, and a Madras Act of 1927 repealed the older Madras Planters Act, which provided penal sanctions for breach of contract. As a necessary consequence of these steps, certain sections of the Indian Penal Code were repealed. Emigration to tea estates is now governed by the Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act of 1932, which has given effect to some of the recommendations on the subject made in the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India.

Other categories of workers who have benefited from the progressive social legislation of the period are the railwaymen, in whose case a beginning has been made for the application of the International Labour Conventions regarding hours of work and weekly rest by the Indian Railways (Amendment) Act of 1930, and the maritime workers. In the case of the latter, the Indian Merchant Shipping (Amendment) Act IX. of 1931 insists on a minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea and for admission of young persons to employment as trimmers or stokers, provides unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of the ship, and ordains the medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea. The same Act also provides for seamen's articles of agreement to protect their rights. Act XIX. of 1934 protects dockers against accidents in loading and unloading shops, and an earlier Act of 1922 regulates child labour in ports. The ratification by India of the International Labour Convention regarding the marking of the weight of heavy packages transported by vessels is also a step in the same direction. While on the subject of legislation enacted to protect particular categories of workers, special mention must be made of the

Children (Pledging of Labour) Act of 1933, the object of which is to abolish a particularly revolting form of child-slavery.

Social reform measures of wider scope and import have also been considered by the Indian Legislature during the latter part of His Majesty's reign, and the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, with its various amendments ending with Act XV. of 1933, guarantees to the worker compensation when he meets with an accident or is stricken by any of the principal industrial diseases. The Maternity Benefits Acts adopted by Bombay in 1929 and the Central Provinces in 1930 are attempts to meet one of the urgent needs of women workers, and Madras has just recently adopted a law on similar lines. Attempts have also been made, by the Trade Disputes Act of 1929 and the Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act of 1934, to prevent industrial disputes and to devise machinery for conciliation. Indebtedness being a general and acute problem of the workers, a Bill was introduced in the Bengal Council in 1934 to prevent moneylenders from besetting industrial establishments, and another Bill introduced in the Central Provinces Legislative Council early this year provides for a summary procedure for liquidating the unsecured debts of workers. In addition, the Legislative Assembly is now considering two measures to protect honest debtors from detention in a civil prison and to provide that salaries below Rs. 100/- per month of all workers should be totally exempted from attachment. A third Bill now before the Assembly seeks to regulate payment of wages to industrial workers so as to prevent the abuse of long delays, as also to limit deductions from wages by way of fines.

Apart from implementing the recommendations of the Royal Commission, the immediate problem in front of us is to provide for some measure of social security for the workers. One of the most pressing needs of India today is the establishment of a Government-controlled fund to protect the worker against sickness, old age, and invalidity, and, in view of the increasing unemployment in industrial areas, a beginning will have to be made not only for the creation of employment exchanges, but also for the establishment of schemes for the relief of the unemployed. There are sufficiently clear indications that the public conscience has already been roused in this matter, and it is our hope that before long India will be equipped with systems and measures for providing adequate security for her working classes.

THE IMPERIAL FRENCH CONFERENCE

BY CAMILLE FIDEL

(Member of the International Colonial Institute)

PREPARATION AND ORGANIZATION

AFTER four months of sessions held almost daily, the Economic Conference of France at Home and Overseas has completed its work. It was the first Imperial French Conference; in this respect therefore the French Empire is behindhand, as compared with the British Empire. The idea of the common feeling which should exist between all sections of the Empire had not sufficiently inspired public opinion; and though it has been admitted that, by reason of the crisis, it is necessary to come to the assistance of territories overseas which have been most hardly hit, little attention had been paid to improving economic relations between the mother-country and her possessions or to establishing harmony in those cases where the interests of France and of her colonies might tend to clash, with a view to an improvement in the national economy.

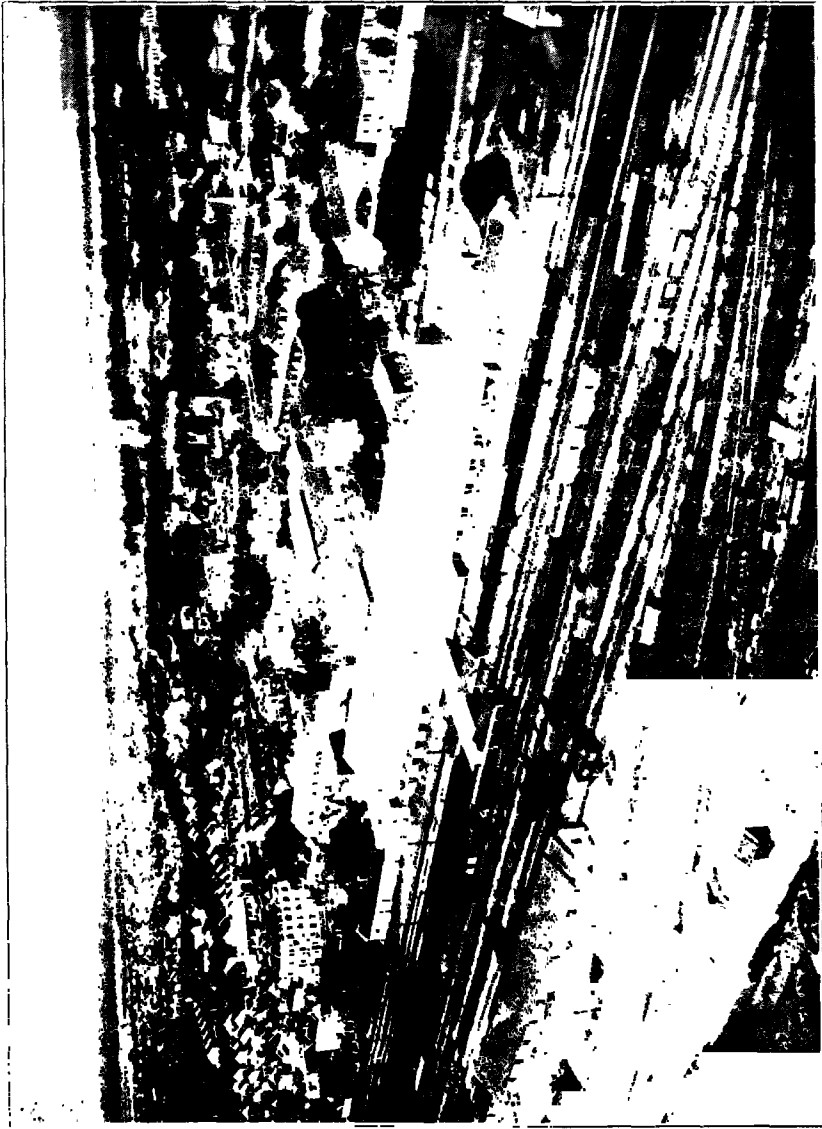
As M. Albert Sarraut, former President of the Council and Vice-President of the Conference, has shown, France, after founding the Empire and supplying it with a political organization, formed no methodical scheme for the utilization of her colonial resources and for the establishment of a flow of trade between the mother-country and her possessions. The colonies were indeed left to fend for themselves, and to make provision through their systems of taxation or loans for the cost of their organizations and of their upkeep, they were left to practise the policy which is called "self-supporting." When liberty of action is thus granted to the colonies, numerous enterprises are brought into being, but they are undertaken without regard to any desirable sequence and without proper programmes or supervision. The result is that, although there have been some remarkable partial results, the economic life of the colonies has been confronted with a twofold obstacle, over-production and competition, which in some cases has brought the colonies into antagonism with the producers of the mother-country. In view of the crisis, with the setbacks and restrictions which it brings in its train, it is becoming essential to control and utilize these resources in a better way, to organize enterprise under the discipline of national interest, and, with the combined imposition of certain economies, to create the ordered and coherent structure of an Imperial economic system which shall

be capable of ensuring, by the regularized interconnection of all its parts, the safety and the power of resistance, among the various nations of the world, of the French Empire. This was the task which the Economic Conference of France at Home and Overseas set itself to accomplish, in which M. Pierre Laval, when he was Minister for the Colonies, took the initiative, and M. Louis Rollin, the present Minister, has organized.

It must be noted here that the Conference was imperial in the truest sense of the word, in that it was concerned with all the territory which constitutes France overseas, a region of 12 million square kilometres with 64 million inhabitants—that is to say, not only the colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories under the Ministry of the Colonies, but also the protectorates of Tunis, Morocco, and the Levantine Mandated States, which are under the direction of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and of Algeria, the great French North African province, which is under the Ministry of the Interior. It may be recalled in this connection that during the past ten years North African Conferences have been held between the three Governments of Northern Africa which were joined, on the last occasion, by the General Government of French West Africa. We may also record the recent creation, under the direct authority of the President of the Council of Ministers, of a Mediterranean High Commission, which will have the task of co-ordinating the study and solution of questions which are common to Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, or the Levantine Mandated States and ensuring a single Mediterranean and Mussulman policy. But the 1934-5 Conference was the first consultative assembly of the whole of the French Empire, it having brought together, with the representatives of the mother-country, delegates from Algeria, the colonies, the mandated territories, and with them the chiefs and notable men from among the inhabitants of these countries.

The task of the Conference, of which M. Gignoux, the General Secretary, gave a detailed summary at the final session, consisted primarily of drawing up a list of imperial possibilities and then of compiling an ordered programme for the allocation, control, and defence of production. This programme involved the problem of general economy, a decision as to steps to be taken to support profitable activities in imperial trade and as to the relations of the Empire with the rest of the world, since autarchy responds neither to the aspirations nor to the interests of the French people. There was further the question of supplying the means for carrying this out, technical equipment and financial machinery. Finally, since any economic progress must be accompanied by social progress, a great part of the deliberations was concerned with the conditions of life of the inhabitants of the countries administered.

The Conference reached conclusions of various kinds. Some are



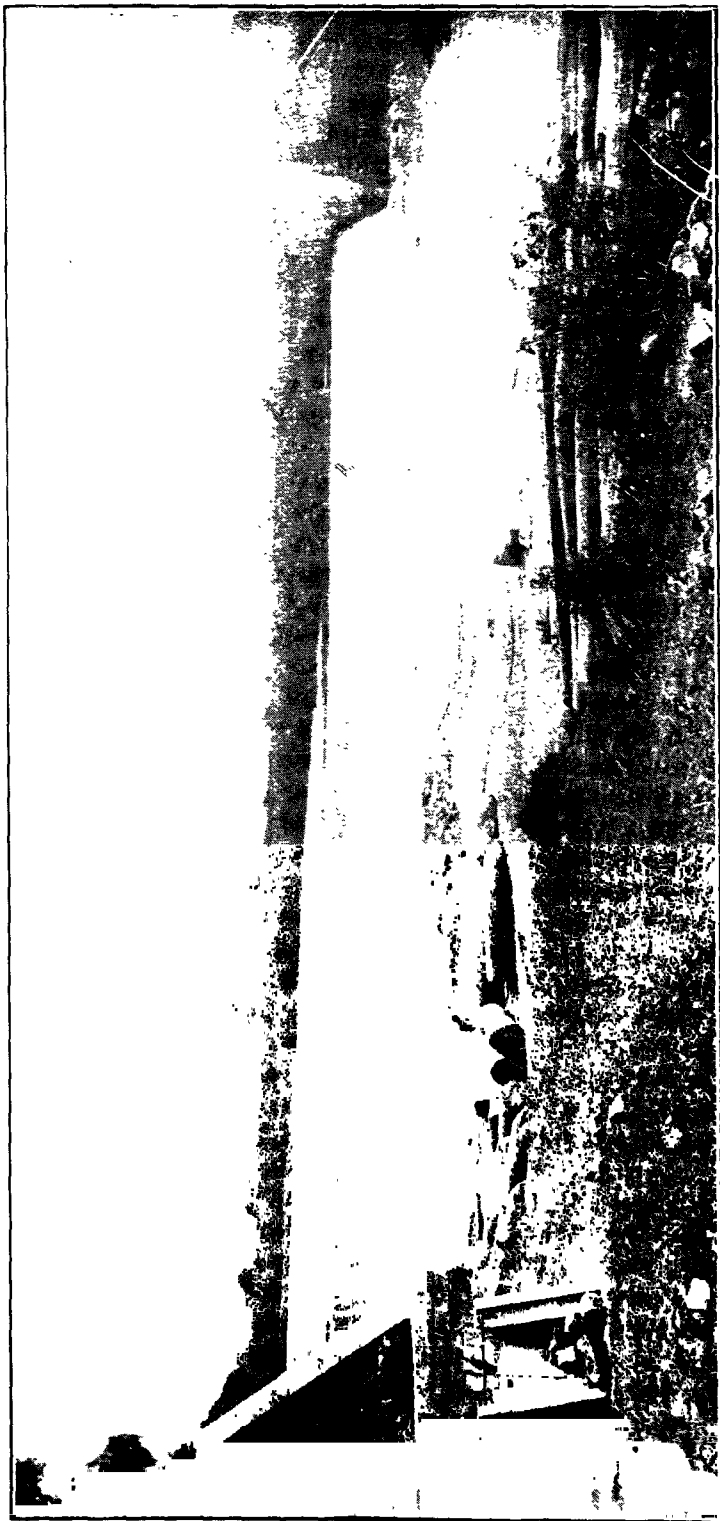
VIEW OF HANOI AND THE RAILWAY STATION.

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HONGAY COLLIERY.

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BARRAGE OF VINK YEN.

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BRIDGE ON THE YUNNAN LINE.

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still in the region of suggestions, because considerations outside the competence of the Conference may intervene in the sanction which these proposals demand. On other numerous and important points the Conference has submitted to the Government, with the request that they shall be given the force of law, draft bills and formal decrees. In many cases these conclusions are the result of an agreement between colonials and Frenchmen of the mother-country after a detailed examination of the respective interests. We shall pass in brief review the conclusions formulated by the five committees between which the work of the Conference was divided.

EMPIRE PRODUCTS

The General Committee for Products has given its attention to every colonial product capable of being exported to France and to each home product capable of being exported to the colonies and has issued statements, giving reasons, as to the possibilities of the development of colonial products, or, on the other hand, as to the utility, from the point of view of general economics, of keeping production at its present level or of giving industry a new direction.

The study of French exports to overseas possessions has dealt with the causes of the insufficiency of these exports and the means of stimulating them, by the improvement of their quality, the reduction of their price, and the adaptation to the tastes and the purchasing power of the customers overseas. These investigations have allowed of noting the increasing importance of the French overseas markets for the exporters of the mother-country, the necessity of informing French producers on the needs and the possibilities of these markets, of protecting the exports from the home country to the colonies, and of alleviating the taxes and charges which weigh upon French producers.

After having proceeded to an inventory of overseas agricultural products, the Committee examined the conditions for increasing their quantity and improving their quality and studied them in view of the requirements of the native population and their adaptation to the possibilities of the home market and the world markets. The products considered have been classified into complementary products—*i.e.*, products which do not compete with those of the home country; and supplementary products—*i.e.*, products capable of augmenting those of the mother-country; and products of local interest.

The desire has been expressed that by means of amicable agreements of professional organizations or through administrative intervention the various products of France and her possessions should be adjusted to the needs and the economic possibilities of the whole of the Empire. A permanent connection has been

recommended between the groups of producers and of consumers, in order to discipline production, organize propaganda, and to harmonize the interests at stake. The necessity has been recognized of efficiently protecting the products of the colonies during the present period of international disorder and lack of balance and during the time that industries are in their infancy. It has been judged desirable to improve the methods of cultivation and of treatment (with a view to improving the quality of the products put on the market, reducing the cost of production, transport charges, the profits of middlemen, and taxes, and thereby lowering the cost price and approximating it to world rates) and to defend the interests of overseas producers when trade agreements are negotiated with foreign countries.

The lines upon which production is to be developed in each of the possessions, with regard to question of the crops to be grown, the rearing of livestock and forests, have been examined, both from the point of view of internal economy and of export possibilities. The necessity has been revealed of organizing in the Empire an informed, directed, and controlled policy of production with a view to bringing into being a complementary Franco-Colonial trade and eliminating the risk of over-production and of competition. As regards agricultural policy in the countries overseas, colonization and collaboration with the native inhabitants, a veritable code has been drawn up, which it is to be hoped will inspire the administrations and governments in question. In the scheme of a National Fund for Public Machinery for France Overseas, which will be discussed later, there has been allocated for each possession sums providing for European colonization, the peasantry, the artisans, the organization and the improvement of plant, hydraulic power, motive power, etc.

The Conference envisages the reorganization of the colonial agricultural services and the organization of scientific research; it recommends the organization of a general survey of agriculture, of livestock raising, and of forests and the formation of a Scientific and Technical Committee of Applied Research for the agricultural productions of France overseas.

It has been judged necessary to intensify prospecting for, and the exploitation of, the mineral riches of the Empire, and the Conference has recommended a plan to be drawn up and to be realized on the lines of what has been done in the British Empire in the last fifteen years: it calls for the creation of a central mining organization in the form of a technical foundation charged with contributing to the geological and mineral exploitation of the subsoil of the Empire.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTER-IMPERIAL TRADE

The General Economics Commission of the Imperial Conference has defined the boundaries and the methods for supporting colonial products. Since it is convinced that such support is a necessity at the present time, the Commission has estimated in figures and laid down its proposals for each form of support. The aggregate benefit for the possessions from the measures suggested is estimated for the coming year at 600 or 700 million francs. A selection has been made of the forms of support which have the least possible repercussion on the price level or on the conditions of conversion. Of these means, subsidies are considered preferable to customs duties and priorities to quotas. Various of these measures concern cereals, wine, oleaginous products, and bananas. Programmes have been drawn up, notably for cotton, vegetable textiles, coffee, tea, sheep-rearing, and vegetable fuels with the necessary support for their execution. On the other hand, categorical restrictive measures have been adopted for certain products which compete with those of the home country; for instance, the Governor-General of Indo-China has ratified suggestions relative to the reduction of the sowings of Indo-Chinese maize, and Government programmes have been established for the restriction of the vineyards of Morocco and the pulling up of the vineyards in Tunis. Further preference should be given to French exports in the Empire.

Exemptions from taxes for the benefit of French users will constitute a stimulant to the employment of Imperial products and offset their purchasing price, which is at present too high. But in return for these sacrifices the various parts of the Empire will have to accept common measures of discipline in order to avoid glut and confusion.

The carrying out of professional agreements between home and colonial producers and others has been considered a desirable method of lightening the difficulties of the Government and alleviating the burden upon the country of the measures recommended. Definite results have already been attained. The Conference has, in fact, submitted for Government sanction an agreement between growers of French wheat and of Indo-Chinese rice, and also arrangements concerning coffee, lead, salt, textiles from French establishments in India, etc. In addition agreements have been proposed for rum and certain non-ferrous metals such as chromium. By these means there will be avoided serious discrepancies which at various times have threatened the future of the French Empire, providing that the public authorities rapidly give executive force to the procedures which have transformed bitter rivalry into confident collaboration.

This policy of agreement will be favoured and developed by the creation or the maintenance of interprofessional committees linked with the Higher Council of France Overseas and tending to the adjustment of activities and the reconciliation of interests in order to avoid rival products creating confusion on the Imperial market. In pursuance of these ideas, the creation of a Committee of the industries of the Empire has been proposed, of a cereal Committee of the Empire, etc.

Colonial exports to France have formed the object of definite recommendations, to which a draft Bill has been added as a supplement, this Bill giving definite sanction to technical organizations like the Algerian Bureau for Economic Action, the interventions of which, with a view to the amelioration of the products of the country, have been particularly useful.

There is also occasion to note the propositions which have been made as to the economic relations of certain overseas territories with foreign countries. Thus the Conference recommends the tightening up of the relations of Indo-China with China and Japan and of Madagascar with the Union of South Africa.

The customs law has formed the object of careful consideration on the part of the Conference, which has agreed on the necessity of adapting it to the policy of support and the régime of preference which are to-day the preponderating factors in Imperial policy. Further, the overseas possessions should ensure to France a customs protection appropriate to their purchasing power and their conditions of life; in this respect certain adjustments of tariffs have been suggested. But the whole country must also assist these exports by tempering the régime of customs preference by technical or commercial methods, such as the reduction of freights and of the cost of land transport.

The partial customs union between France and Tunis does not permit of applying to the products of Tunis, and notably to its wines, the policy of automatic support, and it has been asked that its scope should be enlarged. Also the hope has been expressed that the Morocco law should be revised by negotiation in such a way as to allow the protectorate the institution of an autonomous tariff and liberty of the negotiation necessary for a consolidation of its markets. The Conference has also recommended an octroi for the products of the mandated territories with facilities compatible with their international status, and recommends that these countries should defend their trade channels by instituting reciprocal quotas without contravening the principles of equality. As regards the treaty ports of the Congo and the Niger, the Conference looks forward both to a reform of the customs legislations of these territories by international negotiations and to a means of defence against foreign competition. As regards the New

Hebrides, notwithstanding the special regulations which their international situation involves, it has been recognized that the policy of support would be of service.

If the customs law which regulates the relations of France with all her colonies properly speaking appears necessarily to be the basis of Imperial policy, new methods should permit of consideration being given to experience gained on the one hand by French agriculture and on the other by the import trade of Indo-China. The treaty concluded with Japan in 1932 and the agreement which has recently been made with China involve a definite reduction in the tariff of the home country; but the geographical position of Indo-China, its habits and peculiar customs suggest that a partial revision of its customs law should be undertaken.

PUBLIC WORKS AND FINANCE

The Colonial Machinery Committee of the Imperial Conference had to determine ways and means appropriate to ensuring the application of the programme laid down by the two previous Commissions. The budgets of the colonies, of the General Government of Algeria, and of the North African protectorates are in a situation which is often difficult; reserve funds are exhausted or are approaching this condition; in certain cases the balancing of receipts and expenditure is no longer assured. The later instalments, therefore, of the loans authorized by the laws of 1931 have not been issued, in most cases for the purpose of avoiding the burdens involved in the payment of interest and amortization. All additional installations, in particular those which form the basis of the development of the exchange of commodities with the home country being prohibited in the Empire overseas, the question arises of a demand for State assistance.

The Conference has transmitted to the Government a programme of works to be undertaken over a period of fifteen years at a cost of 11,200 million francs, 5 thousand million to be expended in seven years and the remainder during the rest of the period. This sum is divided as follows: Improvements in production, 2,836,500,000 francs; maritime and river navigation works, 1,843,500,000 francs; railways, 2,511,000,000 francs; roads and bridges, 1,085,900,000 francs; development of the mining industry, 200 million francs; aviation, 265 million francs; postal and wireless communications, 203 million francs; public buildings and education, 884,400,000 francs; measures of sanitation for the native populations, 1,350,700,000 francs.

In support of this programme a draft Bill is put forward proposing, after the example of the British "Colonial Development Fund," a "National Fund for the Development of France Over-

seas," supplied annually by payments by groups of those benefiting and by a subsidy from the budget of 150 million francs for nine years. Funds thus secured are intended for the assistance of the overseas territories with a view to the development of public resources the urgency of which has been admitted (first section).

Territories overseas will issue direct the necessary loans and the home country will share the interest charges. As an exception assistance may be given in the form of a capital subsidy, in the event of the enterprise having a purely Imperial character. Thus the Conference expressed itself in favour of the execution of two important railway lines in this category, the railway from the Mediterranean to the Niger (the Trans-Sahara line) and the line from Douala to Lake Tchad in the Cameroons.

The Finance Committee of the Conference, which has agreed to the creation of funds for the development of colonial resources, as mentioned above, has recognized the serious budgetary position in most of the colonies and has suggested the formation of an inter-ministerial committee which shall undertake to go into the question of the alterations to be made in these budgets. The Committee suggests the immediate abandonment or adjournment of the repayments of agreed loans for the execution of works of an Imperial character. A draft Bill has been presented to interpret the financial arrangements of companies working in the colonies in such a way as to restore to their local budgets a sum legitimately belonging to them; considerable fiscal reliefs have been recommended for these companies.

The Conference has also revised the general regulations for the working of agricultural credits and has suggested the formation of an organization to co-ordinate and control the agricultural credit establishments in each colony. As regards medium term credits, the Conference is submitting to the Government, in the form of a draft Bill, agreements and regulations, the constitutive charter of colonial credit.

Finally, colonial administrations will be indebted to the Provident Committee for a complete programme of policy as regards sanitation and the well-being of the native races. The financing of this will be undertaken from the sum of 1,350 million francs which appears on the programme of works of the Resources Committee. In order the better to fulfil the duty which falls upon the protective power to guarantee the existence and future of the native races, an effective liaison will be instituted between the different overseas territories to ensure appropriate and well-timed action in the important sphere.

POLICY OF IMPERIAL ATTAINMENT

The Imperial Conference has also formulated recommendations of a more general nature. Though the Minister for the Colonies has not under it all the territories which constitute France overseas, its task grows from day to day, and will be further increased by developments resulting from the decisions of the Conference, and a better adaptation of its services to the growing complexity of its functions has been judged necessary. In particular the Conference has advised an enlargement of the statistics office into a department for information and statistics and, above all, the creation of a permanent general secretariat of the Ministry which will remedy the numerous inconveniences resulting from ministerial instability, which are particularly harmful in the case of the holder of the portfolio of the colonies.

Another result of the Imperial Conference will be an adaptation to present-day necessities of the Upper Colonial Council, a consultative body consisting of elected representatives of the colonies and of persons nominated by the Minister. This body will in future become the Upper Council of France Overseas and will consist, apart from its present members, of representatives of countries attached to the Ministries of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs.

Finally, the promoters of the Imperial Conference have with good reason shown their interest in the results likely to follow upon their efforts. The Conference must not remain without a future; it has been considered advisable to summon it to meet again on definite dates, and between these meetings a special organization will see to it that its decisions prove effective. To meet this suggestion the Minister for the Colonies has constituted by decree a permanent bureau, the duties of which are: (1) To follow up the execution of the proposals, suggestions, and resolutions of the 1935 Conference; (2) to prepare and organize periodical consultations of the same nature. This bureau has already received information as to the measures taken by M. Louis Rollin with a view to giving effect to the decisions of the Conference; these are projects approved by the Council of Ministers, dealing with the constitution of a national fund for the development of colonial resources, colonial credits, financial regulations for companies working in the colonies, the reorganization of the Ministry for the Colonies and the formation of a committee for scientific research to be attached to it. The bureau has also made necessary arrangements for the formation of inter-professional committees as requested by the Conference.

Seeing, however, that certain decisions of the Imperial Conference interest not only the colonies properly so called, but the whole of France overseas, it may be asked whether the activities of

this permanent bureau attached to the Ministry for the Colonies will suffice to bring about decisions which depend also upon other ministries. Perhaps a normal process of evolution will eventually attach to the President of the Council of Ministers, under whose authority a Mediterranean High Commission has already been constituted, an extension of powers enabling him to assume the position of arbitrator on the often divergent points of view of the ministerial departments interested. But this is a matter for the future, and what has been effected to date may be considered as satisfactory.

A moral progress may also be observed which may fairly be attributed in great part to the activities of the Imperial Conference and which enhances the value of its conclusions. In a greater degree than previous propaganda efforts, than even the great International Colonial Exhibition of 1931, has the 1935 Imperial Conference contributed to the development among the French people of an Imperial outlook. Formerly overseas dependencies aroused in the masses of the people no interest except that of curiosity in exotic matters, and an appreciation of the ever more useful part played by these territories in the economic life of the country was neutralized in certain quarters by the dissatisfaction resulting from the competition of similar products from outside France with those produced in the country itself. The Conference, by bringing into valuable contact those interested in such enterprise at home and those from overseas, has tightened the bonds, resolved or at any rate reduced their differences, and this result, in spite of insufficient publicity given to the discussions, seems to have been realized by public opinion, which has begun to grasp the conception of Empire; in the minds of the public the idea of France overseas has become accepted and is sympathetically received, and, following the example of our British friends, we have at last appreciated the fact that the safety of the nation depends upon the development of closely knit bonds of Empire.

(Translated.)

STATE EDUCATION IN INDO-CHINA

BY ROGER DE BELLEVAL

As is the case in the whole of the Far East, learning was always held in honour in Indo-China, particularly in Annam, and at an early date France had under consideration the question of providing her colony with a complete educational system on modern lines.

In the beginning the realization of this project proved difficult. The unconcealed hostility of the educated was encountered; they dissuaded the people from attending the French schools, and the teaching staff was inadequate and of poor quality. Fortunately the Christians set the example, and Catholics of high literary attainments like Pétrus Truong vinh Ky secured the necessary liaison between the Annamite élite and the Government of the colony.

It was with M. Paul Beau, between 1902 and 1907, that the most serious efforts commenced to supply generally modern forms of instruction. M. Paul Doumer had decided upon a lengthy programme of public works involving the expenditure of nearly the whole of the available revenue of the colony, and his successor therefore had to lay down lines of educational activity which necessitated very small expense. He confined himself therefore to the defining of native policy and to the instruction of the mass of the Annamite people.

An unexpected occurrence contributed to the success which crowned his efforts: in 1905 Japan vanquished Russia, and this victory of the yellow race made the deepest impression on the whole of Asia. The Japanese triumph was the consecration of the superiority of Western culture, and patriotic Annamites enthusiastically embraced modern methods of study. It was at this time that the first attempt was made to establish an Indo-Chinese university. A certain number of Annamites, who considered that the prudent deliberation with which France was dealing with this matter was excessive, went to study in the Japanese universities. This movement was also encouraged by the presence in Japan of Prince Cuong-Dé, the pretender to the Annamite throne.

In 1905 M. Gourdon, who is today director of the Ecole Coloniale, laid the firm foundations of the university of Indo-China, and his successors had merely to build upon his beginnings. He was successful in this task, thanks to the goodwill and generous foresight of M. Albert Sarraut, whose name has appropriately been given to the University and Lycée of Hanoi.

During the war, as a recompense to Indo-China for the help which she gave the Mother Country (nearly 150,000 natives of Indo-China came to France as soldiers and labourers), M. Albert Sarraut founded the Hanoi University, which consisted of several schools of higher instruction (Medicine and Pharmacy, Public Works, Pedagogy, Agriculture, Law, Commerce, etc.). Unfortunately secondary education was not then sufficiently widespread, and most of the students of the new university were not qualified. Consequently the instruction there given more closely resembled the higher and professional forms of primary education than a truly advanced instruction.

The School of Medicine and Pharmacy was of great service, however, in turning out excellent practitioners, who used to go to France to finish their studies; for nearly two years past this school has possessed the right to confer the doctor's degree.

The Law School, recently inaugurated, has from the beginning assumed a considerable importance, and it has excellent professors.

It will be concluded that the Albert Sarraut University will only be a university in the true sense of the word when all the students are qualified at entrance and when the number of lycées has much increased; a few years ago there was only one, and there are five today. This is not enough, for large private schools are being started, and many of the pupils study without teachers for the first part of the bachelor's degree.

It may be added that this examination is much more difficult than in France; this is accounted for by the application shown by the Annamites in their work and the careful selection from among them which it is desired to carry through.

The lycées in Indo-China provide the same instruction as in France, and native pupils are to be found in them who excel in the knowledge of Latin and Greek. But the authorities have thought it well to establish a special form of secondary education based upon Asiatic traditions and a knowledge of the history, philosophy and geography of the Far East; this is the syllabus which has been given the title of Far-Eastern Humanities.

The title is a good one, for here the Chinese, Sanskrit and Pali languages occupy the position taken by Greek and Latin in the Humanities courses of the Western universities.

* * * * *

The establishment of primary education required more delicate handling, and tentative efforts were made for some time before the problem was satisfactorily solved. At one time there had been in each village one family at least in good circumstances which had a tutor for the children, and the other children in the village used to go to him for their lessons, for which a small charge was made.

The tutor was a man of letters and often held the bachelor's diploma conferred at the triennial examinations, and he taught the children the Chinese characters. This was the beginning and end of his task, and no one supposed that there was anything else to be learnt. It is true that this form of instruction had a high moral value and was imbued with the laws of Confucius.

The French authorities did not abolish this kind of teaching, but the system received a mortal blow when, nearly twenty years ago, the great triennial examinations were brought to an end. Every three years the candidates used to assemble in a camp where they were shut up with their examiners and where they wrote compositions on literary subjects. The only points which counted were the student's memory and the display of a certain sentiment for poetry. Few diplomas were granted, only one for about every forty or fifty candidates. Those first on the list received the doctor's degree, the others those of licentiate or bachelor. These diplomas were much sought after, for grades in the mandarin class depended upon the possession of them; each holder of a diploma had a right to an administrative position, and no other system was held to be possible. Elderly men were therefore often to be found among the candidates, and M. Pierre Pasquier, the lamented Governor-General who met with such a sad end in the aerial disaster at Corbigny, often told the story of how he had once handed the bachelor's diploma to an old man of seventy-two.

Once the triennial examinations had come to an end, the traditional form of education was almost completely neglected and primary education could be organized on the necessarily wide scale. Unfortunately enough the mistake was made of providing the instruction in French, and it was a sad sight to see unfortunate ushers, with very little knowledge of the construction of the French language, making unhappy children repeat phrases which they did not understand. Fortunately, about ten years ago, it was brought to the notice of M. Blanchard de la Brosse, the Director-General of Public Instruction, that the elementary school children were wasting their time and deriving no profit from their education, often leaving school without understanding French and without having acquired any useful ideas. Since then, therefore, primary and elementary instruction has been given in the child's native language.

In Cambodia and Laos, where the religion of Buddha rules the lives of men, and where, traditionally, the bonzes are the teachers, the pagoda schools have been gradually improved and handed over to young bonzes who have received instruction in teaching.

The total number of pupils receiving primary education is nearly 400,000 for the whole of Indo-China, and is rapidly increasing. The recent crisis which has resulted in the reduction by half of the

budget of Indo-China will not allow of the provision of educational facilities on the same scale as hitherto, but it often happens, especially in Tonkin and Annam, that it is the villages themselves which ask the authorities to provide a school for the maintenance of which they offer to subscribe.

The teachers in elementary and primary education are all natives and are nearly 12,000 in number, under the supervision of a few hundred French teachers.

It would be unjust not to refer to professional instruction, the organization of which has proved so difficult in Indo-China. The Annamites, in fact, could not grasp that instruction did not necessarily lead to employment in some administrative capacity, and the pupils who first left schools of drawing, cabinet-making and pottery applied for secretarial posts. All this is happily now changed, and the artisans who leave these schools are doing good work in the direction of the restoration of the native arts. Traditions showed a tendency to disappear, and the craftsmen used to make efforts to copy what they saw in the catalogues of the big Paris firms; the results were naturally disastrous, and French instructors have had to restore to the natives the recollection of their artistic traditions and the results which they might secure from them.

The School of Fine Arts at Hanoi, which was founded in 1925, turns out artists, painters and sculptors of undoubted ability, whose work, which is strikingly original, is already much sought after by art lovers. The Director of the school, M. Victor Tardieu, has contrived to mould the taste of his pupils and at the same time to leave them their traditions. Their mode of expression is Asiatic, and their paintings on silk convey the impression of an art unique in its class.

Mention should also be made of the School of Cambodian Fine Arts which M. Groslier created nearly twenty years ago. This school trains jewellers, sculptors and weavers, and has completely renewed the art industries of the country which were previously in a decadent state.

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However complete may be educational facilities in Indo-China, they will never suffice for all, and many young natives come to France to finish their studies.

It might be imagined that only the best students would come to France, but this is not the case, and it may be said that the French universities encounter both the best and the worst Indo-Chinese students.

The number of places in the lycées is limited and the mediocre native students are rapidly eliminated; further, the bachelor's degree

is much more difficult to obtain in Indo-China than in France, since the administration is not desirous of having a large number of graduates demanding posts which could not be given them. For these two reasons the well-to-do families send to France children who seem doubtful of achieving scholastic success in the colony. These Annamites, therefore, who carry out their secondary studies in France are mediocre as a rule; the only exceptions to this rule are when the native family (especially in Cochin-China) desires that its children should be as completely French as possible.

These students are to be found in the faculties after having obtained their bachelor's degrees, but they cannot compete with those of their compatriots who have carried out their secondary studies in Indo-China and only come to France when they are obliged to, because the instruction which they seek is not given at Hanoi.

A curious fact is that the Annamites of Tonkin and Annam are apt to be attracted by the arts and sciences, while those of Cochin-China tend to take up medicine and law. This difference is due to the fact that the race has remained more vigorous in the north, retaining its customs and in particular the taste for disinterested culture, while Cochin-China has come much more strongly under the influence of Western civilization.

Three Annamites have had brilliant academic careers, and all three are natives of Tonkin. This fact is the more remarkable since the Annamites of Cochin-China represent about two-thirds of the Annamite students in France, those of Tonkin and Annam comprising the remaining third. M. Nguyen manh Tuong was the first Annamite to become a Doctor of Literature, and he secured this distinction at the exceptionally early age of twenty-four. His principal thesis was on Alfred de Musset, and he dealt with this refined and abstract poet with a finesse, penetration, and lightness of touch which are truly French. His example was followed last year by M. Nguyen van Huyen. His thesis, however, was on the subject of Annamite literature.

M. Pham duy Khiêm was the first Annamite to enter the Ecole Normale Supérieure (arts); he excels in French and Greek, and will shortly become Professor of Grammar.

The Ecole des Chartes is, as is well known, a specifically French school for the training of scholars capable of deciphering, dating, and authenticating documents dealing with the history of France, especially in the Middle Ages. The entrance examination is very difficult, and necessitates a very profound knowledge of Latin and history. Nevertheless, an Annamite from Huê, M. Ngo dinh Nhu, passed this examination last year with flying colours, being placed sixth amongst the sixteen successful candidates. He is studying at the same time the Chinese language at the School of

Oriental Languages, and in three years' time will render a great service by publishing the texts indispensable for a knowledge of the history of Annam.

Philosophy has not so far secured the attention of any outstanding figure, and this is sufficiently curious.

The Ecole du Louvre has this year, for the first time, an Annamite student. He is a Tonkinois, M. Vu cao Dam, and a sculptor of great talent who is studying the history of Asiatic art in order later to find a place in it for the art of Annam.

The Annamites have also shown remarkable aptitude for the sciences; three years ago there were four at the École Polytechnique, and one of them, who came from Northern Annam, M. Hoang xuan Han, is a mathematician of the first class. There are numerous engineer Annamites at the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures and at the Ecole Supérieure d'Electricité.

One Annamite has just obtained the doctor's degree in science : Melle Hoang thi Nga of Tonkin, doctor of physical science, while M. Doan Khac Thinh, who works at the museum, will, in a few months, be presenting his thesis for the doctor's degree in natural science.

The faculties of law and medicine are much frequented by Annamite students, but it is specially in medicine that they have obtained noteworthy results. Several have passed with success the very difficult examination of the Paris hospitals course, and one of them, M. Pham huu Chi, is expected to become an outstanding figure in his art. The Annamites make excellent doctors; they are very hard working and conscientious, are expert in diagnosis and possess a sort of intuition in cases of sickness, apart from which they exhibit great manual dexterity. Several are already in practice in Paris and the provinces, where their work is much appreciated.

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The development of the economic crisis in Indo-China has compelled the Government to reduce to the minimum the number of grants to students in France, and has caused many parents to interrupt the course of their sons' studies. The public authorities have also been troubled by the activities of the Communists among Annamite students. This pernicious influence caused anxiety when Soviet influences were encouraging risings in Indo-China, but today it has been reduced to very small proportions. In any case it would have little effect on young people educated in the most important schools in France and equipped with that critical spirit which characterizes the really cultivated Frenchman.

A more serious matter is the almost complete assimilation of these young people. After a few years' stay in France they become

French in spirit, in heart and in manner. They look forward with bitter regret to their return to their native country and to their families and make every effort to delay their departure.

Those who return, in fact, often feel themselves to be strangers in their own families; they are shocked by the naïve and ignorant opposition exhibited by some of their relations to ideas of Western civilization. The French minor officials, usually recruited from non-commissioned officers who have served their time, are jealous of these "gallicized" natives with their good diplomas and pretend to look down on them. They are liable, therefore, to feel solitary and discouraged, a fact which is much to be regretted.

No doubt in course of time, as the numbers of these educated and progressive young people increase, they will be able to get together and afford each other mutual support. The mandarins are recruited, to an ever-increasing degree, from the doctors and licentiates in law, and the barrier which today separates the native officials from the intellectual élite of the country will disappear.

M. René Robin, now Governor-General of Indo-China, has fortunately realized that it is his duty to assist in this change and to help the new educated class to round this difficult headland; he has devoted the whole of his strength to the task. A census has been taken of all Annamites with diplomas who are not in administrative employment, and instructions have been given to make use of their services wherever this is possible.

Talented students, whose education was liable to be interrupted as the result of the crisis, have received grants which allow them to complete their studies. In this way the country has been saved from bitterness and discontent.

M. Robin has ordered his subordinates to treat with respect those Annamites who have received diplomas; the higher officials have adopted this attitude for a long time past.

In conclusion, it may be claimed that the work of education and instruction undertaken by France in Indo-China has been completely successful; on the intellectual plane bonds have been forged between the two races of which it may be said with certainty that they will never be broken and that their strength will withstand the severest upheavals.

(Translated.)

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

BY PROFESSOR DR. IS. H. CASSUTIC

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ONE of the departments of the Government in the Netherlands East Indies required by Article 115 of the Law of the Netherlands Indian Government, through which the Governor-General rules, is that of Justice, established for the first time in 1870.

In common with all the other departments, that of Justice has seen its task and sphere of action expand as governmental charge increased. Thus through this department an Office of Labour was created in 1921, thus marking an important period in the development of labour legislation for the N.E.I. This office was charged with Government control of the relations between employer and employee in that country. Among others, a section for labour inspection in Java and Madura was included in this office, to be followed later by one for the outlying districts; both were combined in 1933 out of considerations of time-saving. In so far as governmental interference in labour conditions exists in the N.E.I. it may be regarded as an attempt of the State to improve the position of the labourers (labour protection). We shall see whence this action in the N.E.I. dates and to what measures it has given rise.

Besides the attempts on the part of the Government to improve the labour conditions, efforts in the same direction can be made by the labourers. There follows the organizing of employees into labour and trade unions for the purpose of carrying on economic, commercial, and political action. Whereas in England a strong influence has been exerted by the trade unions since 1875, when the *Employer and Workmen Act* was passed—and in Holland, too, the labourer and trade unions have greatly developed during the last thirty to forty years—the labour movement in the N.E.I. still is in its swaddling-clothes.

To explain this fact we must realize that in the N.E.I. we have to do with a colonial state of society. We are face to face there with various productive and labour organizations, the extremes being represented by the Western-minded large-scale system of production and the original home production, each having its own character, its own demands and needs. Between these there are several states of transition. For those engaged in home production religious, social, and economic factors play an important part and

make the labour problem assume an entirely different character; they do not give to the social question the importance and acuteness it has assumed in Western countries.

Whilst the indigenous labourers occupy a weak position as a *social group*, as *individuals*, thanks to their supplementary incomes, they are in a stronger position *vis-à-vis* their employer than their Western colleagues. In the event of a strike, or the stoppage or shrinkage of business through slackness or depression, they as a rule retire to the *desa*, since for them the ties with the natural centre had not been broken when they began earning wages from the foreign employer. The power of absorption thus shown by the *desa* is a fortunate circumstance, and we may regard it as one of the causes why the present world crisis does not interfere so much with the economic life of the indigenous inhabitants as is the case elsewhere.

Native production is still governed predominantly by custom and tradition, as opposed to Western produce, which is always directed towards efficiency, under the influence of a severe curtailment in prosperity. In this connection the necessity of an inferiority position as between employer and labourer does not exist. Relation in the indigenous world could best be described as one of partnership. In many cases the allocation of part of the proceeds takes the place of fixed wages, while the institution of mutual aid, sometimes even judicial property adoption, often makes it possible to dispense with paid labour entirely.

Let us now see what measures on the basis of social law have been taken by the Indian Government. In the first period of industrial development, when the large industries began to expand in the early part of the nineteenth century, the principle of Government abstention from interference held good, and led to unjustifiable labour conditions. Since about 1870, breaking with the *laissez-faire* maxim of the orthodox liberal and Manchester school, almost all governments, inspired by the wish to help the labouring class, have considered it their duty to limit the free action of self-interest in the unequal strife between employers (the economically stronger party) and labourers, who are economically weaker. England led, other countries followed suit, Holland being amongst them. In 1874 the first step was taken by the Van Houten Children Act. After this numerous labour regulations have sprung up, the most important being the Labour Act of 1919, which was followed by several others. Whilst one part of the social law has labour protection in view, another aims at social insurance—the protection of labourers against the financial consequences of certain risks which they themselves cannot shoulder (including the Netherlands Workmen's Compensation Act, 1910).

In respect to the last-mentioned part of social law the N.E.I.

have not made any progress, but in the sphere of labour protection something has already been brought about.

The activity of the legislator was, of course, directed in the first instance towards the protection of the weak, the women and children. Following far in the wake of Western countries, the N.E.I. issued regulations incorporated in the Decree of 1925, Nos. 647 and 648, for the purpose of limiting child labour and night work for women. A child under twelve years of age may not do work beyond its strength; moreover, child labour is prohibited in workshops where more than ten persons are employed together, in factories, in the laying out or the upkeep of roads, or other digging work. Child labour is, however, permitted in workshops where the work is done exclusively by families. A woman is not allowed to do any work of the above-mentioned kinds between ten in the evening and five in the morning, except by special permission of the Governor-General. By an Ordinance of 1910 a factory regulation was enacted with provisions for the protection of labourers against accidents.

The relation in civil law between labourer and employer is governed by two regulations: one (Articles 1601-1603, Civil Code) for natives and foreign Orientals, and another, on the same lines as the Dutch law of labour contract, holds good for those subject to the European law. The regulation for the "Europeans" is very extensive compared with the modest provisions of the Civil Code. For the employees working on the estates in Sumatra a separate legal regulation exists—viz., the Assistants Regulation of 1921 (amended in 1931).

In the Netherlands possessions in the East outside Java and Madura since the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of this century, when the demand for products such as tobacco, rubber, coffee, and tea was strongly on the increase, there have been laid down Coolie Ordinances containing regulations concerning the rights and duties of the employers and the labourers born *elsewhere*, so far as they affect the natives and foreign Orientals. Before the *general* Coolie Ordinance (Statute Book, 1931, No. 94) which is now in force there existed certain territorial ordinances, in which the principle of labour protection and that of labour security were leading features, but stress was laid on the latter.

These regulations were aimed at two things: on the one hand, protection by law against the arbitrary treatment of the labourers born elsewhere. Here the consideration was that the labourers living in Java and working on an estate in the neighbourhood of their own desa can more easily break the labour contract than the Java labourer who has migrated to Deli, for example, and is in a dependent position in a strange country. On the other hand, the intention is to aim at labour security. To provide safeguards for

an estate in the Netherlands possessions in the East outside Java, especially for a young enterprise, it is necessary that the legislator should lay down rules to prevent the coolies from arbitrarily backing out of their obligations. In these cases the employers have incurred considerable expense for the transport of the coolies, and if they cannot rely on regular work from these labourers the importation of them from Java would constitute far too great a risk.

Thus in the Ordinance of 1927 for the isle of Banka, besides stipulations as to the way in which labour contracts should be made, their duration, and stipulations for the kind of labour, hours of rest, wages, medical treatment, and free return transport with their families on the termination of the three years' contract, there is also Article 19, which stipulates that "each arbitrary infraction of the labour contract is punishable by detention up to one month or by fine up to 100 guilders." Arbitrary infraction was regarded as meaning desertion and prolonged refusal to carry out the allotted task. The latter was only punishable when a complaint was lodged by the employer.

Article 19 contained the notorious *punitive sanction*. A similar provision was also found in the other Coolie Ordinances. A stubborn fight over the preservation of the punitive sanction, confused and complicated by differences of race and nationalistic tendencies, was carried on for many years in speeches and writing within and outside Parliament and the Council. The experience gained in practice with the punitive sanction, the international obligations resulting from our membership of the League of Nations since 1920, our being a party to the thirteenth volume of the Treaty of Peace of Versailles dealing with "labour," and our membership of the International Labour Office at Geneva have all contributed towards our proceeding to a more intensive government control with labour affairs.

Already in 1918 the N.E.I. Government announced its intention that within a measurable space of time it would proceed to the abolition of the punitive sanction.

In 1923 the Council in the N.E.I. pronounced itself in favour of its retention, but the Second Chamber of the States-General of the Netherlands carried a vote, in which the wish was expressed to revise the Coolie Ordinances every five years, commencing with 1930, in order to arrive at gradual abolition. One of the last acts of the punitive sanction tragedy is provided by the Ordinance Statute Book, 1931, No. 94, by which a general regulation was introduced cancelling all the earlier Coolie Ordinances. It contains practically the same stipulations as the above-mentioned ordinance for the isle of Banka, and includes the penal provisions against the employee and the employer (the Articles 34-40).

With Article 41 of the Coolie Ordinance, 1931, a beginning was

made in the gradual abolition of the punitive sanction. A scheme of gradual contraction is included in it. The concerns which had been started before or during 1921 must, from the first of January, 1932, 1934, and 1936, work with a percentage of at least 25, 40, and 50 free labourers respectively. In the case of concerns that have been started later, other fixed percentages are in force. Businesses which start in 1935 and 1936 must have at least 25 per cent. of free labourers in 1942. Moreover, there is a regulation for the revision of the Coolie Ordinance in 1936 and thereafter every five years, when a further contraction can be considered. The degree of graduality is influenced by all sorts of factors, also international ones. Thus some time ago the tobacco planters in Deli had to abandon punitive sanctions when in the United States a law was passed forbidding the import of products grown or made under the system of compulsory labour. True, labour under the regulations of the Coolie Ordinance cannot be said to come under the heading of "compulsory labour," but the Deli planters did not dare to run the risk and preferred to terminate all the coolie contracts.

In 1932 Article 43a was inserted into the Coolie Ordinance of 1931. It opens out the possibility for concerns explicitly to give up the right to lodge a complaint against an infringement committed by the labourers. In that case the penal provisions for it do not hold good in the case of labourers working with these concerns.

Beside the Coolie Ordinance just discussed there is still the Ordinance of 1911 concerning "*free-labour regulation*." It defines the rights and duties of natives and foreign Orientals working on an estate who do not belong to the indigenous population of the district in which the estate is situated and concerning which there is no contract in existence on the basis of the Coolie Ordinance of 1931. The gradual abandonment of the punitive sanction and the Coolie Ordinance will lead to the substitution of free-labour regulations in the districts lying outside Java and Madura. The number of Javanese coolies working on the estates in those districts was, according to the Statistical Annual Report of 1931, 320,000. The following list taken from the report of the Bank of Java, 1932-1933 (page 46), gives an idea of the proportions of the different categories of labourers working there:

	Labourers Working under Punitive Sanction.	Labourers Working according to Statute Book, 1911.	Free Labourers
May, 1930 ...	273,291	43,582	19,676
Jan., 1933 ...	22,974	143,811	8,809

To the social laws in the Netherlands Indies belong, further,

the Chinese labourers' regulations for Banka (1927, revised in 1932) and for Billiton (1932), and the regulations for the Chinese balk-cutting works and charcoal distilleries, the so-called *Panglongs*, in the districts of Riouw and Dependencies, Sumatra's East Coast and Djambi, the Panglong regulations of 1923.

I may add a few words about recruitment and recruiting ordinances. As compared with former years the recruitment of coolies in Java for the outlying districts has decreased to a great extent on account of the bad prospects on the plantations; also the question of the punitive sanction has lost much of its significance on that account. The recruiting originally was the monopoly of the so-called professional recruiting agencies. They were conducted by private businesses established in Java, who were in touch with people who were willing to emigrate through the recruiting agents; the recruiters took care that an emigration contract was concluded with the people then resident in Java. Many abuses occurred under this system, and professional recruitment was accordingly abolished in 1930.

Another system, still practised, is self-recruitment. The recruiting of coolies then takes place by and for the various estates. Several estates in Sumatra have created their own organizations—e.g., the A.D.E.K. (General Deli Emigration Office) and the Zusuma (South Sumatra Agricultural Union). In 1927 56,500 emigrated through this self-recruitment. But however well-intentioned this system may be, it can happen that the natives are misled by the agents when they go to the *desa* to persuade them to emigrate. To do away with this objection a system has been adopted which is similar to that already in use in Deli in 1880 for the recruiting of Chinese coolies. It works as follows: The Chinese coolies who have worked for some years on the plantations in Deli (the *laokeh*s = old guests) make use of their furlough in China to bring back friends and relations (*singkeh*s = new guests).

There was a demand for the introduction of *laokeh* recruiting also in Java, and for that reason offices were opened there by a joint agency of tobacco and rubber concerns on Sumatra's East Coast (D.P.V. and the Avros). This system was called free emigration, as the labourers did not sign a contract in Java, and if they did not like the strange country they were sent back again to Java. In 1927 as many as 9,000 coolies went to Sumatra by this form of recruitment. It is a sad sign of the times that since 1932, with the closing down of many estates in Sumatra, coolies have to be sent back to Java by thousands. Their great number and the difficulty for them to find a sustenance in Java raised the question whether, instead of being sent back, these coolies would not have done better in being helped to a piece of land in Sumatra, that they might become agriculturists there on their own account.

This plan has been carried out, and many coolies are now in the possession of their own land.

To sum up, it may be said that if, for a long time, the social legislation in the Netherlands East Indies may have been backward, yet during the last ten years or so great efforts have been made in the interests of the employees.

PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

BY MARC T. GREENE

(The author has been for some years an international correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, travelling in practically every part of the world.)

THE past few years have seen many changes in the South Pacific, changes political, social and economic, and all so marked throughout a vast region as possibly to have a future significance even beyond the bounds of that region.

The archipelagos, groups and islands immediately affected by these changes include most or all of the tropical fairylands of the sea immortalized by Melville and Loti and Stevenson and a hundred others. Political friction between natives and European administrators has had an unsettling effect in some groups. Economic perplexities have gone far to destroy the old *laissez-faire*, lotus-eating existence in such far-famed beauty-spots as Tahiti and Samoa. And alterations in the social structure, due to the rapid increase in the Asiatic and mixed-blood population in half a dozen archipelagos, hold many potentialities.

A dozen years ago a "boom" era prevailed over the Pacific, especially in the South Sea Islands. Copra, the dried meat of the coconut, economic mainstay of all the islands for half a century, sold during the war at approximately \$200 a ton, a figure hitherto unheard of, and even at that price the supply hardly equalled the demand. Cocoa, next most important staple, brought a top price of \$400 a ton, while other products—pearl shell, vanilla, coffee, and transportable fruit—were all at a premium. Wealth came to Europeans, Chinese and natives alike.

The South Sea islanders achieved familiarity with aspects of the white man's civilization before unknown to them. With the proceeds from profitable sales of copra, cocoa, vanilla, and pearl shell they bought talking-machines and mechanical pianos and radios and even experimented with automobiles in places where there were no roads and only a mile or two of smooth beach. They abandoned comfortable thatch houses for corrugated-iron shacks, developed a taste for tinned foods, and in the French islands, where there were no restrictions, spent much money on alcohol.

Various planters, some of them of mixed blood, made actual fortunes during the war years by securing copra from the natives at pre-war prices and disposing of it at boom figures. By and by the natives discovered what was going on, and resentment spread that has not even yet disappeared. Moreover, as the years of

prosperity passed and the natives were no longer able to buy radios and tinned food nor to keep their deteriorating automobiles in repair, their search for a cause invariably and inevitably came to a halt in an increasingly resentful contemplation of white sovereignty—a sovereignty that with one exception had never been sought and had usually been opposed until opposition was found hopeless.

Thus economic difficulties in the South Seas have had their political repercussions, and those it must be the immediate task of white possessors of the islands tactfully and with good intent to look to, in order that friendly relations with the native race may be the fact in all the groups. Nor is there lacking plenty of evidence that this is being done and that altruism and benevolence are at last replacing the exploitation and selfishness that, to the white man's discredit, so long marked his intercourse with the Polynesian and the Melanesian races.

An example of this is found in Western Samoa, formerly a German colony, now administered by New Zealand under a "C" Mandate. The Samoans are a prideful people, perhaps the most independent branch of the Polynesian race. Never voluntarily did they accept the white man's rule, and much friction existed during the period of "tripartite" administration, when America, England, and Germany tried abortively to govern the islands together, and in Western Samoa through the following era of German dominance. A New Zealand force captured this part of Samoa in the early weeks of the World War, but until recently the Mandate that was awarded England at Versailles and turned over to the Dominion for administering has been held to the accompaniment of much dissatisfaction among the natives. Their resentment has been deepened by the better fortune of their brothers in American Samoa, who enjoy so much larger a degree of autonomy.

Two years ago the self-assumed native leader, a trader of mixed blood named Nelson, was exiled by the New Zealand administration from the islands. It is, in fact, his second exile. Eight years ago he was sent away for a period of five years. At the expiration of that he was permitted to return on condition that he make no more trouble for the New Zealand Administration. The condition being anything but fulfilled, Nelson was subsequently deported for a period of ten years, and the New Zealand Supreme Court recently upheld the decision to that effect of the Mandatory Administration.

The wisdom of this seemingly drastic course now becomes too apparent to be questioned. Samoa is more quiet and more contented than in years, so much so, in fact, that the New Zealand police head has been granted a long furlough and most of his force withdrawn from the islands, leaving the policing to the natives themselves. Thus now New Zealand, having made little progress

in Samoa for a long time largely because of her inexperience in colonial administration, at last is justifying the entrusting to her of the Samoan Mandate.

For a variety of reasons having to do even more with the future than with the present, it is altogether essential that peace and amity prevail in these far-flung island groups of the Pacific. Possible realignments of various kinds throughout the vast area might conceivably bewilder the natives in somewhat the same degree that realignments in Europe have left certain racial groups in a confused and resentful state.

That being the case, the fullest guarantee of future amity between a hundred thousand Polynesians, several times that number of Melanesians, and the European administrators of the numerous groups and islands, is all possible consideration for the native welfare in these times of rapid changes of which the islanders can make nothing and are thus confused, bewildered, and increasingly restive. After all, a certain obligation in respect of them all lies upon the European, and often it has been forgotten. The Polynesian people especially, a race of Caucasian origin once numbered in the millions, possessing many fine qualities culturally, ever friendly disposed toward the white man, have received a good deal less than their due from him and have suffered much from exploiters, piratic "traders" and "blackbirders." The days of the trader who bartered alcohol for the products and possessions of the islanders and the slave-dealer who rounded them up by force of arms for transportation to fields of hard labour in many places are, happily, over. But the exploiter who would mislead them as to the intent of their white administrators is still about here and there.

Moreover, the Polynesian race, if not the Melanesian, is, so far as the pure blood is concerned, in the final epoch of its long history. Even now the islander of that blood unmixed with either European, Chinese, East Indian, or negroid is growing comparatively rare. "Our people walk into the sunset," say the old men of the race. It is true, and so let the white man see to it that the sunset is a tranquil one.

The various administrations of the Pacific Islands have been directed, of course, to this end. That is declared in the general contentment that has prevailed until the coming of the recent perplexed years. England, governing, directly or through her Dominions, the Fijis, the Cook group, Tonga—the "Friendly Islands" of Cook—Western Samoa, part of the New Hebrides, the Gilberts, the Solomons, former German possessions in and about New Guinea, and many scattered islands and islets, has not fallen noticeably short of the British colonizing ideal to be first of all a strengthening and sustaining moral force.

In the Fijis, a Crown Colony under direct administration, she has preserved a degree of well-being and contentment among these partly Melanesian people that has made of the group a model island colony. The Fijians are the only people in all the island world of the South Seas who came under European rule at their own request. They entrusted their welfare to Britain and Britain has never betrayed the trust. Other groups and islands came under the British flag as a result of various circumstances and chains of circumstance, but none except Samoa have ever seriously cavilled at English rule.

But now a problem arises in the Fijis in connection with the East Indians. These, like the Chinese in Tahiti and elsewhere, came first as indentured plantation labourers and remained to gain gradual control of business and trade. But unlike the Chinese, who have never declared any political aspirations anywhere in the South Seas, the Indians in the Fijis now demand equal representation in the islands' governing body. This, chiefly on behalf of the native Fijians, has been refused, and the Indians, their numbers ever growing and their commercial influence constantly increasing, are increasingly restive in the face of the refusal. This is, perhaps, Britain's greatest problem in her far-flung Pacific island possessions, and the manner of its solution is not yet apparent. All that need be said on this subject here is that the interests of the Fijians must be kept steadily in view.

The recent discontent in Western Samoa had more or less crystallized into a demand, not so much for complete independence, nor even for the degree of autonomy which America has granted the natives of the other part of the group, as for administration direct from London rather than through a small dominion. However, New Zealand has made many concessions to the islanders of late.

The British part of New Guinea, largest island in the world apart from Australia, is divided between the Australian colony of Papua and the Australian Mandate over the former German possessions. Importance and value have been lent to the latter by the gold discoveries which are being energetically and profitably worked. These are reached from the coast in less than two hours by aeroplanes, whereas the journey through the jungle used to be one of weeks of hardship and danger. The air service is one of the most remarkable in the world, all the machinery for the mine workings having been carried in that way without a single serious mishap.

The people of New Guinea are, of course, negroids in a very primitive stage of development, and many are head-hunters and cannibals. Nevertheless, Australia is making highly creditable progress among them, and expeditions are now constantly pene-

trating into the interior. Lately a tribe hitherto completely unknown and ethnologically unrecorded has been found in the far interior, tens of thousands in number.

Recent years have brought their economic trials to all the Europeans in the South Sea Islands, and many have been forced to abandon plantations developed through many years of hard work to rich production of copra, cocoa, or fruit. There is no longer sufficient market for the former two to make production worth while, and about all that is left as a marketable commodity is fruit, generally bananas. So far as the European is concerned, then, the former ease of life, expansive hospitality, and idyllic existence generally are very largely things of the past, nor are they apt to return.

With the native, however, apart from the aforesaid fact that he resents at first the deprivation of those things of modernity with which abounding prosperity brought familiarity, the case is altogether different. Childlike as he is, the end of the era of talking-machines and tin roofs, and especially of the alcohol that only brought to him material and moral disaster, will presently cease to concern, and he will be as happy as ever and even better off in his old-time thatch house and upon his old-time fish, taro, and coconut diet. The change in the social structure, gradual if inevitable, will only mean then that the new race of mixed blood will learn to exist in the same wholesome simplicity of native life before ever the white man appeared.

For that is what it is unmistakably coming to in the South Seas, in all or most of the islands below the Line. They are going back to the old days in the manner of their life, if not presently in the character of their people. This process is aided and hastened by the discontinuance of trading stations on many of the more remote islands. There being no more inducement to trade in copra or cocoa beans or pearl shell, there is no further reason for the maintenance of trading posts, or for schooners to visit the outer isles at all. Thus it is not at all unlikely that islets and atolls populated by several hundred people will go unvisited for two or three years at a time, although both England and France send small gunboats now and then to make the rounds of all the more remote places.

The French Society Islands, pre-eminent fairylands of the South Seas, have felt the depression particularly as to their European inhabitants because the sole exports were copra, pearl shell, and the vanilla bean, markets for all of which have almost vanished. And from the same cause money has become almost non-existent among the natives. But that is far from meaning hardship with them. All the food they require may be had here for the taking. Nature arranged for their needs long ere the white man ever heard of their islands, and nature will still arrange for them. There is

ample material for their food, their houses, their boats, even for their clothing, and dependence upon it will render their lives more wholesome than they have been for a hundred years. The white man brought them alcohol and iron roofs and tinned food, all of which were harmful and unsuited to them. Now the white man's depression has taken those things away. And though the islander may resent that at first, fail to understand it, and attribute it to the ever-inexplicable white man's strange ways, yet presently he will cease to resent, abandon the futile quest for an explanation, and, in his old manner of life, be more content than ever. Considerable overlordship, entrusting to native leaders a reasonable amount of authority in administration, protection of the island races from exploiters, and such aid of various kinds as a benevolent yet discreet parent would give his children will accentuate this content and assure future happiness to the South Sea peoples.

Much criticism has been directed at all the Pacific administrations for permitting the immigration of Asiatics, especially Chinese, and the "contamination" of the natives, more particularly the Polynesians. The soundness of the criticism is at least debatable, nor is there much evidence in support of the "contamination" theory. On the other hand, the Chinese, who, with the exception of the East Indians in the Fijis, are almost the sole immigrants, are the most orderly and peaceable and industrious of people here, as in the East Indies, the Caribbean, or South America. In the South Seas they have intermarried with Polynesian and Melanesian, of course, yet in their progeny there is no evidence of racial deterioration. On the contrary, the Polynesian-Chinese blend has been found to produce an engaging and useful combination of the kindliness and amiability of the former and the quick intelligence and industriousness of the latter.

At any rate, this is the future Pacific Islands race, and it will not be one altogether unworthy to preserve some, at least, of the splendid traditions of the original folk. Moreover, and this is not least important, there is room among the South Sea Islands for thousands of people, for very many thousands, and there is likewise every opportunity for them to live happily and to produce ample for their needs. Here, then, there may perhaps be found one solution of the over-population problem of some of the Oriental countries.

CHINESE RELIGION IN THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.*

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I FIND in England a very prevalent conception among the people who take the trouble to have any conception at all, that the Chinese are naturally a people who have little or no interest in religion; indeed, that they are not religiously minded. The reason for this is supposed to be that Confucius himself was a sceptic in religion, and he and his followers after him substituted ethics for religion. When I first went to China in 1911 I also had imbibed this idea, but I had not been very long there when what I saw among the ordinary less-educated people led me to doubt very much whether this idea of their non-religiousness was true. The longer I lived in the interior of China the more I doubted it, until finally I threw over the idea altogether. The question then remained whether Confucianism as a system and Confucius as a teacher were as uninterested in religion and as sceptical about it as they were supposed to be. I then ran up against the fact that the young intelligentsia, the university students and their intellectual leaders, the new kind of critical scholars and historians, were themselves convinced that the genius of their historic orthodox cult was definitely unconnected with religion, or at most very loosely and adventitiously connected with it. Confucius was claimed as a sceptic, and so on and so forth. As I came to study Chinese spiritual culture more closely for its own sake and with a view to discovering its value and concrete significance for today, I inevitably was affected by these ideas and for a time was inclined to believe them. But finally agreement with the predominant theories began to be more and more impossible. The facts seemed more and more to contradict them. I came to see a struggle in men's minds from the days of Confucius on, *i.e.* from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. over a period of some 500 years, out of which there gradually emerged a *reformed religion*, which finally became the State religion, from the political point of view made such by the Han Emperor Wu Ti in the year 100 B.C. So far, perhaps, there was no great difficulty with the new scholars who in a sense saw this as clearly as I did. But the trouble began over their idea that in so far as State-Confucianism was a religion, it was deliberately devised with political ends in order to secure the docility of the common people: in other words, that there was on the part of the dis-

* Based on a lecture delivered before the China Society in London.

coverers and promoters of this religion a fundamental insincerity. This, of course, suggested to my Western mind the parallel to be found in Roman State religion of about the first century B.C., and later I went to Rome (in the spirit) under the guidance of Warde-Fowler and his *Religious Experience of the Roman People* and Mr. Cyril Bailey and his *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome*. I dipped into my old copy of Lucretius and started thinking again about Virgil. It was extraordinarily illuminating. In a word, I came to doubt entirely whether the two religions were on all fours. Of the conscious insincerity of the promoters of Roman State religion there was no question—though Virgil is, of course, not tarred with that brush—and in both the spirit and content of its worship it afforded a marked contrast at certain vital points. For one thing it came into the hands of a class of professional priests, and this tended to make it a solid mass of formalism. There was no professional class of priest in Confucianism, State or family. Of equal, if not even deeper significance is the fact that Roman State religion became narrower and narrower, losing touch entirely with the old Nature worship and its sense of a mystery at the heart of the universe and becoming more and more solidly a worship of the State, a worship of the power that controlled the State. In this way it became a means of mere self-glorification, a parallel to which lies much more closely with the Shintoism of Japan and definitely not with State-Confucianism. In the light of these considerations I went back to a re-study of Hsun Tsu, the great third-century Confucianist, who did more than any other, possibly more than Confucius himself, to shape the form and imbue the spirit of the State religion. This study was the more important because he is generally regarded as the most rationalistic and non-religious of the pure Confucianists.

It seemed to me that the members of the China Society might be interested in this problem, and that within the compass of one paper I could give you a glimpse of the real issues at stake. Time, of course, makes it impossible to do more than give a very impressionistic sort of glimpse. It will centre mainly round a few passages in the book of Hsun Tsu. First, however, I must say one word generally on religion in the third century. The political troubles of the Spring and Autumn period led on to the even worse troubles and confusion of the age of the Warring States (from the middle of the fifth century on for two centuries). There was an appalling amount of misery, and this, as we know from certain poems in the Classic of Odes and its popularity, affected men's faith in the old religion. On the one hand, there were doubts about any sort of ethical principle, of justice, or anything else in the universe. On the other hand, the practice of magic and the study of prodigies received a tremendous fillip, just as it

did in Rome at times of calamity, as indeed it did also in Europe during the Great War—a sure sign that accepted religion is losing its grip but men cannot get on without something. Divination therefore was a very important part of popular religion. The old animism also continued, the worship of functional deities, for the most part without names, as they are to a certain extent today in agricultural China. That old pagan groundstock of religion dies very hard, as you can see in Italy and other Christian countries. Further, there was ancestor worship of the type common in other races, but developing a particular higher form in an ethical religion of filial piety. These were the main ingredients in the religion of the common people and of their masters, the barons.

In the early part of his famous poem on the Nature of Things, Lucretius* speaks of “human life plain to view lying foully prostrate upon earth crushed down under the weight of religion who showed her head from the four quarters of heaven with hideous aspect lowering upon mortals”; and a little later he says: “This terror then and darkness of the mind must be dispelled . . . by the aspect and the law of nature: the warp of whose design we shall begin with this principle, nothing is ever gotten out of nothing by divine power. Fear insooth holds so in check all mortals because they see many operations go in earth and heaven, the causes of which they can in no way understand, believing them therefore to be done by divine power. For these reasons, when we shall see that nothing can be produced from nothing, we shall then more correctly ascertain that which we are seeking, both the elements out of which everything can be produced and the manner in which all things are done without the hand of the gods.” That is what Lucretius thinks about gods and religion. Now listen to his dedication at the beginning of the same poem. “Mother of the Æneadæ, darling of men and gods, increasing-giving Venus, who, beneath the gliding signs of heaven, fillest with thy presence the ship-carrying sea, the corn-bearing lands, since through thee every kind of living thing is conceived, rises up and beholds the light of the sun. Before thee, goddess, flee the winds and the clouds of heaven: before thee and thy advent: for thee the levels of the sea do laugh and heaven propitiated shines with outspread light.” Now, how much of all that did he believe in the sense in which a dogmatic theologian speaks of belief? Very little, if any, at all. Yet there is the notable fact that as he approaches his task of freeing men from the thralldom of irrational fear-compelling gods presiding over an irrational unsynthesizable universe, as he quivers with a sense of the greatness of his task, he cannot refrain from recapturing a youthful fervour of devotion to Venus and all that the worshipping poets had made her to mean in

* *Vide* H. A. J. Munro's translation for these quotations.

the realm of Nature. Thus then we catch a glimpse of his deepest mind. When he denounces "religio" he is denouncing the pagan crudities of the old religion which he saw around him; but at the same time he cannot get started without this impassioned dedication. So it was with a man who in his passion for scientific knowledge had not his like in China until Wang Ch'ung three centuries later. The fact is that there is a very real difference between a materialistic and cynical kind of scepticism which rejects religion in any shape or form and at the same time feels free to make use of its superstitions in the form in which they dominate the common people, and the revolt from superstition and its non-moral influence—the revolt which is found in sensitive spirits who are searching for something higher. To use the current phraseology of today, the difference lies between those who stand for a material interpretation of the universe and those who stand for a spiritual. Of the former we have outstanding examples in the third century B.C. They are the Legalists, the prototype of the modern exponents of *macht-politik*. Read the book of Shang Yang (which most scholars today date in the third century) and you will see that it simply ignores religion, and the same applies, though from a rather different angle, to Han Fei, the most brilliant exponent of Legalism in the time of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. On the other hand, let us take Hsun Tsu, the keen critic of the superstitions current in his day, but also the critic of Shih Huang Ti's country, Ch'in State, where Legalist principles had been put into effect. When his disciple Li Ssu, afterwards prime minister to Shih Huang Ti, pointed out to him that Ch'in's armies had been victorious for four generations and it was the strongest State in the whole country, and that it had achieved this not by Jen (humanity) and Yi (justice), but merely by taking advantage of the course of events, Hsun Tsu's reply was, "It is not as you think. What you call advantage is an inadventagous advantage. What I call Jen and Yi is the most advantagous advantage."

We will now take a typical passage in the T'ien Lun Pien, the Essay on Heaven:

If the right Way of Life (Tao) is cultivated and not opposed, then Heaven cannot send misfortune: flood or drought cannot cause a famine. . . . But if the staple necessities of daily life are neglected and used extravagantly, then Heaven cannot cause the country to be rich. . . . If there is rebellion against the right Way of Life and conduct is contumacious, then Heaven cannot bring good luck. Therefore even if flood or drought do not come, there will be famine . . . : without any action on the part of spiritual beings there will be calamity. We have no right to dislike Heaven because things happen

according to its Way. Hence to know the Way of Heaven is man's duty, and he who does this is perfect. To produce without overt action and to obtain without specially pursuing, that is what is meant by the function of Heaven. Thus assuming the Way of Heaven to be deep, the perfect man will not set his mind to work on it; assuming it to be mysterious, he will not investigate it—this is what is meant by not contending with Heaven in its function. Heaven has its seasons, Earth has its wealth, Man has his social control. The three together make what is meant by "being able to form a triad" (ts'an, an ideograph derived from the three stars in Orion combining to make one fused light, hence here is a triad or trinity of power). To abandon that by which the very trinity of power comes to be a trinity and intrude your own will on the component parts, this is mortal error.

The fixed stars have their courses, the sun and moon shine in alternation, the four seasons succeed each other, the Yin and Yang have their great mutations, wind and rain spread their influence everywhere: all things acquire their germinating principle and come to life, each is nourished to maturity. We do not see these forces actually at work, but we see their effects, for this is what is meant by *shen* (the divine: the ideograph used is the one for gods: it was also used as an adjective, and divine would seem to be its force here). In all this we have knowledge of what comes to completion (*i.e.* takes shape and form): we have no knowledge of what is without form. And this is what is meant by Heaven.

There I will stop, though he goes on to describe how for ourselves, us men and women, there is also the same power of Heaven at work in our bodies and in our spirits. Our senses are from Heaven and our mind is what Heaven has ordained to be the ruler of the senses. Now this passage is to me profoundly significant. We will not waste time on what is obvious, the admirable vigour with which he deals with the primitive pagan desire to wrest the order of the universe to suit your present convenience: he puts all that mumbo-jumbo stuff on one side with a word. But let us come to the heart of his argument. There can be no doubt that in spite of his acute sense of the limitations of human knowledge, of its inability to know Heaven in the reality of its living activity—to that extent he is agnostic—he yet feels intensely that there is something there at work in the process of Nature and in the wonderful economy of the human being. Further, he is persuaded that although we cannot by mere exercise of the mind discover what this Something is, yet we can by co-operation with It in its plain intentions come to be one with It. To him this is the way

of well-being for man. In this connection his use of "ts'an" is specially significant. He has got down to the fact that the ultimate forces in the universe work by interpenetration. They make a harmony, and for man to attempt to impose his petty desires on this majestic harmony of power is manifestly wrong—as he says later, it is *ta shung*, an ill-omened thing to do. No; what man has to do is to add his contribution, the particular powers which come to him through the discipline of living in society. It is possible, of course, to stress the emphasis he lays on man's good and ill-fortune coming from his own efforts alone and to draw the conclusion that he is after all only concerned with the human side. This interpretation has often been made, but to me it fails to do justice to both the critical and the constructive side of his thought. The first thing he had to do was to clear the ground of the idea that man could look to an irrational Heaven to do for him what he wanted. To combat this idea Hsun Tsu inevitably has to stress the human side. But the marrow of the argument lies in the fact that it does not just rest there. He is driven on to portraying a Heaven which is distinct from the material Earth, which is indeed above it, the chief partner in the triad, and which cannot be known by any other means than by the submission of a man to its Way, the way of co-operation with it. If that is not religion, I should like to know what is.

Let us now pass from this more theological aspect to the more intimate and practical side of religion, the side connected with the practice of religious rites. Hsun Tsu had a great deal to say on this, and what he did say was quoted at length by Ssu-Ma Chien in the Record of History and plainly inspired much that we find in the Classic of Rites, that puzzling book which so much expresses the really religious side of Han Confucianism but which may have all sorts of earlier documents included in it. Now I confess that it is easy enough to read through the Li Lun (the Discussion of Ritual) and see nothing in it but a sort of exquisite humanism. Thus Professor Feng Yiu-lan, for example, has a strong conviction that man's two sides, the emotional and the rational, both demand expression, and that religion, by its attempt to combine the two and by its claim to know the truth about the universe and life after death, lands mankind in a hopeless mess of superstition. In an article published in 1928* he follows up Santayana's theory that religion should throw away its superstitious beliefs and dogmas and compare itself to poetry. Professor Feng continues: "According to the interpretation and rationalization of the burial and sacrificial rites which the Confucianists supported, the early religion at that early date was made into poetry." Also in his *History of Chinese Philosophy* (p. 395) he says: "Hsun

* *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, June, 1928.

Tsu and the Classic of Rites spoke entirely from the subjective side of human emotion. The basic meaning of sacrifice, as they saw it, was merely to seek the comforting of emotion." He then quotes two passages in support, one from the Chi Ti'ung Pien of the Classic, one from the Li Lun Pien of Hsun Tsu. I will translate them both, though the Chi Ti'ung passage almost certainly belongs to a later age.

"Of all the methods for ordering the social life of man there is none more emotionally stimulating than the use of Li (rites), and of the five authoritative kinds of Li there is none more important than Sacrifice. Sacrifice is not a matter of external things. It is from within and is born in the mind-heart (*hsin*). When the mind-heart is deeply moved, expression is given to it by Li, and hence only men of ability and virtue can give complete expression to the principle of sacrificing. When the man of ability and virtue sacrifices, he is sure to be blessed. This blessing is not what the world calls a blessing. It is perfection, and perfection is the name for obedience in all things, and this means interiorly becoming complete in oneself, exteriorly being obedient to the Tao. . . . Hence in the sacrifices of the man of ability and virtue he extends his sincerity and good faith to the extreme, as also with his loyalty and reverence. He makes an offering with the right things, accompanies them with the proper rites, makes the whole act to harmonize with the seasons, thus making the sacrifice a discerning act. He seeks for nothing by way of gain. This is the mind-heart of the filial son. . . . Everything from without is there, and interiorly there is the utmost effort of will."

Hsun Tsu says: "Sacrifice is the emotion produced by acts of will, ideas, thoughts, and longings. It is the extreme of loyalty, faithfulness, love, and reverence, the rich development of detailed rites in all their artistry. If there had been no sages, no one could have understood this. The sage plainly understands it, the scholar-gentleman peacefully performs it, the official counts it a practice to be observed, and the people generally regard it as established custom. Among the *chun tsu* (superior men) it is regarded as the Way of Man, among the common people it is regarded as serving the spirits. . . . Divination, finding the lucky days, fasting, cleaning the temple, spreading out tables and mats, offering animals and grain, praying for blessings; in the way in which the person sacrificed to enjoyed the sacrifice, taking the offerings and offering in the way in which he tasted them, having a wine bottle in the way in which he drank from his goblet; when the mourning guests leave, for the chief mourner to bow them off, to change his mourning clothes and take his station by the coffin and weep, as if the dead man had just gone—this sorrow, reverence, serving the dead like serving the living, serving those who are *not*, like serving

those who *are*: the presence without form or shadow, but enough to make the artistic form of Tao."

Now the last two sets of phrases, "serving the dead . . . Tao," are entirely my own translation. Professor Dubs' translation* is as follows: "Serving the dead as if serving the living, serving the departed as if serving those who are present, an appearance without the inner reality, imagery become a ritual." I confess I cannot see where Professor Dubs gets his "inner reality" or his "imagery," and I doubt his rendering accordingly. But the main point of distinction in his translation is in his "as if": "serving the dead *as if* they were alive," etc. I have translated "serving the dead *like* serving the living; serving those who are *not, like* serving those who *are*." The difference may strike you as negligible. As a matter of fact, the ideograph translated is the ideograph *ju*, and in a famous passage in Dr. Hu Shih's *Outline of History of Chinese Philosophy* he takes some passages which have this same *ju* in the same kind of context, and he dubs this *ju*, this "as if," as the typical expression of the religious mind. All religion is contaminated for Dr. Hu with this self-deception, this fatal blinking of the truth. Dr. Feng's position is the same at this point, as I have shown above. So you see the exact meaning of this insignificant word is of very considerable importance. Now this is not the occasion to embark on a discussion of the problem as a whole. All I can do now is to draw attention to what seems to me a real misunderstanding of Hsun Tsu's position and outlook.

First of all, we must realize the background to his mind. He was surrounded by people who were sunk in the superstitious belief of their traditional religion, who were desperately afraid of all the capricious spiritual forces that might break out on them and who regarded sacrifice and all its attendant practices as a means of bringing the gods and the ancestors round to protecting them. Hsun Tsu revolted against this. But he was also faced with the new cynical scepticism of the power-politicians. He saw the force of their emphasis on social solidarity and bureaucratic efficiency, but he hated their materialism, the *unethical* emphasis laid on profit. Against this he advanced the principle of a Power of Righteousness in the universe, but needing man's co-operation to be made effectual. This we saw clearly in the passage quoted from the Essay on Heaven.

Then we come to the Essay on Ritual. There are two outstanding features to this essay which are the key to Hsun Tsu's mind in the matter under discussion. One is the solidarity of mankind, a unity existing through the differences of class, since so only can the whole body be knit together by mutual service: and this solidarity is a solidarity also with the past, with one's ancestors

* *Vide* Probsthain's *Hsuntze Works*.

who made society possible by the order they introduced and the beautiful ritual they established. The second outstanding feature is Hsun Tsu's recognition of life and death as the two prime facts calling for man's attention. By his attitude to them a man shows infallibly whether he is really a man and a civilized one at that, or not. If he feels and shows reverence in the face of these two great mysteries, he is on the way to being what he ought to be and to finding his true well-being under Heaven. I submit that all this is quite alien to the kind of rationalism with which Dr. Feng credits Hsun Tsu. I do not question for a moment that Hsun Tsu has a strong element of rationalism in his mind—every reforming theologian has. But the question is whether he was, to use Dr. Feng's own words, "entirely concerned with emphasizing sacrifice and not concerned with the counterpart in reality of sacrifice." So we come back to the passage under discussion. I would maintain that Dr. Feng's and Dr. Dubs' emphasis on *ju* as "as if" in the sense of deluding oneself into the belief that the spirit of the dead is present, is a misleading translation. Both on account of the solidarity of the present with the past and in reverent recognition of the mystery of death, Hsun Tsu is calling his contemporaries to serve the dead as they serve the living, serve those who are no more as they serve those who are still here. What he wanted people to realize was that there was no fear-inducing ghost there, no *kuei*: that the dead were dead, no more. That is the key to his emphasis on sorrow. None the less the dead are with us, a presence without any form or shadow—that is to say, without any of the ghostly attributes. They are with us with exactly the same personal force as they had for us when they were alive. And the proof of this he finds in the fact that when the mourner sees the dead man's relatives and friends go away, their going is like the going of the dead. So then, as the ritual dictates, he takes his station by the coffin and weeps.

One further word on the interpretation of this passage. Dr. Feng in the passage I quoted referred to Hsun Tsu and the Classic of Rites as speaking only from the subjective point of view of emotion. He said they were only concerned with the comfort of the mourner. Again I am afraid I must protest. Admitted, of course, that Hsun Tsu and the Classic approach the matter from a psychological angle and delight in analysis of the emotions aroused. But why "subjective"? I should have thought that one thing was quite clear in these two essays on Heaven and Ritual—namely, that the emotional nature was part of what Heaven gave to a man at birth. It is with the right use of them that man achieves his due power of co-operating with Heaven and Earth. They are then part of the objective order, however subjective they may seem to be to the individual. I am constrained to wonder whether

by any chance Dr. Feng has been led astray by his study of modern Western philosophy and so come to make a distinction which depends on an acceptance of the assumptions made by metaphysical idealism. If that be the case, then the only thing to be said is that the distinction made by Dr. Feng and the kind of slur of unreality which is thus cast on the emotions is one which the latest advances in knowledge make increasingly untenable. And in any case Hsun Tsu and the Confucianists of his generation and the immediately succeeding generations did not think in those terms or categories. Not only so: Hsun Tsu himself had a tremendous sense of a given spiritual order of the universe, an order in which the emotional nature of man was a vital factor.

Now if the kind of argument which I have set forth is at all convincing, at all indicative of the kind of approach Hsun Tsu and his fellows had to religion, then we are now in a position to sum up the gains and losses. First of all we have to face the question whether this philosophical approach—and it undoubtedly is philosophical—is, after all, nothing more than pure rationalism and destructive of the very ground of religion in the soul. I would very definitely urge that it is not pure rationalism. It has its weak points with which I will deal in a moment, but take it as a whole it is not merely a criticism of what I have called the crude paganisms of early religion, but a very earnest attempt to substitute something higher. From the intellectual side, Hsun Tsu shows the same spirit which we see in Plato and the best of the Greek philosophers. He is out to make a synthesis of the universe on a spiritual basis. He cannot bear the chaotic world of men and gods, of things in heaven and things in the earth, all mixed together in relations which are either very crudely ethical or else mechanical and so not ethical at all. We have here therefore what Dean Inge in the *Legacy of Greece* describes as a complete fusion of religion and philosophy. The Dean goes on to say illuminatingly enough for our purpose: "The philosophers at this time were preachers, confessors, chaplains, and missionaries. The clerical profession in nearly all its activities is directly descended from the Hellenistic philosophers." As you know, one of Dean Inge's great contentions is that traditional Christianity is much more the heir of Greek philosophy at its best than it is of Judaism. However that may be, I would maintain that the Confucianists of the Hsun Tsu school under his influence did for China what perhaps most of all the Stoics did for the Graeco-Roman world. Listen to what Dr. Glover has to say (*Progress in Religion*, pp. 215-6): "The Stoic beginning with Nature had his principle of unity at once." And again: "Cosmos is no new word in the Greek vocabulary, but it gains a new meaning and a new thrill. . . . The order of the universe was a new discovery, the thought that this order

is not one of parts but of the whole: that it is an order . . . not of an engine, a splendid mechanism, but better still of an organic body or even being—this was a conception to make the heart beat. . . . Stars and seasons and souls of men, a living principle animates them, a principle, intelligible because it is one in all things and all men, a principle that is intellectual, a Logos, and yet the seed and source of life, *spermatikos*. The kinship within the great *polis* is real to the uttermost.” Arising out of all this there is a sense of law, abiding, constant, which it is man’s freedom as well as his well-being to obey. So Dr. Glover on the Stoics. Parts of what he says remind us, of course, more of what the Taoist fathers discovered. But then Hsun Tsu lived in an age in which Taoism was beginning to fructify the thinking of the more conventionally minded Confucianists, and traces of Taoism are to be found in Hsun Tsu himself, whilst much more than mere sporadic traces are to be found in the Classic of Rites. But apart from that the spirit and meaning of the Stoic faith on the one hand and that of Hsun Tsu’s on the other show very marked resemblances—e.g., both bring home to people the idea of a Providence at work in the universe, though here we have to be careful in reference to Hsun Tsu. There is no sense of a personal Providence in his theology, just as there was not in Stoicism, and, what is more, one of the chief aims Hsun Tsu has is to destroy the old idea that there is good luck and bad, and by certain ritual devices you can wangle the gods into giving you good luck. From that point of view he stands for man being his own providence.

So far our appraisal is more in the realm of the intellectual or, as we might fairly call it, the realm of theological tenet. Hsun Tsu, as we saw, went much further than that. Much as he is concerned with superstitious and enlightened beliefs, he is even more concerned with action. In the last resort man’s salvation is for him a matter of what he does. Hence his major emphasis laid on Li, and his linking of Li with the natural forces in the universe. He states explicitly that the mark of the Sage is not that he uses his mind to understand the nature of Heaven, but that he uses all his powers to co-operate with Heaven and with Earth. I see here what are for me the authentic and unmistakable marks of high religion. On the one hand, there is a Power above men and responsible for the order of Nature. Here is the concept of transcendence. On the other hand, there is man who can achieve an interpretation of his being with this same transcendent Power. Here is the concept of immanence. Further, intimate communion—to use a term which perhaps means more than our context here permits—between Heaven and man is not a matter of the intellect, but of an interior obedience, letting your immeasurable desires be controlled—in a word, putting yourself in action in harmony with

the Tao, the Way of Man, which is itself one part of the Way of Heaven. Along this line Hsun Tsu's teaching is intensely ethical, and ethical not in the moralistic sense, but in the sense derived from high religion, the sense which makes man's salvation dependent on his getting outside the restricted watertight compartment of his self-centredness.

So much for gains. What about losses? I suppose some people would regard the agnosticism about man's survival of bodily death as a loss. And I suppose we must associate with that the fact that we can find no trace in Hsun Tsu of what Christian philosophers in religion regarded until quite recently as the essential characteristic of religion: I refer to the belief in a personal God or a number of personal gods. Time does not permit me to go into these questions except in the most cursory fashion. With regard to the former, survival of bodily death, I must content myself with one quotation and one reflection on it. The quotation comes from Archbishop Temple's Gifford Lectures: *Nature, Man, and God*, a book of which I think we shall hear a good deal as the days go on. The Archbishop says (p. 457): "Except as an implicate in the righteousness and love of God, immortality is not a religious interest at all. (He puts the sentence in special type for emphasis.) It has an interest for us as beings who cling to life, but there is nothing religious about that. It has an interest for us as social beings who love our friends and desire to meet again those who have died before us: that is an interest capable of religious value, but even this is not religious in itself. No: the centre of all true religious interest is God, and self comes into it not as a primary concern which God must serve, but as that one thing which each can offer for the glory of God." The Archbishop puts it extremely well, as he does also when he comes to deal with traditional beliefs about the rewards and punishments to come through a Heaven and a Hell: "not necessarily religious at all, and if religious, then for the most part crudely and paganly religious." So then, at the time at which it came and under the conditions of those days, may we not conclude that this scepticism was so much to the good? At any rate, it helped to discredit the false idea of immortality. And the same applies very largely to the impersonality of the ultimate Power in the universe. Hsun Tsu and the Confucianists, as also the Taoists, very definitely broke the tyranny of private-minded gods, and in putting Heaven where they did in the scheme of the universe gave their people a sense of an order, a law, a harmony, and a unity in which man had his part to play.

In conclusion, when State-Confucianism came to the front some two to four hundred years later, it was a many-sided composition. It was a political theory and a social discipline and education. But in both this field and in that more clearly recognizable as religion

it proved itself adequate to retain men's allegiance. Without the work done by Hsun Tsu in the third century, it is open to doubt whether it could have achieved this power. There were other forces at work, notably that of the legalist tenets and that of the Tsou Yen school with their mechanistic interpretation of history. For a time this latter tended to hold the field just as the materialism of legalism did in Shih Huang Ti's time. But the mechanistic theory went the way of the other, and the Confucianism of the Classic of Rites came into its own. There are three main strands in that Confucianism: one the teaching of Confucius himself, one the teaching of the Taoists, and the third the teaching of Hsun Tsu. Each had its own particular religious significance, but of the three it seems to me that the third, in spite of its relative scepticism, came nearest to the positive, creative, saving truth which is only to be found in the austere realm of high religion. It is therefore to me intrinsically difficult to believe that Hsun Tsu and his school bedizened religion with all sorts of trappings which they themselves were convinced were false. There was a school of statesmen which did that same thing about that time, but they were not in China. They were in Rome, and the result was, as you well know, that the State religion came to be more and more empty of living power.

EARLY CHINESE PALACES AND TEMPLES

BY ARNOLD SILCOCK, F.R.I.B.A.

(The author has been architect to the Provincial Government of Szechwan, China, and is the author of a new book entitled *An Introduction to Chinese Art*.)

THE expectations aroused by the forthcoming International Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House have been whetted by the accounts of rare and lovely things which have been brought together by a distinguished Selection Committee. Through the courtesy and far-sightedness of the Chinese Government, many unique examples have been allowed to leave China for the first time, and much has been written about the priceless jades, bronzes, ceramics, and paintings which we shall see when the exhibition opens in November. But there are less spectacular, although equally interesting, pieces which often escape attention. Of these perhaps the most important are the architectural fragments.

It is naturally impossible to transport a palace (or even a pavilion) and erect it in the galleries of the Royal Academy, so that the glow of sunshine on red-lacquered columns and the burning brilliance of marine-blue tiles will be left to imagination or memory. Aids to a visualizing of this beauty can be found in such quaintnesses as the little enamelled figures of fabulous monsters which once graced the golden-tiled roof of a Ming palace, or in the sombre portal of a Han tomb. But these are, at best, but fragments of a noble style, and for a full appreciation of them some connected knowledge of the style's development is necessary.

The earliest remains of Chinese buildings date from the second millennium B.C., the period of the Shang-Yin dynasty. They are scarcely more than traces of the occupation of a site, but they indicate at least the scale of the vanished buildings. These traces consist of the extensive rammed earth foundation of the palace at An-yang in Honan. Below these foundations excavation has revealed pits, which may have been used as cellars for the archives, for large numbers of the latter—inscribed on tortoise-shell and bone—have been found scattered over the site. What catastrophe overwhelmed the palace is unknown, but the fact that this was a palace site is confirmed by the "Herodotus of China," Ssü-ma Ch'ien, whose history dates from about the beginning of the first century B.C. The buildings were possibly of a simple, wood post-and-beam type, stiffened and protected by external walls of

rammed earth, like the cob walls of the old Devonshire farmhouse. No traces of brick or tile were found, and the roofs may have been thatched with reeds.

These traditional materials persisted in use and have so persisted to the present day. They are mentioned in a description of a palace of the following (the Chou) dynasty, and we read that "the imperial palace consisted of a vast enclosure, surrounded by high mud or brick walls, in which were the following: The dwelling-houses of the emperor, the empress, the concubines, and their servants; the offices of the ministers, reception halls, and temples; shops for weaving silk and hemp for the use of the court; treasuries for the preservation of the imperial archives, historical documents, jewellery, and other precious belongings of the state or the emperor; depositories for stores and all that was necessary for the maintenance of life. In other words, it was a walled city within the capital city, reserved for the emperor, his household, and his government; and the monarch seldom left it except in his official capacity."* It was, in fact, the model for all the palaces yet unbuilt, the last of which—the Forbidden City in the centre of Peking—is a magnificent example.

The Chou dynasty palaces have also entirely disappeared, with the exception of inconsiderable fragments of brick or tile, which show that more permanent materials must have been coming into use. But about the fifth century B.C. Confucius is said to have admired the paintings with which the walls were decorated, although, beyond the fact that they represented the great rulers and sages of the past, little is known about them. An art which glorified courage, honour, and justice would, of course, earn the approval of Confucius, for he valued art not for its own sake, but merely when it exerted an uplifting moral influence upon human nature.

Considerably more is known about the architecture of the great Shih Huang-ti—"First Emperor," as he bombastically styled himself—who overthrew the Chou and founded the Ch'in dynasty in 221 B.C. With his death twenty years later the new dynasty fell, but in that short space of time his invincible egoism and lust for glory and power had created a vast network of military posts throughout the land. At each of these headquarters he erected palaces so that he and his staff might be suitably accommodated on his whirlwind tours of inspection. But this was not the sum of his achievements. In Shensi, his native state, he reconstructed his capital, Hsien-yang, on a colossal scale. Here he had replicas erected of one hundred and forty-five palace buildings which he had destroyed in the capital cities of his enemies. Here, too, was the Shang Lin hunting park, and through it ran the River Wei,

* *Outlines of Chinese Art*, John C. Ferguson. University of Chicago Press.

on either side of which the Emperor laid out his own vast palace enclosure. On one bank arose a palace for holding audiences, the far-famed O-p'ang Kung, of which a famous painter of the eleventh century has left an imaginative picture. The River Wei reflected this mighty façade for over a quarter of a mile. Its lower floor was not less than forty feet high, and on its upper floor ten thousand people could be seated. On the opposite river-bank, and approached by a roofed-in bridge 280 yards long, stood the still more magnificent imperial palace. This was connected with the subsidiary buildings by mile-long corridors decorated with silk hangings. Its glories were described by Ssü-ma Ch'ien (the same historian who had recorded the more ancient palace sites of the Shang-Yin period), yet no vestiges of these later and larger palaces remain.

The name of Shih Huang-ti is always connected with another vast enterprise, the Great Wall of China. Like most great conquerors, his megalomania ran first to vast destruction and then to a vaster reconstruction. He was victorious over the dreaded hordes of Hsiung-nu, drove them into the far north, and flung the Great Wall of China across a thousand miles of new mountain boundary. The Great Wall has been called the most considerable work of man upon earth, and the only one which would be visible from the moon. The truth of this statement seems likely to remain in doubt, but one feels that the shade of Shih Huang-ti would heartily approve it. He was continually setting up stone monuments and statues to commemorate this or that event; even the frequent landings he made on a voyage up the sea-coast were not thought too trivial for another series of great memorials. But of all this extravagance only portions of the Great Wall remain. Its construction strengthened and extended existing earthworks and went on for many years. Tens of thousands of men were employed upon it, and the famous General Mêng T'ien was in charge of the work. Mêng T'ien's fame, however, rests largely upon the legend that he was the inventor of the writing-brush.

In the colossal mausoleum they constructed for Ch'in Shih Huang-ti thousands of workmen were buried alive, together with all the imperial concubines who had not borne male children.

Confucius had attacked but he had not killed the barbarous practice of immolation, but it gradually died out, and its place was taken by the tomb figures and models of animals which occur in the following Han dynasty. It is from these graves that evidence of many types of Han buildings is gleaned. First of all, the ruins of the early tombs display types of internal decoration, and, secondly, the growing custom of interring pottery objects has provided models of everyday things, including some of actual buildings.

Some of the early coffin-chambers, though constructed as underground vaults with inclined roads tunnelled down to their entrances, were provided with dignified portals in the form of massive doorways of stone, flanked by a pair of stone columns on iron bases. The doors also were often of stone, though later bronze was used. Internally the timber-lined chamber was decorated in coloured lacquer, in a scheme of decoration where friezes depicted symbolic patterns amongst which fabulous animals disported themselves. Remains of bronze hinges, handles, and other fittings, many inlaid with silver and gold, show what similar fittings must have been like in the dwellings of the living.

Many of the Han dynasty palaces are known by their names and descriptions in written record of the time. Among the earliest were the Wei Yang Kung, erected by Hsiao Ho, who died in 193 B.C., and the Kan Ch'üan Kung. Fuller records of the mural paintings of this time are also available, and the scenes depicted by the painter in the palace of Prince Liu Yü, Duke of Lu in Shantung, 154-129 B.C. (the Ling-Kuang Palace), were described by the poet Wang Yen-Shou as follows: "Heaven and Earth, strange spirits of the Sea, gods of the hills, the five dragons with joined wings, Fu Hsi with his scaly body, Nü Wo with serpent limbs, Huang Ti, and the great Yü; furthermore the Three Kings and many riotous damsels and turbulent lords, loyal knights, dutiful sons, mighty scholars, and faithful wives." Paintings of the same kind decorated the interiors of the more imposing tombs. Nothing remains of these, but fortunately their type is known because it was the custom to transmit records of famous paintings by carving copies in stone. The celebrated second-century bas-reliefs from Shantung are good examples. They are perhaps more valuable as representations of lost mural paintings than as examples of sculpture.

The buildings which these paintings, silk hangings, gold and silver, bronze and lacquer-work embellished are recorded in literature, but no ruins of palaces and temples have come down to us. The written accounts show that they were founded on the models left by Shih Huang-ti, but the great acreage which some of them covered could not guarantee their survival, since both in substance and constructional form they were inevitably perishable. No satisfactory reason has been given to account for the age-long Chinese preference for impermanent timber over the stone and brick of the monumental architecture found in every other great civilization. Stone was not scarce, and the Chinese were as expert at firing brick as they were in making pottery, yet timber was preferred for all but great engineering works like bridges, towers, and military defences. Even the walled city was actually protected by earthworks, which only later were encased

with a façade of brickwork. The same thing was true of the Great Wall of China. Its bricks are found to bear the seals of later emperors, for the rampart of Shih Huang-ti was throughout most of its length a colossal earthen embankment which, with its slopes filled in, still forms the core of the later brick and battlemented wall. It was thus, too, that Hadrian threw up his breastwork across Britain as a defence against the Picts; the stone revetment was added by Severus, although the whole was (and its ruin still is) known as Hadrian's Wall. The above-mentioned Shantung bas-reliefs show two or three examples of architecture which strongly resemble traditional modern forms, with the striking exception that the low-pitched tiled roofs are straight, not curved as in later times. However, overhanging wood-bracketed eaves are indicated as well as widely spaced wood columns. There is no doubt that the ever-popular rammed earth was also in use in Han times, especially in the foundation platform, which would often extend to form a terrace surrounding the buildings. Brick and stone facings would be used here, and stone, bronze, or iron bases were put down for the columns. But the superposed structure was all of wood. A series of bays formed with ranks of tall timber posts, more or less equidistant from each other, were connected lengthwise of the building by wood lintels and transversely by horizontal roof beams. Above these came the roof timbers, on which the sloping rafters were laid. Small wonder that in course of erection a Chinese building resembles at one time a forest of masts and at another a gargantuan game of spillikins. The bays of columns stand free without cross-bracing, and the roof beams have no diagonal struts. When covered with heavy earthenware tiles, the whole of this framework stands on its wooden stilts and is held down solely by the weight of its roof, and an undue reliance on Providence. Since there are no struts, braces, or buttresses to counteract diagonal movement, the rectangular framing is likely to collapse lengthways in a hurricane or a slight earthquake, or to burn to the ground in a fire. If it escapes, eventually the wood carcass will rot unless kept continually in repair. Yet the Chinese remained satisfied with such primitive, vulnerable structures and even added to their risks by using wood panelling generally for internal partitions and often for external walls. This explains the total disappearance of all the great buildings of a date prior to our era, and of the great majority constructed during the next fifteen hundred years. In the temples of Greece and Rome the masonry has survived, to some extent, the attacks of time, of fire, and of armies crazed with fear or conquest, but the timber-pillared halls of coeval Chinese civilization scarcely survived from dynasty to dynasty.

There are many ingenious reasons put forward to account for

this extraordinary preference for temporary building materials. One explains that they were cheaper and easier to procure as well as easier to build with. And this is true of rammed earth, which had the additional advantage of being a very ancient and well-tried mode of building. At first sight timber also seems to answer to this description, but as a matter of fact trees sufficiently large to convert into columns, for any but small buildings, were scarce and their transport was expensive. Probably, however, the custom of using posts and beams of wood developed gradually in early days, and the technique of jointing and erection improved slowly, keeping pace for a time with the modest degree of accommodation required in a primitive community. But with the vast building schemes of Shih Huang-ti the demands for loftiness and wide-spanned spaces must have overtaxed the forest resources of the new empire. So it seems reasonable to suppose that for the first time the huge *nanmu*, the tallest and straightest of the trees that throng the country surrounding the source and upper reaches of the Yangtse, was felled and floated down a thousand miles of river to Central China. Shih Huang-ti came from the west, and the people of his native state of Ch'in would therefore be familiar with the *nanmu*. The first, or Western Han, dynasty was, as we have seen, also famous for its great palaces, while ever since temples have been built with columns wrought from *nanmu* trunks carried by water all the way from the Tibetan foot-hills which fringe the far western border of Ssü-ch'uan. The *nanmu* is a superb hardwood (deciduous) tree, and the trunk reaches sometimes as much as twelve feet in girth. It closely resembles mahogany in its size, toughness, fine grain, and pale rose colouring, which turns to a beautiful dead-leaf brown with age. In fragrance it resembles cedar-wood, and columns made from it still exhale a faint perfume through temple halls built centuries ago. Like mahogany, its smooth but tough, close texture makes it splendid stuff for furniture and carving, and a slight natural oiliness also helps to render it more durable even than oak. In fact, it may be said that the *nanmu* is to China what the oak is to England. It was for all these reasons a most suitable, but also a costly, material for building, and its continued use has been said to be due chiefly to the greed of generations of officials, who made vast sums in "squeeze" from the traffic in it. Surely, however, there must be a more adequate reason for such popularity, and it should be remembered that with the Chinese the claims of beauty and custom ranked higher than most. They were devoted to the arts of peace and in everything bound by traditional usage. It would therefore be natural for them to desire a continuance and expansion of the spaciousness and sense of airy grace which (they believed) only an interior thronged with the tall proportions of

wood columns could give. And in the case of the imperial buildings cost was not considered, for the emperor was a despot with the power and right to surround himself with splendour.

Another theory put forward is that the Chinese adopted timber and developed their columnar style as aids in evolving an abstract scale of proportions which would express their idea of the pattern of the universe. But although it is true that a wood post-and-beam architecture lends itself to ease of adaptation, and experiment in the varying of proportions, it can hardly be said that these were the conscious reasons for its adoption. Further, it is doubtful whether an abstract scale of symbolic significance had any part in guiding the choice of proportional ratios. Of course, symbolic as well as practical considerations governed the disposition of the parts, such as the planning of the entrances to and internal arrangements of a hall of audience, the placing of the throne therein, and so on. But practical expediency came first, the dictates of custom and the love of beauty second, and abstract mathematical science last. Though "symbolically minded," the Chinese were not "mathematically minded." They never produced an Archimedes or a Euclid. For these reasons theories of "dynamic symmetry" and "spatial unity" may be ignored, although the influence of symbolism and geomancy must be reckoned with. The large view of the universe which distinguishes the philosophy and religion of the Chinese has often been remarked upon. They regarded the cosmos as a complete harmony: heaven, the spirits of ancestors, earth and (in his minor part) man, with mountains, rivers, trees, and clouds, the sun, moon, and stars—all were individual living entities, indispensable notes and chords. These were the elements which combined and composed into a "music of the spheres" a oneness of all things material and spiritual. This conviction, interpreted by their gift for imagery, naturally expressed itself in a symbolic unity in all the manifestations of their art. It is seen in the harmonious order of ceremony governing daily life; it was displayed in the design and detail of the tombs. And, later, it came to be the guiding principle in that universe in little, a symmetrically planned imperial city, the home of the highest human representative of cosmic order, the Son of Heaven. How far back in time this idea developed it is difficult to say, but in buildings of fifteen hundred years later this cosmic symbolism governed not only choice of site, orientation and relation to other buildings, but the form and disposition of important parts of the design, and detail, even to the carved and lacquered ornament. There is little doubt that this idea germinated during the Han dynasty. But this is not to say that a rigid, abstract scale of proportions, symbolizing the design of the universe, dictated the theoretical laws of *architec-*

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LAMA MONASTERY IN FORM OF AN INDIAN STŪPA, NEAR TZAGALAO, CHINESE
TIBETAN BORDER.

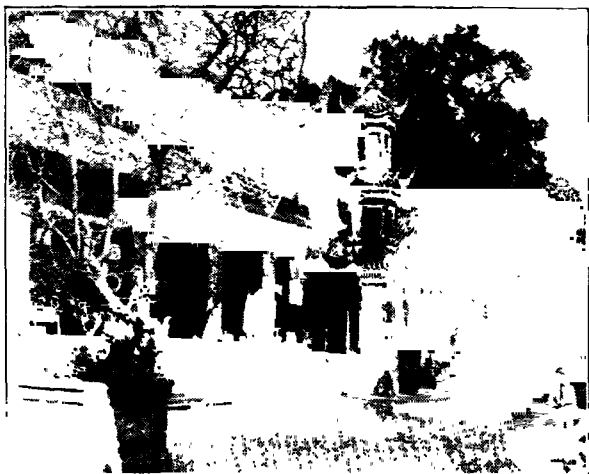
(Photo by North, Ch'êng-tu, West China.)



THE BELL TOWER, PEKING, TYPICAL OF THE MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE OF
THE 14TH CENTURY AND LATER.

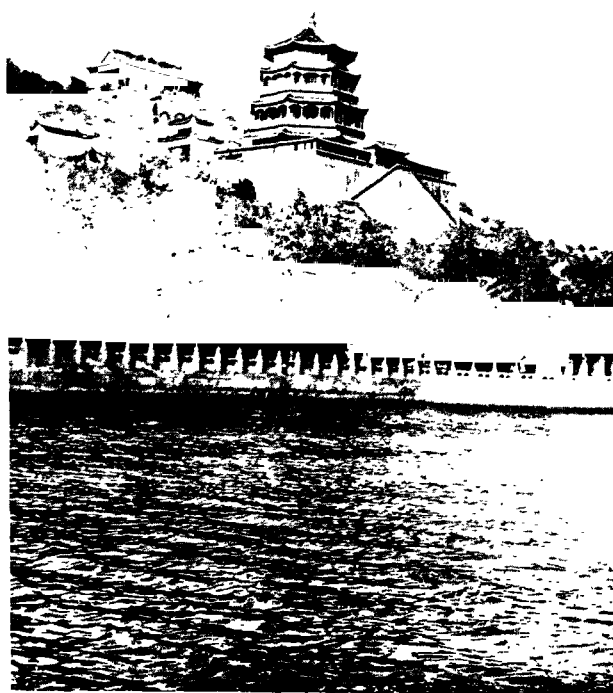
(From "Chinesische Architektur," Ernst Boerschmann.)

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THE ER WANG MIAO AT KUAN-HSIEN IN SZECHWAN:
TYPICAL OF THE 18TH CENTURY.

(From a photograph in possession of the Author.)



THE SUMMER PALACE OUTSIDE PEKING,
SHOWING PERSISTENCE OF TRADITIONAL FORMS
IN MODERN TIMES.

(From a photograph by the Author.)

tural design, and decreed the dimensions of every structural element and the ratio of voids to solids. If, however, such a mathematical theory were ever proved, one could hardly expect it to apply to buildings of an early dynasty like the Han (about the beginning of our era), even though in the scientifically-minded West Euclid and Archimedes had already come and gone two hundred years before.

This statement does not imply any disparagement of the Chinese genius. It is well known that the period was noteworthy for a revival of learning and the growth of lexicography, poetry, calligraphy, and painting, besides the development in the crafts of the lacquer- and metal-worker, the potter and the weaver. All these activities were aided by a freer communication with Western civilizations, due largely to the travels of the celebrated Chinese envoy Chang Ch'ien at the end of the second century B.C. They are recorded by the Great Chinese historian of the time, Ssü-ma Ch'ien, whose name was mentioned above. While Chang Ch'ien failed in his original mission to conclude an alliance with the Indo-Scyths, he brought back news of the countries of Western Asia, especially of Hellenized regions such as Bactria and Ferghāna. The influence of Western civilizations becomes more and more noticeable during the Han dynasty, but it can be seen less in architecture than in the other arts. An exception may perhaps be found in the late tombs, arched and vaulted in glazed polychrome brickwork, which have just been discovered in Annam, where flourished a southern offshoot of the great Han period. Among the grave relics of this Indo-Chinese culture were also found terracotta models of groups of buildings, identical in type with contemporary examples in China itself.

These models of buildings, recovered from the tombs, give a remarkably intimate picture of everyday life in Han times. The period represented in this grave pottery covers roughly four hundred years—two hundred years before and two hundred years after the birth of Christ. Not only are models of multiple-storeyed fowling towers and other isolated buildings found, but complete models of such groups as farmhouses with courtyards, outbuildings, wells, and waggons, not to mention the farm hands and animals, inevitably reminiscent of a well-equipped Noah's Ark. But the most distinctive characteristic in all the various types of buildings represented is the utter enslavement to tradition which they display. Of all the arts, architecture shows the least deviation from stereotyped, primitive forms. Even Shih Huang-ti, who changed the face of China and set the artist free from the bonds of tradition, apparently did not initiate a new architectural style; he merely built in the same way, but on a grandiose scale. So also the stone monumental pillars of Han times, which are

crowned with representations of tiled and beamed roofs carved in stone, disclose exactly the same kind of tile, the same system of construction and jointing in the roof beams which are in use at the present day. These facts are borne out also by the actual specimens of Han roof-tiles which have survived.

With the next period, however, comes a change, for a new and powerful impulse had reached China. Buddhism had been introduced in 2 B.C. or thereabouts, and with the new religion there soon flowed into the country fresh art influences of Indian origin. Up to the end of the Han dynasty the religion had little effect upon Chinese art. The first Chinese Buddhist monk was ordained about 180 A.D., the first recorded Buddhist temple was erected in 190 A.D., and the Han period closed amidst the confusion of civil war in 220 A.D. Little is known about the art of the third century owing to the confusion into which the country was plunged by anarchy and wars with the Hsiung-nu. But during this time—legend states—the first pagoda was built at Nanking, which in later times was also the site of the famous Porcelain Pagoda. At the beginning of the fourth century came the Tatar invasion and the supremacy in the north of a ruling race who were devout Buddhists. They founded the Northern Wei dynasty, and the period became noteworthy for its great building activity, the erection of monasteries and pagodas, and the introduction of the curved roof.

The building of the first pagoda has just been mentioned. It is probable that its design, like that of later Chinese pagodas, was largely a development of a foreign type of tower, knowledge of which was introduced with Buddhism. The prototype was an Indian monument called a *stūpa*, the common form of Buddhist reliquary. This first pagoda was probably a semi-*stūpa* type, because the builder "piled up metal discs at the top and multiplied the storeys below. In addition, the buildings constructed all around could hold 3,000 persons. . . ."* This description would serve equally well for the now rare *stūpa* type of monastery which can still be seen in the mountain range that separates China from Tibet. The lower portion of the building is a widespread base consisting of seven storeys diminishing upwards like a stepped pyramid. Above this rises a central tower shaped like an inverted bell and handle. The whole design is a close parallel to the fully developed Indian model. The latter had a stepped platform surmounted by a hemispherical or semi-ovoid dome from which rose a square plinth carrying a round central shaft. This was deco-

* I am indebted to "Writings on Chinese Architecture," W. Perceval Yetts, *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1927, for this account, cited by Pelliot, and for some of the facts (but not the theories) about early buildings given here.

rated with "piled-up metal discs," set horizontally one above another. The discs resembled a series of superposed umbrella-like roofs pierced by the "stick" or central shaft.

As the stūpa spread north and eastward its design evidently became modified in the course of its dissemination through Burma, Nepal, and the Himalayas. And, thus modified, the Himalayan architecture of wood probably influenced the first pagodas in China, which, record states, were built of timber. Surviving examples show that each modification tended to increase the importance of the tapering tower with its series of rings or discs. Moreover, it is known that in the mid-fifth century a Chinese pilgrim in India recorded in his journal the measurements of Kaniska's great stūpa at Peshawar. Again, the Empress Hu of the Northern Wei dynasty sent a mission to India in 518 A.D. which brought back bronze models of the five finest stūpas, including the Kaniska building. The Empress also built a nine-storeyed timber pagoda a thousand feet in height, and, so the story goes, at the top it carried a hundred-foot shaft upon which thirty gilt bowl-shaped discs rose one above another. But its history was tragically short. Legend says it took fire and burned to the ground only thirty years later amidst scenes of hysterical grief, and that three of the monks even threw themselves into the flames.

The oldest pagoda still in existence is a brick structure, built in 523 A.D. during the Northern Wei period, at Sung Shan in Honan (one of the five sacred mountains of China). It is an octagonal building of striking design set in beautiful surroundings. The date assigned to it is confirmed by the evidence of its style and by ancient records. This tower is extremely beautiful, a model of the method whereby the best is absorbed from foreign sources and united with something distinguished and distinctively Chinese. It has a convex outline, and, instead of roofs, a series of horizontal string courses resembling rings rising upon its shaft. Although built of brick, its design is still very like the tower of a wood Nepalese stūpa temple, and it may well represent the transitional stage from which evolved the many-roofed pagoda of later times. It seems probable, then, that the stūpa's very typical tapering shaft, carrying superimposed discs or rings, ultimately evolved into a tapering tower, divided into diminishing storeys by a series of umbrella-like roofs. These roofs thus reflect the form of their earliest stage of evolution in India, for they began as actual umbrellas fixed upon the stūpas. Their history is one of those fascinating by-paths of art for the tracing of which credit must be given to the archæologist.

Umbrellas occur as emblems of sovereignty in the wall-paintings of ancient Egypt. Centuries later they appear on the sculptural reliefs of Assyria, and later still in the sculptures of Persepolis.

Their symbolic use spread to the East, and they became round, flat-topped affairs, decorated with bells, in the India of King Asoka. He had raised Buddhism from the obscurity of a small sect to the status of a recognized religion. In those days the stūpa consisted of the usual steps, terrace, and dome, with a large stone coffer for the relics raised upon the dome's crown. The coffer was closed by a heavy stone lid as a protection from robbers, and, as the robbers became more enterprising, so the custom grew of adding more and heavier slabs. When the religion obtained the support of Asoka he permitted his royal emblem, an umbrella (probably made in copper), to be placed on the topmost slab. But even this did not scare marauders for long, so, as with the previous custom of adding lids, more and more umbrellas were placed on the reliquary by the trusting mourners. Eventually the stūpas began to look like large boulders with a swarm of mushrooms sprouting from their crowns. At last a master mason more brilliant than his fellows hit upon the scheme of providing one central staff which could carry an indefinite number of umbrellas. Thence it was a short step to the wood mast with a series of metal discs, and from this to the stone shaft carved with superimposed rings and small triangular pendants representing the bells at the circumference. The increase in size and the heavier proportions required by a stone structure would help to influence the sturdy pagoda-like form of early towers of this type in China, and of such is the magnificent example at Sung Shan. From then onwards the shaft retained its increased importance as a tower, while the domed lower portion, its original purpose long forgotten, fell into disuse and soon disappeared. As the true pagoda form evolved it became the custom to shield the projecting lower storeys from the weather by making the rings in the form of circular pent roofs, and in this way a design appeared which was strongly reminiscent of the Indian form—the central shaft with superposed umbrellas.*

The evolution of the form does not, however, help to explain the purpose for which pagodas were built. They appear to have lost all connection with the stūpa as a Buddhist reliquary, for, as we have seen, the dome and coffer features of the design atrophied and disappeared in the pagoda form, leaving only the shaft-like tower with its umbrella roofs. Many theories have been advanced to explain the significance and lasting popularity of this, an architectural form which seems of no practical value and is the expression of no material need. Chief among the theorists is a German

* I have drawn freely from the full and scholarly account of the evolution of the umbrella motive given in "The Development of the Stūpa," A. H. Longhurst, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 36, 1928.

scholar who believes that the Buddhist reliquary appealed forcibly to Chinese ideas when it was imported from India, as towers had always been popular with them. He, perhaps, is thinking of the *t'ai*, lofty look-out towers reputed to have been first built by the emperors of the Shang-Yin period in their hunting parks, and of the smaller decorative towers of wood which were built in later times.*

None of his theories about the origin of pagodas seem entirely satisfying, although all are interesting. The fact remains, therefore, that this beautiful feature of the Chinese landscape serves no known purpose. By the Confucianists they are supposed to control *fêng shui*, the "influences of wind and water," and so to bring good luck to the place that lies within their shadow, but it is doubtful whether the Buddhists connect them with any religious purpose. Yet although they are no longer regarded as depositories for the relics of Buddha's body, none the less a devout Buddhist is still sometimes alleged to acquire merit by building one. When he does so the Chinese genius always leads him to place it just where its slender outline will most aptly provide a foil for the surrounding landscape and show to posterity that he can build beautifully in the monumental manner when the spirit moves him. The Gothic spire has been the subject of philosophic speculation of the kind put forward to account for the equally lovely and equally useless pagoda. Perhaps after all there is something in the notion that in periods of religious fervour the soul of man expresses aspiration by building towers pointing to the skies, whether he is a follower of Christ or Buddha. Certainly the priesthood of both religions taught the existence of paradise above, a conception utterly without appeal to the materialistic China of Confucius or the even more materialistic Rome of the pre-Christian era, and both these periods produced "horizontal" buildings, not slender, lofty towers.

The curved roof is another charming feature often thought of as typically Chinese. But it is no more indigenous than the pagoda or the *p'ai-lou*. In Europe a simple oblong building may be roofed by two straight slopes like an inverted **V**, the sides resting upon the longer walls at the eaves and running up to meet at the centre along the line of the ridge. At each of the two shorter ends the wall may be carried up into the inverted **V** to support the roof beams, and it is then called a gable-end. Alternatively, the tops of all four walls may be kept at the same level at the eaves, and the ends of the building are then also covered with roof slopes, in the same way and with the same angle as the roof slopes covering the sides. The joint where the side and end roof slopes meet—on plan—forms a right angle. These junctions are

* *Chinesische Architektur*, Ernst Boerschmann, Wasmuth, Berlin, 1925.

called hips. It is this form, the hipped roof, which is almost universal in Chinese buildings, although the ends of a roof are often found with the upper half gabled and the lower half hipped. In ancient times the usual kind was the hipped roof with four straight roof slopes.

It will be remembered that this type was shown in the bas-reliefs of the Han dynasty from the Wu Liang tombs in Shantung, and there is no evidence of the building of *curved* roofs before the Northern Wei dynasty. During the latter period, however, curvilinear roofs were evidently well known, for a roof with the boldest possible sweep at its horned hips is shown on a stone relief—a stele—of this time. No actual remains of such buildings now exist because the fatal custom of constructing them in wood persisted, but there is little doubt that the roof mentioned above represented that of a Chinese building influenced by the curvilinear roofs of Indian Buddhist architecture.

The origin of the curved roof has, perhaps, aroused more controversy and given rise to more far-fetched theories than any other single feature of Chinese art. One of the most popular theories alleges that its form has persisted from the sagging curve of skin tents, the dwellings of the Chinese in a nomad stage of their history. But, apart from other objections, there is no evidence that such a nomad stage ever existed. Another theory is that the concave roof lines were built in imitation of the curving branches of pine-trees, and that the little figures of fabulous animals which ornament the hip-tiles represent squirrels running along or sitting on the branches! The pragmatist school states that roofs were gradually made at a steeper pitch so that heavy rain should drain off rapidly; at the same time they were made to project far out at the eaves in order to throw the rain-drips clear of the walls. Later, upcurved eaves had to be adopted to ensure that light and air should flow freely under them into the building. This theory is not borne out by other equally practical considerations, for roofs curve throughout their slope, not at the eaves alone, while doors and windows rarely open high up under them. The explanation is probably still simpler. Earthenware roof-tiles, though of various designs, have always had in common the one attribute of great weight. On the other hand, the rafters upon which they were laid were thin strips of wood that tended to sag under their load. This was the ancient practice both in India and China, so far as can be seen in old carvings and rock-cut reproductions of tiled roofs, and it is still the practice at the present day. A slight bending of the rafters was therefore recognized as natural in building small roofs, and in the larger it might well have been purposely exaggerated in order to obtain the pleasing effect of a more definite curve. But this exaggeration was first practised in India over five

hundred years before the Northern Wei period in China, as we see from the wall-paintings in the caves of Ajantā and in the carved reliefs at Sānchī. It seems likely, therefore, that this curvilinear form, first developing in India, became known to the Chinese, and, like many features of Indian art after the introduction of Buddhism, was in course of time assimilated.

Much has been written concerning the beauty of the architecture of the Sung dynasty, and Marco Polo, the Venetian, gives us a most fascinating description of the life and environment of the Sung capital after it had moved once again further south. He visited it near the close of the epoch, when, in the last effort to escape from their enemies, the Sung emperors had removed the Court to the beautiful city of Hang Chou. Here, in a setting of romantic loveliness, of graceful palaces reflected in still lakes, and numberless marble bridges spanning its canals, this gentle and courteous people found for a time a haven from the northern menace. But they were soon to be rudely awakened. Kublai Khan with his Mongol armies swept across China. He made Peking his capital, and the city entered on a new era of architectural magnificence.

The following is a part of Marco Polo's description of Kublai Khan's palace:

"You must know that for three months of the year the Great Kaan resides in the capital city of Cathay. . . . In that city stands his great palace, and now I will tell you what it is like.

"It is enclosed all round by a great wall forming a square, each side of which is a mile in length . . . it is also very thick and a good ten paces in height, whitewashed and loopholed all round. . . . Inside this wall there is a second. . . . In the middle of this enclosure is the Lord's Great Palace, and I will tell you what it is like.

"You must know that it is the greatest palace that ever was. The palace itself has no upper story, but is all on the ground floor. . . . The roof is very lofty, and the walls of the palace are all covered with gold and silver. They are also adorned with representations of dragons (sculptured and gilt), beasts and birds, knights and idols and sundry other subjects, and on the ceiling, too, you see nothing but gold and silver and painting. On each of these four sides there is a great marble staircase leading to the top of the marble wall and forming the approach to the palace.

"The hall of the palace is so large that it could easily dine 6,000 people; and it is quite a marvel to see how many rooms there are besides. The building is altogether so vast and so rich and so beautiful that no man on earth could design anything superior to it. The outside of the roof also is covered with vermilion and yellow and green and blue and other hues, which are fixed with a

varnish so fine and exquisite that they shine like crystal and lend a resplendent lustre to the palace as seen for a great way round. The roof is made, too, with so much strength that it is fit to last for ever.”*

The third emperor of the Ming dynasty also transferred the capital, in this case from Nanking to Peking, and endeavoured to rival the earlier splendour that city had displayed under Kublai Khan. Tyrannical despotism shows along the face of the gigantic battlemented outer walls and the vast palace enclosures. The Forbidden City and most of the monumental architecture of Peking, the brick façades enclosing mile-wide sections of the Great Wall, the imperial tombs laid out across the valleys—all owe their impressive grandeur to the dominating force and ruthless oppression of Yung-lo and despots like him. The patriotism which had fired the people to flock to the standard of a rebel Buddhist priest—the “Beggar King”—and to overwhelm the Mongols, had then raised the native dynasty to power. But the first Ming emperors soon quenched this patriotism with oppression and savage massacres designed to crush opposition to an entrenched and absolute monarchy. The vast buildings of this time call vividly to mind the blood and tears which must have dripped upon their frowning walls, but their massive timber columns still stand as if defying the attacks of time and tempest which have swept away all, or almost all, the architecture of earlier ages.

* *The Book of Marco Polo, the Venetian*, translated by Sir H. Yule. Murray.

EARTHQUAKE IN BALUCHISTAN

BY A BRITISH SURVIVOR

ON May 30, 1935, Quetta was at the height of its spring season. A week of official and private gaieties centring on the King's birthday celebrations was about to begin. Four or five hundred British civil and military officers and their womenfolk were next afternoon to meet a similar number of prominent local Indians at the annual garden party given by the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Sir Norman Cater, at the Residency, famous for its lawns and the beauty of its rose gardens. The King's birthday was to be celebrated on the Monday with a march-past befitting the second greatest military station in the British Empire; several open-air dances, including one for 400 guests at the Residency, were coming off during the next few days; polo, tennis, cricket, aquatic sports, and other activities were in full swing. The weather was of the perfection which dwellers in the highlands of Baluchistan take as a matter of course in early summer and autumn; the winter snows and spring rains had been exceptionally copious, grazing was plentiful and a bumper wheat crop was about to be harvested. Trade was improving and the influx of summer visitors from Sind and the Punjab greater than ever. Altogether, prospects in town and country were bright, and the summer season which had opened auspiciously with the Jubilee celebrations in early May, bid fair to be the happiest and most prosperous that Baluchistan had enjoyed for years.

On that fateful evening I had motored into Quetta from my headquarters at Mastung, a busy little town thirty-two miles south-west of Quetta in the territory of His Highness the Khan of Kalat. I dined with friends and went to a film, after which I returned alone to Mastung, a full hour's run over hilly country, in the dark. The Residency at Mastung is, or rather was, a long roomy bungalow embellished by two squat machicolated towers of masonry standing on a flat-topped mound above a most delectable and productive garden. Some 300 yards to the west stood the somewhat smaller bungalow of my Assistant with its garden round it. These two houses together with the offices and clerks' quarters of the Kalat Agency comprised the "civil station" of Mastung. In the spring and early summer and again in the autumn there were few pleasanter places in the Indian Empire than the garden of the Mastung Residency, and our Quetta friends usually required little persuasion to come out for the day or the week-end and spend

sunny hours bathing in the pool in the Shahi Bagh or sampling the luscious fruits and berries for which the garden was renowned.

I was the only European in Mastung that night, my Assistant and his wife having, fortunately for them, departed for the week-end that very afternoon. I remember getting into bed, dog-tired, at about a quarter to two. The next thing I knew was that I was out of bed staggering about in pitch darkness amid a terrific roaring and crashing, with one idea in my head—"Get under a doorway." This I managed to do, thus narrowly (as I found afterwards) avoiding the ceiling, which fell on the bed I had just left. The crashing stopped and for a second or two I was conscious of a distant clamour of human voices from the direction of the town, but it ceased abruptly and there was silence as of the tomb. The air was full of dust and I could scarcely breathe. In mortal fear I groped my way over broken glass and fallen wardrobes to the outer door of a sun-room which opened off the bedroom. The glazed outer door of this room was shut and bolted and the open windows were protected with strong wire gauze. I tried to open the door, but it had jammed and I was imprisoned. Somehow I managed to break and remove a pane of glass in the door, and putting my head through shouted for help. To my relief a Gurkha sentry of my guard came up. He seized my hands and pulled me through, and I stood leaning on him, so weak that I could scarcely keep my feet. Soon my servants came in the darkness from their quarters with a lantern. Their houses had partially collapsed, but none of them, mercifully, was hurt. We crept round the house at a safe distance, and by the light of the lantern saw what had happened. The place was in ruins. Nearly all of the roof and some of the inner walls had collapsed, and the rooms were nothing but heaps of bricks mixed with beams splintered to matchwood and heavy iron girders lying about like spillikins. But the verandahs and outer walls enclosing the bathrooms, dressing-rooms, and pantry were standing, except where the two heavy masonry towers had collapsed on them. This alone had saved me. The bungalow of my Assistant, on the other hand, had been, as I found later, simply flattened out by the roof settling down over the crushed walls like an extinguisher. No one sleeping in it could possibly have escaped; the watchman told me that the place was flat within about five seconds of the shock.

Clad in pyjamas, a battered Burberry and my bedroom slippers, I made my way through the garden to the clerks' lines and was much relieved to find them all safe, collected in panic-stricken groups outside their ruined houses. One had lost his wife, another a child, a third his servant. The hill on which the clerks' quarters, club, library, etc., were built seemed to have been less badly shaken than the rest of the town, of which scarcely one brick remained

above another. Forming ourselves into parties for rescue work, we who had escaped so lightly pushed on into the town. The first thing I noticed was the silence. Why were there no groups of frightened inhabitants standing about in knots? Why no shouting and excitement? Never shall I forget the horror with which I realized that there was scarcely anybody left alive to shout—the majority of the people were buried under the ruins, and the few survivors were either too dazed to make a sound or were trying to pull their folk out of the debris. The work of rescue was made no easier by the minor earthquakes which followed each other in quick succession throughout the rest of the night. Every now and again, as we frantically pulled and scraped at some pitiful bundle of clothes and tortured flesh pinned down by wall and rafter, the terrible deep thunder of earthquake would be heard again and the ground would shake and sway, sending us scuttling out into the open like bolting rabbits.

By dawn it was clear that the whole town was in ruins with fifty or sixty per cent. casualties, mostly dead. The only doctor, a Sub-assistant Surgeon, was doing what he could for the scores of injured who were being brought to him, but his instruments and medicines were buried in the ruins of his dispensary and he was desperate. The telegraph line was broken, so there was obviously nothing for it but to try and get into Quetta for help. It did not occur to any of us that the state of Quetta could be anything like that of Mastung and that help would not be immediately forthcoming. Half an hour later, accompanied by my head driver, Haji Gul Muhammad, another driver and my personal servant, I sallied forth in a battered "Baby" tourer which alone among our Government and private cars could be quickly extricated from the half-ruined garage. It took us an hour and a half to clear with pick and shovel a narrow track for the car out of Mastung and its environments, the walls and buildings having in many places fallen across the road. Everywhere was desolation. The only living beings visible were a few apathetic men and women wandering about among the ruins of their homes, and a few injured lying under the trees with no one to look after them. Five miles down the road we nearly upset into a fissure in the road; for about a mile the earth was cracked in many places, and though none of the cracks were deep we had to shovel in quantities of stones and earth before we could get the Baby across. Then came a bridge which was badly knocked about and obviously very unsafe; we had to dive into the nullah it crossed, dash the sand at the bottom and crawl up the bank on the further side, making a road for the car as we went. Then came the Lak Pass, where the roadway to our surprise had not fallen down the hillside, though we had to hug the inner ditch to avoid the cracked outer edge. The preci-

pices of Chiltan towering 4,000 feet above us were still raining down boulders, the dust from the rockfalls flying up into the heavens in great clouds which made the whole mountain smoke like a volcano. With painful anxiety we reached the top of the pass, whence Quetta is visible 15 miles away in clear weather. What were we going to see? Our worst fears were confirmed when we looked across the void and saw a huge, sinister, pale brown cloud brooding over the distant town. Never shall I forget the shape of that cloud. The morning breeze and the smoke of fires had caught it up into a peak at one end, giving the impression of an awful misshapen hand stretched over the city. We pressed on as fast as the little car would carry us along the last sixteen miles into Quetta. Any remaining hopes we might have had were dashed to the ground by the sight of the first bungalow we passed four miles out of Quetta on the Sariab road. It was nothing but a crumpled roof lying on top of a heap of bricks and broken timber, and all the other villas we passed, residences of retired officials for the most part, were the same. We made our way to the suburb in which lived Gul Muhammad's brothers. Gul shouted in Brahui to a neighbour he saw in the road. I could not understand the reply, but there was no doubt as to its nature; Gul burst into tears and I had to seize the wheel to prevent the car running into a ditch. The houses where the two families lived had been completely flattened out. Not one brick stood above another. The three men got out and went clambering over the ruins, while I sat under a tree and wept, overwhelmed with the pity and horror of it all. Under the same tree were two women and a man, apparently uninjured but dazed and beaten. They were the only survivors of a family of eighteen, in which all the children had been killed as well as some of the adults. The man with a pathetic attempt at hospitality brought a turned-up packing-case for me to sit on. I felt I ought to follow Gul over the mounds and help him with his relatives, but I simply could not face the spectacle of their sorrow. When the three men came back, they told me that Azim and Amir Bakhsh and their wives had escaped with injuries, but the former had lost two of his three little boys, including Muhammad Nur, the apple of his eye, and Amir Bakhsh all his three daughters. Promising medical assistance and food as soon as possible, I got into the car again and drove through scenes of awful desolation to the Civil Lines.

Here in shady Gymkhana and Lytton Roads hardly a house could be seen standing. Through the trees, in the midst of flower gardens and orchards, bungalow after bungalow of my colleagues of the Civil Administration lay in ruins. My relief was unbounded when I came to the big two-storied Residency and found it standing, though with porch and verandah down, and the Agent to the

Governor-General, Sir Norman Cater, standing with his Secretary and some other officers and ladies on the lawn, calm and collected though grave. Not one of them but had had the narrowest of escapes, including Sir Norman himself, who made his way out of the front door of the Residency a few seconds before the massive porch crashed. Tents had already been pitched under the great spreading planes, the nucleus of what afterwards developed into a camp for civil officials. I anxiously asked after my other friends in Civil Lines. I was told that three men, three ladies, and four small children were gone and several more were in the Civil Hospital with serious injuries. Other European casualties, including military officers and their wives and permanent residents of Quetta, were estimated at 200, including 100 deaths. The Indian death-roll was appalling, and included no less than nine officers of the Provincial Service and all except eighteen of the Quetta police force. Naturally, the Civil Administration was at a standstill, and the only possible course had been taken by the Agent to the Governor-General—namely, to hand over control to General Karslake, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Western Command—who had already declared martial law. There was evidently no possibility of immediate help from Quetta for us at Mastung, so I decided to go round the town and cantonments and see for myself what had happened and then return to my headquarters. Though prepared, I could hardly believe my eyes. In the space of a few seconds our delightful Quetta, with its leafy Civil Lines, its picturesque cosmopolitan city, its wide streets and many European shops, had been turned into a shapeless mass of debris. In broad Bruce Road, the Regent Street of Quetta, scarcely two or three of the familiar shops were recognizable. Soldiers were on guard at many points and others were clambering about the ruins on rescue work, accompanied by a few—a very few—inhabitants. That was what struck me most forcibly. In this erstwhile swarming city, at the busiest time of day, only handfuls of people here and there could be seen. The rest were all there, lying under the mounds of bricks. By a tragic chance the night had been unusually cold for the time of the year, and instead of sleeping out of doors as they would ordinarily have done, the large majority of the inhabitants had been in their houses when the shock came; hence the incredibly high mortality.

I learned something on that day of the magnificent work of rescue and relief that the soldiers had begun almost before the dust of the crash had settled, but it was not till some days later that I heard the whole story. Although the destruction in the Royal Air Force Lines and among the bungalows of military officers nearest the Civil Lines was as complete as in the city, the great majority of the houses and barracks in cantonments escaped

and there were comparatively few casualties. This is believed to be due to the fact that the cantonments stand on higher ground with a much deeper water-level than the City and Civil Lines; whereas the soil under the latter is alluvial and in some places almost water-logged, that under cantonments is dry to a great depth. To this fact not only the soldiers but hundreds and possibly thousands of civilian survivors owe their lives. Without the resources at the disposal of the military authorities there is no doubt that hundreds of injured persons would have succumbed and thousands more would have been faced by starvation and epidemic disease. As it was, within 45 minutes of the disaster British and Indian soldiers were engaged in rescue work in the Civil Lines and city. Fires which had broken out in various parts of the town were quickly brought under control. These would undoubtedly have been far more numerous and serious had it not been for the pluck and presence of mind of the mechanic in charge of the Quetta Power House, who, while the earth was still shaking and the building was in danger of imminent collapse, went and switched off the current at the main. Communication with the Government of India was quickly established by military wireless, and within a few hours numbers of nurses, medical stores, and doctors were on their way to Quetta by special train and aeroplane from various stations in the Punjab and Sind. By another most merciful dispensation the main railway line to India was not damaged even in the narrow and dangerous Bolan Pass. General Karslake's headquarters were established on the lawn of the Club, and dressing-stations were functioning long before break of dawn. By 8 o'clock in the morning the whole town had been divided systematically into areas for relief work, and the injured were being taken from dressing-stations to the British and Indian military hospitals. Within the first twenty-four hours, I believe, over 4,000 injured were treated by the military hospitals; the Civil Hospital and that of the Church Missionary Society had been wiped out, with hundreds of deaths among patients and staff. Refugee camps were established on the racecourse, where some 10,000 survivors were shepherded by troops and accommodated in tents supplied by the military authorities. Although the Royal Air Force barracks had been destroyed with fifty-two British personnel killed and only six machines intact, aeroplanes were in the air soon after sunrise and flew over Chaman, Ziarat, Loralai, Mach, and other outlying stations to ascertain whether help was required. By 3 p.m. the work of disposing of thousands of dead by burial (or, in the case of Hindus, by burning) had been begun by numerous working parties at points outside the city. Eye-witnesses of the horror of the scene bear testimony to the reverence and care with which these gruesome tasks were performed.

I and my three companions arrived back at Mastung in the Baby car at about 5 p.m. I was joined that night by my Assistant, Captain Bazalgette, and right glad was I of his company in my tent in the rose garden, which was to be our home for the next few weeks. The evening and night were punctuated by earthquakes of varying degrees of noise and violence, and my nerves were not in a state to enjoy these alone in the dark. The next few days were spent by us working at fever heat in co-operation with the surviving Kalat State officials to convert chaos into some sort of order. We found that some 1,125 persons had been killed in and around Mastung alone, and another 2,000 in the rest of the earthquake area of the Kalat State. The bulk of the survivors needed only encouragement and what little assistance we could give them in the burying and burning of their dead and in the salvage of their property. All, Hindu traders and Muhammadan agriculturists alike, worked with remarkable energy after the first shock had passed off. But hundreds were severely injured, and as I have already said there was only one small dispensary with an Indian doctor in charge to look after them. Hundreds more were destitute and had to be fed and sheltered. Last but not least, Mastung and other bazars had to be protected by reinforcements of frontier militia, brought from far-off posts on the Afghan and Persian borders, against the marauding bands which roamed around the countryside. We did our best, but our resources were quite insufficient to cope with the situation, and had it not been for the prompt response of the military authorities at Quetta, the plight of Mastung and neighbouring villages from Kanak in the north to Mangochar in the south, a distance of some 58 miles by road, would have been sorry indeed. The third day after the catastrophe I drove into Quetta again, and, at one of the daily conferences of military and civil authorities on the Club lawn, made an impassioned appeal for help. Within two days a voluntary medical unit from the Punjab arrived and started a camp hospital in the Shahi Bagh. They were closely followed by two gallant lady volunteers from Quetta, who began at once to tour the villages with stretcher-parties bringing in injured women and children. A zenana hospital to deal with these latter cases was improvised in another part of the State garden, and other volunteers came out to help in it. Shortly afterwards a field ambulance from Waziristan arrived with 23 lorries and took over the hospital, freeing the volunteer doctors to work in the villages and attend to the disorganized sanitation of Mastung. Meanwhile large quantities of flour and other Indian rations were being received from the Military Supply Depôt at Quetta and distributed to Government and State employees, to the patients and staff in the hospitals, and through shopkeepers to the population, many

of whom would otherwise have starved, as their stocks of flour were still buried and none of the water-mills were in action. Communication was maintained with Quetta through a military wireless detachment which set up its aerials in the garden. The Mastung drinking-water supply was with considerable difficulty restored by the Royal Engineers, who also repaired the damage to the Quetta-Kalat road and culverts thereon, with the result that the daily postal lorry service was running again within ten days of the earthquake.

To return to Quetta. Within the space at my disposal it is out of the question to do more than indicate the complexity of the problems which the civil and military authorities had to face. First and foremost of these was the prevention of epidemic disease on a large scale. This was ensured by the drastic but effective method of evacuating the bulk of the surviving inhabitants, including about 1,000 Europeans and some 20,000 Indians. In addition to the thousands of corpses buried or burned by the soldiers or by their own relatives, and apart from about 3,000 dead in the rural area of the Quetta district, at least 16,000 men, women, and children are believed to lie buried under the debris of the town at the present moment. For sanitary reasons and in order to prevent looting of private property the city was completely cleared of inhabitants and "sealed" on June 2. Ten thousand refugees were accommodated in an immense camp on the polo grounds and race course, and arrangements made by the military authorities for its rationing and sanitation. Rescue and salvage work by troops in the sealed area continued until June 4, but had then to be abandoned owing to the appalling stench. Control of the earthquake zone outside the cantonments was handed over to the Civil Administration at the beginning of July, and large reinforcements of police from the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province have since guarded the sealed area. In the interests of the public health it has not yet been found possible to commence site-clearing and salvage operations in the more densely populated wards, but more than 600 bodies in different stages of decomposition have been removed and buried during the last few weeks by a devoted band of Indian Boy Scouts from the Punjab, many of them youths of high caste. In the rural areas of Quetta district and the Kalat State relief work has taken the shape of financial assistance in the reconstruction of damaged "karezes" (subterranean water channels and water-mills), materials for the construction of earthquake-proof huts and cottages, and remissions of land revenue and agricultural loans running into lakhs of rupees. For the financing of these schemes and in the interests of the thousands of destitute survivors, both in Baluchistan and in India proper, an elaborate organization has been built up for the administration of the vast

sums so generously subscribed not only in India and England, but all over the world, to the Viceroy's Relief Fund, which amounts at the time of writing to nearly 36 lakhs of rupees (£270,680). As for Quetta, it has not yet been decided where and to what extent it will be rebuilt. All depends upon the decision as to future military policy. The headquarters of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Western Command, and of No. 3 (Indian) Wing, Royal Air Force, have already been transferred to Karachi, and it is unlikely that the Quetta garrison will be retained at its present strength, at any rate during the next few years. The indications, however, are that the city and Civil Lines, if not the cantonments, will be rebuilt on an earthquake-proof basis on the same site as before, and that it will not be necessary to wait for a generation until gardens and shade trees have grown up to compare with those existing in ruined Quetta.

A word in conclusion as to the scientific aspect of the catastrophe. At Mastung I had the pleasure of a visit from Mr. W. D. West, of the Geological Survey of India, who was sent from Simla on special duty for investigation in the earthquake area. We collected a considerable amount of information from outlying villages and isolated settlements among the hills, from which Mr. West estimated the epicentral area at 70 miles long by 15 miles wide lying along a narrow belt from Quetta south-west through Mastung to a point half-way between Mastung and Kalat. The imposing massif of Chiltan, 10,850 feet high, which dominates the landscape between Quetta and Mastung, appears to have been immediately above the northern end of the epicentral line. The vast clouds of dust which flew upwards from the sides of this mountain for hours both after the main earthquake and after that of June 2, 1935, gave rise to a widespread belief that Chiltan had been split in two by volcanic forces, and its black forbidding precipices present now a remarkable appearance, scarred and whitened by the millions of tons of rock-debris that rained off them. In his report, published on August 13, Mr. West says that the most striking feature of the earthquake was that it lasted probably less than half a minute, during which time the ground was "viciously shaken in a horizontal plane at a high speed." One of the villagers I interrogated graphically described it as "like a dog worrying a rat."

A remarkable phenomenon in which my expert friend was much interested was a crack in the earth, 70 miles long, which starts from the southern foothills of Chiltan, passes within two miles of Mastung and can be traced the whole way to Kalat. Mr. West says that this is merely a fissuring of the alluvium and does not extend to the underlying rocks; but it must be directly connected with the main shock, for it is throughout its length exactly above the epicentral line of the earthquake. Another curiosity is a

“mud volcano” which we were shown by the local people 20 miles south of Kalat. There is a spring and the shrine of a local saint at a wild spot called Thok near the foot of the precipitous Harboi range. Shepherds watching their flocks nearby said that a small hill split into two with a tremendous roar during the night of May 30-31. At the same moment a violent shock destroyed the shrine buildings, killing fourteen out of seventeen people sleeping in them. When dawn broke, clouds of smoke (probably water vapour) were seen rising from the hills and great quantities of boiling mud flowing out over the surrounding country. This went on until midday and then stopped. When we visited the place the greyish-blue mud had cooled and hardened like lava, forming a deposit from 2 to 8 feet thick over an area of about 300 by 400 yards.

Mr. West's explanation of the Baluchistan earthquakes, of which this one is the fifth in forty-three years, is extremely interesting. Central Asia, it seems, has during comparatively recent times been moving south towards the Indian peninsula, which is a very old and stable part of the earth's crust. The mountains of Baluchistan form the western extremity of a belt of unstable mountains, which, together with the alluvial plains of the Indus and the Ganges, are gradually being squeezed and crumpled as in the jaws of a vice. Stresses and strains are thus set up, and every now and then the rocks yield by fracturing. But the position in Baluchistan is peculiar. A glance at the map will show that there is in the alignment of the mountains a very marked re-entrant angle, running up through Sibi to near Quetta. The epicentre of the first of the two earthquakes of August, 1931, was immediately to the north-east of this salient, that of the second and severer shock within it, and that of last May's earthquake immediately to the west of it. Now the mountains of Baluchistan are being pushed slowly south-eastwards in folds “in the way that a person might push the cloth of a table horizontally, causing the cloth to pucker up into long folds in front of his hand.” The Sibi re-entrant, Mr. West says, is probably caused by a wedge-like promontory of peninsular India which extends under the alluvium of Sind and holds up the free movement of the mountain folds. Hence the comparative frequency of earthquakes in this area.

THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION: THE GOVERNORSHIPS

BY SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD, K.C.I.E.

THE Government of India Act has been put on the Statute Book, and it is time to form an estimate of the immediate effect of that legislation and the probable course of events in the near future and to make some constructive suggestions. It is idle to deny that Indians are seriously disappointed, and it is a delusion to think that the severe condemnation that some of the provisions of the Act has evoked from political parties in India need not be taken at its face value, and that Indians will soon feel satisfied and will settle down to work the new Constitution contentedly. High hopes had been raised by the declaration of Lord Irwin of November, 1929, regarding Dominion Status and the summoning of the Round-Table Conference, but the White Paper fell far short of the expectations raised, the Bill had more safeguards than the White Paper, the report of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee carried them further, and the Act has made the reservations still stronger in certain respects. No suggestion of any importance pressed in the Joint Memorandum presented by the united Indian delegates—Moslems, Hindus, and others, headed by H.H. the Aga Khan—was accepted.

It must be admitted that there is considerable advance over the present state of things as regards the provinces, but the wide, special powers conferred on the Governor-General regarding finance and other subjects, the stringent commercial safeguards, the recruitment, conditions of service, and control of the Services being still vested in the Secretary of State, greatly qualify responsible government at the centre. No Constitution can work smoothly unless there is mutual goodwill and confidence. The Act will be worked, but it is too much to expect that it will be worked contentedly so as to produce the best results. The fact has to be reckoned with that goodwill has been unfortunately replaced by bitterness. This situation is, I am sure, much regretted by responsible people both in India and England; for it must be acknowledged that India has profited in many ways by the British connection. The ideas of national solidarity and the ardent desire for freedom and liberty that are manifest all over the country have their origin largely in that connection.

The genuine goodwill in the Indian mind towards England was evidenced at the time of the Great War by the spontaneous

support that India gave to England, both in men and money. It will be remembered how Mr. Gandhi worked hard for recruitment of Indians for the War. It should be the earnest effort of both countries to restore mutual confidence and goodwill. The way to do this is for those who will go out to India as Viceroys and Governors so to work the Constitution and exercise their powers as to demonstrate that England genuinely wishes to help and not hamper India in attaining real responsible self-government. His Majesty's Government should see to it that those high functionaries act throughout in that spirit.

In order to ensure this and to give a clear indication in that direction, His Majesty's Government should, I think, make a decided change in the present system of appointments to the Governorships of the provinces. Barring the rule of the three Presidencies, the Governorships are filled by members of the permanent Civil Service. The Civil Service is a very efficient administrative machine, and from personal experience, gathered as a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay and in other capacities, I have formed a very high opinion of their work. It is, however, to my mind inconsistent with the basic principle underlying the new Constitution to place the members of the Civil Service in a position to determine and guide policy in view of their outlook and tradition as a part of the permanent administrative machine. A Butler or a Hailey who can get out of the Civil Service skin and can in a measure have a broad outlook is produced rarely. If His Majesty's Government can gather courage and take the bold step of filling the Governorships of all provinces by highly qualified and outstanding men taken from public life in England and India, they will do a great deal to restore confidence.

The first elections under the new Constitution, both in the provinces and the centre, will, I am sure, bring to the legislatures members who will reflect the grave dissatisfaction in the country, and it will be no surprise to me if obstructive tactics are adopted. Everything will depend upon how the Governors and the Governor-General act under those circumstances. If they act tactfully and do not hamper or retard the progress of real self-government, the popular representatives will soon become helpful associates working with a real sense of responsibility. It is a happy augury that Lord Linlithgow is to follow Lord Willingdon. His somewhat intimate knowledge of India, specially rural India, and the insight into the Indian situation acquired as chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, should help him to take the right line of action in handling the delicate and difficult situation that exists in the relations between the two countries.

THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION: AN INDIAN APPRECIATION

By K. KURIYAN

WHEN on August 2 last the India Bill received the Royal Assent and passed from project to enactment there was placed upon the Statute Book what is perhaps the most consequential constitutional measure that it has ever been the responsibility of the British Parliament to frame. The new Act, by providing for the governance, under the ægis of the Crown, of the Indian sub-continent peopled by about a fifth of the human race, is seeking to preserve and strengthen the century-old union between Britain and a great Eastern country. The India Statute of 1935 is therefore significant not only as a further important stage in the evolution of the British Empire but also as a momentous essay in co-operation between the East and the West.

The formidable task of revising the transitional Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution of 1919 with a view to accelerating the progressive realization of self-government by India as an integral part of the Empire had been under close and continuous study for nearly eight years. The various stages in this study were as follows:

1. Preliminary investigation of the problem by the Royal (Simon) Commission which reported in May, 1930.
2. Sessions of the Round-Table Conference of representatives of Great Britain, British India, and the Indian states.
3. The historic White Paper containing the detailed proposals of the British Government for the new Indian Constitution based upon the greatest common measure of agreement reached in the Round-Table consultations (March, 1932).
4. Joint Parliamentary Select Committee's report approving the main principles of the White Paper (October, 1934).
5. Prolonged discussion of the India Bill in Parliament.

The existing Government of *British India* is predominantly bureaucratic in character. Under it the Central Executive is responsible only to Parliament (through the Secretary of State for India) and therefore to British public opinion. There is thus no "responsibility" in the Central Government of India. In the provinces, under the system of divided responsibility known as "dyarchy," the Executives are responsible in certain matters, but not in others, to the provincial Legislatures. In addition to British India thus administered, comprising an area of some

820,000 square miles and with a population of about 260 millions, there are nearly 600 Indian states enjoying varying degrees of internal sovereignty, with a total area of about 700,000 square miles and a population of about 80 millions. The system of government prevailing in these states can perhaps be best described as benevolent, but autocratic.

The new Government of India Act, on the other hand, is based upon three totally different principles. These principles are: All-India Federation, Provincial Autonomy, and Responsibility with Safeguards at the Federal Centre. The Act provides for the setting up of an All-India Federation linking together eleven British Indian provinces and such Indian states as are prepared to enter the Federation by the voluntary act of their Rulers. The establishment of the Federation is dependent on the accession of states containing not less than half the total states' population and entitled to fill at least half the seats provided for states' representatives in the Federal Upper House. No change is made in the integral régime of the states nor in the relationship between their Rulers and the Crown outside the Federal sphere.

Both at the Federal Centre and in the provinces Government will be formed of Ministers responsible to the Legislatures. Three Federal subjects—Defence, External Affairs, and Ecclesiastical Affairs—are reserved for administration by the Governor-General. In all other matters the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors, as Executive Heads of Government, will act on the advice of Ministers so long as they are satisfied that to do so does not conflict with certain special responsibilities now statutorily imposed upon them. These responsibilities include such matters as the prevention of any grave menace to peace and tranquillity, the safeguarding of Federal financial stability and credit, the protection of the legitimate interests of minorities, and of the Public Services.

Generally speaking, both in the provinces and with certain reservations in the Federal Centre, there will therefore be a system of "Parliamentary" Government except when circumstances call for the exercise of extraordinary powers.

The Legislature of a province will consist of His Majesty (represented by the Governor) and a Legislative Assembly. The total electorate for all the Legislative Assemblies in British India will be about 36 millions, including six million women—*i.e.*, 14 per cent. as compared with the present 3 per cent. of the total population of British India, or 43 per cent. of the adult male population. This high proportion of women voters for an Eastern country is noteworthy, especially in view of the fact that there are still countries in Western Europe—*e.g.*, France and Switzerland—where women do not possess the vote. In six of the

provinces (Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar, and Assam) there will also be an Upper House of the Legislature—the Legislative Council.

The Federal Legislature will consist of His Majesty (represented by the Governor-General) and a Council of State (Upper House) elected on a limited franchise and a Federal Assembly indirectly elected by the Provincial Assemblies. These two chambers will also contain representatives of the Indian states nominated by their respective Rulers.

A quota of seats is ensured to the various minorities (Mohammedans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, etc.), to special interests and to women in all the Assemblies.

Burma is separated from India, but is given a Constitution of its own.

Such in brief outline are the essential features of the India Bill which has just become law. It may be expected that the first elections in British India under the new Constitution will be held in the autumn of 1936, in which case it should be possible to inaugurate the new Legislatures by the beginning of 1937. On the other hand, since the establishment of the Federation is conditional upon the voluntary accession of a prescribed proportion of the states, it seems only natural to suppose that some considerable time will have to elapse before the full Federal machinery can begin to function.

There remains the all-important question: Is the Constitution going to work? It is true that a section of the Conservative Party in England carried on a vigorous campaign outside Parliament against the new Constitution on the ground that it was going too far in the direction of surrendering power to India. At the same time certain Indian nationalists have shown hostility to it on precisely the opposite ground—viz., that it is not going far enough! Between die-hardism in Britain and extremism in India, however, it is encouraging to find that moderate opinion representing the vast majority of people in both countries is becoming increasingly willing to bury the controversies of the past and give the fateful experiment a chance to prove its worth. In view of this sign of goodwill on both sides and the really substantial transfer of power to Indians that the new Government of India Act will be found to involve in practice, I for one have no hesitation in answering the above question in the affirmative.

September 14, 1935.

BROADCASTING AND INDIA'S FUTURE

I

THE PESHAWAR RURAL BROADCASTING EXPERIMENT

BY LIEUT-COLONEL H. R. HARDINGE, I.A. (RETD.)

(A Representative of the Marconi Company in India)

THAT Peshawar in the North-West Frontier Province of India was destined to be the first official Indian rural broadcasting centre never occurred to the Indian Village Welfare Association, when, in May of 1933, that Association distributed widely to officials and non-officials interested in the work of rural reconstruction in India its pamphlet entitled *A Scheme for Rural Broadcasting in India*. Fortified by the offer of the loan of a small transmitter by the British Broadcasting Corporation and at a later date by a similar offer of twenty-five village community receiving equipments by the Gramophone Co., Ltd., in co-operation with the Marconi Company, it was confidently anticipated that Mr. F. L. Brayne, M.C., I.C.S., Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction in the Punjab, would be the first to adopt broadcasting as the only practicable means of bridging the great distances separating urban and rural India, and of thus inaugurating daily programmes of village entertainment lightly leavened with short talks of a simple and homely nature, suggesting to the peasantry the desirability of adopting better methods of sanitation, prevention of disease, child welfare, agriculture, thrift, and any other subject that might contribute to the ultimate object of increasing the health, wealth, and happiness of the rural population.

Nevertheless, thanks to the initiative displayed by the Government of the North-West Frontier Province, the enterprise of the Marconi Company in lending for one year a suitable transmitter of the most up-to-date design and installing it largely at their own expense, and also of the Gramophone Company, by whom fifteen village receiving equipments have been provided free for a like period, not to mention the active assistance of the Director of Agriculture and other officials and non-officials of the North-West Frontier Province who are largely responsible for the success of the scheme, that province now can boast of being the first provincial government to demonstrate what broadcasting can do for the villager. It is noteworthy that he greatly appreciates this boon, but before describing some of the results so far recorded it will be of interest to consider in some detail how this has been brought about.

The Peshawar rural broadcasting station is housed in a wing of the Civil Secretariat building at Peshawar, illustrated in Fig. 1.

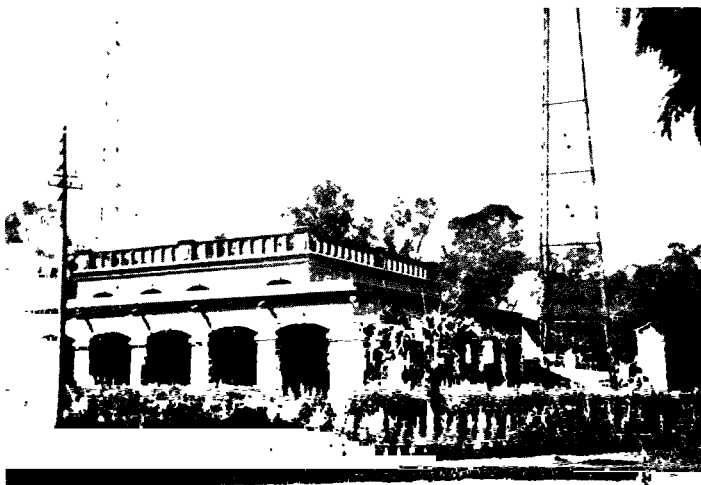


FIG. 1.—PESHAWAR BROADCASTING STATION.



FIG. 2.—HUJRA (GUEST HOUSE) OF KHAN OF SHABKADAR.



FIG. 3 —INTERIOR OF HUJRA OF KHAN OF TARKAI.

N.W.F. PROVINCE BROADCASTING



FIG. 4.—DISPOSITION OF RECEIVER, ETC.,
IN THE HUJRA OF KHAN OF CHAMKANNI.



FIG. 5.—H.E. THE GOVERNOR OF THE N.W.F.P. AT CHAMKANNI
TO HEAR TEST TRANSMISSION.

Two lattice steel towers, 115 feet in height, support the quarter-wave vertical aerial. The transmitter is a Marconi Broadcast Relay Transmitter, type B.R.1c. In the design of this transmitter, special care has been taken to ensure a transmitting frequency of an exceptionally high constancy and such simplicity of adjustment and control that it can be left in the care of an attendant whose time is mainly occupied with other duties. No running machinery of any kind is used in the transmitter, which is a self-contained equipment designed for direct operation from a three-phase supply. The frequency control system consists of a valve oscillator which is self-correcting for variations of anode voltage supply, filament heating, and change of temperature. The power in the various circuits of the transmitter is approximately 250 watts to the aerial system, 400 watts to the power magnifier, and 800 watts for filament lighting, the total energy required to operate the set at full load from the three-phase supply being approximately 5 kilowatts. A wavelength of 200 metres was chosen for the rural service.

The installation of the transmitter, with its aerial and earth systems, controls and studio gear, with the help of the willing but unskilled labour available, demanded incessant supervision on the part of those responsible. Perhaps as good an example as any of the difficulties that had to be overcome, and they were many, is that of the alleged tinsmith called in to make soldered joints, who produced a large and rusty chunk of iron at the end of a rod with which to operate. The normal method of soldering practised in all but the more advanced parts of India is to heat such a weapon until, laid against the tin or whatever is to be soldered, sheer excess of heat compels the solder to run, very messily as a rule and partly where it is wanted, but largely where it is not. However, the average Indian is quick to adapt himself to new and improved methods if he can be convinced that the result is a saving of labour (time is usually of no account), and the advantages of an electric soldering iron were soon appreciated. Much credit is due to the Marconi Company's engineer who was in charge of this work of installing the transmitter for the resourcefulness displayed by him in successfully overcoming all obstacles.

A battery charging plant has been installed in the verandah outside, enclosed by means of expanded metal screens. Here the accumulators intended for use with the village community receivers are charged from a motor-generator run off the electric supply and delivering up to 80 amperes of charging current at 15 volts through a suitable switchboard and overhead bus bars to which the village batteries are connected. A log is kept of each battery, and special precautions are taken to make due allowance for the excessive variations in temperature, which in Peshawar range between several degrees of frost in the winter months to 120° F. and over

in the summer. These batteries are transported to and from the villages in a service car or rubber-tyred bullock carts, their otherwise rapid deterioration on account of the bad roads over which they have on occasion to travel being thus considerably reduced.

While the Peshawar broadcasting service is under the control of the Director of Agriculture and Broadcasting, North-West Frontier Province, the arduous duties of framing the programmes and directing the broadcasting thereof at the appointed time is the special responsibility of the Broadcasting Officer, a young *Pathan*, who on the one hand is a graduate of an English University, and on the other has a thorough understanding of and sympathy with his *Pathan* kinsfolk, in the amelioration of whose conditions of life he takes a wholehearted interest. From the commencement the programmes he has framed have met with general approval, and the ability, tact, and enthusiasm which he is putting into his job augurs well for the success of broadcasting in the North-West Frontier Province.

Test transmissions commenced early in February, with surprisingly encouraging results. With only 250 watts in the aerial, reception at good strength and excellent clarity was reported from numerous distant places. By the time that the station was ready for regular service, a number of such reports had been received, of which the following extracts will be of interest:

Gurdaspur, Punjab (260 miles): "Tonight your signal strength was a steady R6, increasing to R7 by the time you closed down at 10 p.m. . . . Modulation excellent. Intelligibility 100 per cent. . . . No studio resonance, the whole transmission being very good."

Lahore, Punjab (230 miles): ". . . Reception was perfect."

Quetta, Baluchistan (390 miles): "Reception absolutely perfect, volume continuously R8. . . . Speech of the announcer particularly clear and crisp."

Jullundur, Punjab (285 miles): "I congratulate you on your wonderful success. . . . The music came through so loud I had to reduce the volume to half. Every word you uttered was very clear."

Naini Tal, United Provinces (560 miles): "The voice was exceptionally distinct, and the records and recitation from Burns were also very good; in fact, we danced to one of the records."

Nowshera, N.-W.F.P. (30 miles): "Your transmissions are of excellent quality. . . . We were pleased to know that your transmissions were picked up at Quetta and Simla (370 miles). It is remarkable that Lahore was able to receive you on a two-valve set."

In the meantime sufficient 12-volt accumulators with which to service the village receivers had been assembled locally in creosoted wooden crates, necessary connections being made to the socket attached to each to permit of the connection of the battery to the receiver by way of the flexible lead and three-pin, non-reversible plug attached to each village receiver, with the object of rendering the change-over of batteries quite simple for an entirely unskilled person. This proved to be a lengthy and troublesome job which in due course will be obviated by the supply of suitable batteries with socket incorporated by the accumulator manufacturers. The fifteen community receivers and loud-speakers had to be unpacked, tested, in some cases readjusted or minor repairs effected, they having received much rough handling in course of transit from England to Peshawar. Aerial and earth material was collected, and a preliminary survey made to determine the most suitable manner in which to install the village receivers having regard to the conditions prevailing.

The village community receiver was specially designed for the purpose and is being produced by the Gramophone Co., Ltd., in co-operation with Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Co., Ltd. The special considerations necessary to produce a radio receiver which will operate satisfactorily in hot and humid climates have been thoroughly dealt with in this new model, which is built throughout to a tropical specification and is not merely an adaptation to fit tropical conditions. Designated the Model 207 Community Receiver, it is designed for use in villages and to give consistent trouble-free operation. It consists of two simple units, the radio set and the loud-speaker, is quickly and easily installed, and operates entirely from a 12-volt accumulator. The undistorted output of 6 watts is sufficiently generous to ensure good volume even in the open air. Both receiver and loud-speaker cabinets are of well-seasoned teak. All the joints are made with special heat- and moisture-resisting glue, and are tongued, grooved, and pinned. The lid is made absolutely water- and insect-proof by means of a hemp gasket impregnated with mercuric chloride, beeswax, and pine tar. Similar gaskets are fitted round the control board inside the cabinet and round the knob spindles where they emerge from the control board. The whole of the inside of the cabinets is treated with special insect-resisting varnish containing hydrarg. perchlor. and creosote. A breather is fitted to the receiver cabinet which takes the form of a silica gel filter, thus ensuring that the air inside the receiver is perfectly dry at all times. The lid of the receiver is fitted with a Yale lock to prevent unauthorized persons from interfering with the controls, another Yale key operating the on-off switch, while a red pilot light immediately above the switch indicates when the receiver is on. The plugs at the end of the

receiver are non-interchangeable and cannot be withdrawn once the lid is closed and locked. It is intended that the key of the receiver cabinet, covering the controls, shall remain in the charge of the maintenance staff, the switch key only being handed over to the person made responsible for operating the receiver. In order to ensure long valve life and to prevent damage due to shock, the whole of the radio chassis is mounted on steel springs. All coils and wire-wound components are triple-impregnated against moisture and insects or are completely sealed with compound into metal containers. The wiring is carried out in special tropical rubber-covered wire and all soldered joints are lacquered to prevent corrosion. A neon type aerial discharger is incorporated. The permanent magnet loud-speaker is fitted with cone and coil which are specially treated to withstand humidity and attack by insects. All the metal parts have anti-corrosion finish.

The installation of community receivers in the villages presented a number of difficulties. Those to the north-west of Peshawar were situated in an area in which an armed escort is insisted upon by the local authorities. At some places considerable suspicion was shown as to our intentions, two questions asked among many such being as to whether we proposed installing the village receivers in order that we could listen to what the villagers were saying, or whether the intention was to enable us to communicate with our aeroplanes. Complete ignorance of broadcasting and what the installation of a receiver involved gave us considerable trouble in the first few instances, and when we wanted to climb roofs in order to examine the general lay-out of the village and subsequently to erect an aerial, we were suspected of wishing to peer into the houses of neighbours and so violate the *purdah* of their womenfolk. The first test transmissions of *Pathan* speech, song, and music soon cleared the air, however, and willing helpers were then readily forthcoming, while the hospitality shown by the naturally large-hearted *Pathan* frontiersman was at times positively embarrassing. He never seemed to quite understand that we were out to do a job of work and could not spend most of our visit seated on *charpoys* or in the well-appointed house of the local *Khan* (chieftain) eating, drinking, and gossiping. Nevertheless, the situation was not without its anxious moments, notably when we visited Utmanzai, the "home town" of Abdul Ghafur Khan, leader of the famous "Red Shirts," and at the moment in gaol, in order to install a set there. We found that only a few hours before our arrival there had been a regular battle in the village between the police and two most notorious outlaws, who had been surrounded during the night, but, armed with automatics, had killed one police inspector and seriously wounded another before they were finally captured. Possibly the idea of

some free entertainment was welcomed after a disturbed night, and nothing untoward happened.

The plan adopted was to install the loud-speaker as near to the centre of the village and as high as possible. This consideration was limited by the necessity of finding a suitable person willing to have the receiver placed in his house, and both willing and competent to undertake the daily switching on and off of the set at the appointed time. In a number of cases the most suitable place proved to be a *hujra* (private residence with large enclosed courtyard, usually fortified) of a *Khan*, while in some villages the school premises, or rural uplift centre where one already existed, was found to be most suitable. Fig. 2 shows the *hujra* of a well-to-do *Khan*, with the masts supporting the aerial erected on the flat roof, and the loud-speaker, protected from sun and rain by a small pent top, near to the left-hand mast, the receiver being placed in the room below. This was at Shabkadar, towards the Mohmand border. Fig. 3 shows the inside of a typical *hujra*, taken from the steps of the *Khan's* house at Tarkal not far from the main road between Peshawar and Jamrud and some seven miles only from the latter place. Fig. 4 is a close-up in a less pretentious *hujra* at the village of Chamkanni to the south-east of Peshawar, showing the normal method of installation adopted wherever possible.

Bamboo masts have been used to support the aerial, in most cases these being erected on the roof of the selected building (all the houses have flat-topped roofs in this part of India), but in some cases we had to erect the masts on an adjoining plot of ground, sinking two tubular steel telegraph pole sections nearly 3 feet in the ground with 5 or 6 feet thereof above ground level, and wedging a couple of feet of the lower ends of the bamboo masts into these. In no case was it found necessary to stay these masts, the aerial having a "top" of some 25 feet only and a total length of from 50 to 60 feet, the bamboos used having an average length of 23 feet. The earth connection consisted of a bare copper wire of about the same length and buried in a shallow trench parallel to the aerial, the idea being that during the intensely dry period of the hot weather, when earth resistance would be very high, this wire would serve as a counterpoise. After some experience it was found possible to complete an installation from the time of arrival at site to the tuning in of the test transmission within $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours.

The effect of the first test transmissions to the villages was remarkable. We made it a rule to have a two-minute tuning note, followed by a very brief address by the station announcer at Peshawar in *Pushtu*, explaining the object of the rural broadcasting scheme and what might be expected of it when the

regular service commenced, followed by one or two gramophone records of *Pathan* music and singing. The writer repeatedly watched from the roof-top, alongside the loud-speaker, the effect produced. In every direction, to a distance of 200 yards and more (which in most cases included the whole village), the women and children were seen coming up on their roof-tops, which are used for sitting out in the evenings all over this part of the country. At the same time, the men and youths came swarming up the lanes towards the spot where the loud-speaker was installed. In fact, the tuning note, with an output of 6 watts, sounded like a siren and had that effect. Then followed the programme, and we were repeatedly assured that every word could be clearly heard up to, in some cases, as much as 200 yards from the loud-speaker. Fig. 5 shows the crowd assembled at Chamkanni on the occasion of the visit of His Excellency the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province to that village to learn for himself the effect of such a test transmission. His host, a red-bearded *Khan*, whose son and grandson are serving in the Indian Army, is not in the picture, as at the moment it was taken he was busily engaged in supervising the preparation of a very substantial "afternoon tea" of grilled chicken, curried quail with peas, hot buttered wheaten cakes, and other delicacies. His Excellency is seen seated in the left foreground.

The service was formally declared open by His Excellency the Governor on March 6, 1935, at 6.30 p.m. The following extract from the *Khyber Mail* of March 10 will best describe this auspicious event, while the extracts from the Indian Press which follow testify to the success of the service, and illustrate the plan upon which the programmes are framed :

" 'Astri mushi—salaam Alikum!' said His Excellency the Governor in his inaugural speech on the opening of the Peshawar Rural Broadcasting Station on Wednesday last. Though His Excellency spoke from the studio, his audience was scattered throughout the Peshawar District where receivers had been installed. A special *shamiana* had been erected in the Civil Secretariat gardens on the lawn opposite the Broadcasting Office. Here Government officials, members of the Legislative Council, and representatives of the public and Press sat facing a receiver. His Excellency spoke in fluent *Pushtu*. He emphasized the educative value of broadcasting, which had been introduced by the Government of the North-West Frontier Province as an experiment. He described the nature and diversity of the programmes, which would cover education, sanitation, health, farming, and other rural topics. Sir Ralph Griffith hoped that these would result

in improving the economic and general conditions of the *Pathan* villagers. . . .”

From *The Statesman* of March 15, 1935 :

“Encouraging reports of the satisfactory results of the Peshawar rural broadcasting service are pouring in at the office of the Director of Broadcasting, Peshawar, from the various villages in which receivers have been installed, and numerous requests for extension of the service to other villages in Peshawar and other districts of the Frontier have already been made by members of the Frontier Council. The first week's programme included discourses by Colonel Noel, the Director of Agriculture, on practical improvement in methods with a view to increasing the economic value of produce. The public was greatly responsive to the suggestions made from headquarters. Reports have also been received that the Peshawar broadcast was listened to with unusual interest at Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Bhopal, Quetta, and Chitral, where every word transmitted could be heard clearly. The *Pathan* folk-dance music was greatly appreciated, affording relief from jazz on the one hand and classical music on the other. It is felt that the present programmes are short, and it will be necessary to extend the time to cater for a bigger circle of listeners. The urban section urges that the programme which at present caters for the rural areas alone should be made comprehensive enough to interest the cities.”

From *The Statesman* of March 27, 1935 :

“Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahim, Deputy President of the North-West Frontier Province Legislative Council, has tabled a motion for a cut of Rs. 5 in the grant for the Miscellaneous and Scientific Department in order to point out the inadequacy of funds allotted for broadcasting. Members belonging to different parties in the Council are also submitting a petition to the Governor-in-Council to urge the Government of India to allot a substantial amount to the Province from Rs. 22 lakhs set apart by them for broadcasting.”

There is no doubt at all that, properly devised and rendered under a sympathetic and understanding control, these rural broadcasting programmes will be likely to play a very important part in the amelioration of the conditions of life in the frontier villages, and therefore will contribute substantially to the eventual pacification of this at present most unrestful territory, while as a concrete example of what can be done, the Peshawar rural broadcasting service may be regarded as a model for the rest of India.

BROADCASTING AND INDIA'S FUTURE

II

THE HYDERABAD SCHEME

BY SYED MAHBOOB ALI

(Director of Wireless, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad)

THE East has responded more slowly than the West to the benefits of broadcasting, but there is every indication that this leeway will soon be made good, so that in the course of next year a considerable extension of broadcasting may be expected in many parts of India. Notably His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has taken a personal interest in this fascinating science, and has sanctioned the introduction of an official broadcasting service, which it is hoped to inaugurate in the beginning of next year.

I was privileged to introduce broadcasting in experimental form in the State of Hyderabad in 1933. Shortly before this Sir Akbar Hydari, the Finance Member, speaking at a meeting of the East India Association at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, said that when he returned to Hyderabad he proposed to have broadcasting taken up in earnest in the State. Although I had been experimenting for the last twelve years, it was only then that the moment seemed ripe to embark on a provisional scheme of broadcasting.

A few days before the return of Sir Akbar, I had, with the aid of a few educated Hyderabadis, completed the construction of an experimental transmitter and was able to give a convincing demonstration at Sir Akbar's residence. On August 10, 1934, a demonstration was arranged in the palace of H.E.H. the Nizam, when he listened to a complete transmission to celebrate the appointment of Prince Moazzem Jah as President of the Hyderabad State Improvement Board. Following this demonstration I was commanded to appear before the Nizam in the King Khoti Palace, when H.E.H. expressed his appreciation of our efforts and his desire to see broadcasting introduced in the State to the benefit of his subjects.

The Government, realizing the progressive nature of the new science, decided to create a Wireless Board to control the initiation and development of broadcasting. The Board is composed of the following: Sir Akbar Hydari (Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Member), president; Nawab Akeel Jung Bahadur (Hon.

Military Member); Nawab Zulkadar Jung as Secretary; and myself as Director of the Wireless Department.

I soon came to the conclusion that in order to find favour with the listening public it would be essential to cater for the masses, as well as the educated classes, by means of separate transmissions, and it will be of some interest to reproduce a sample of one of our early programmes :

BROADCASTING HYDERABAD PROGRAMME

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1934

*Special Broadcast from Mr. Syed Mahboob Ali's Experimental Station,
Cherag Ali Street, Hyderabad, Deccan (1,150 K-cycles).*

INDIAN PROGRAMME

- 6.55 p.m. Metronome Signal.
- 7 " Time Signal and Announcement.
- 7 " Ikramuddin : A Gazal (composed by H.E.H. the Nizam).
- 7.5 " Aga Tal-at Yazdi : A laudatory poem (Persian) in praise
 of H.E.H. the Nizam.
- 7.15 " Miss Manki Bai in light music with sarangi, har-
 monium, and tabla.
- 7.45 " Dr. Narayan Singh : Harmonium.
- 8 " Azam Sharif : Light music.
- 8.10 " Mr. Balkrishna : Bulbul tarang., Jap. piono and
 jaltarang.
- 8.20 " Manki Bai : Indian classical music.
- 8.50 " News Bulletin (in Urdu).
- 9 " "Qomi Tarana" (Hyderabad National Anthem), by
 Mr. S. Mahmood.

Interval.

EUROPEAN PROGRAMME

(In celebration of H.M. the King-Emperor's Birthday.)

- 9.25 p.m. Metronome Signal.
- 9.30 " Time Signal and Announcement.
- 9.30 " A life sketch of H.M. the King-Emperor by Mr. Sadiq
 Mahmood, Chief Announcer.
- 9.40 " Listeners will have the privilege of hearing H.M. the
 King-Emperor's speech delivered at the plenary session
 of the Indian Round-Table Conference. Followed by
 the speech of Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawab Hyder Nawaz
 Jung Bahadur, Leader of the Hyderabad Delegation
 to the I.R.T. Conference.
- 9.55 " Pianoforte recital : By Miss L. Louvenrot.
- 10.5 " Song, "The Arrow and the Song," by Signor Melvilino
 Boardvani.
- 10.10 " Violin solo : Selected by H. Luschwitz.
- 10.20 " Piano solo : By Miss L. Louvenrot.
- 10.25 " Piano solo : By Dr. D. Gay.
- 10.30 " Dance music.
- 11 " The National Anthem.
- " God Bless the Nizam.

The experimental station operated on a power of 250 watts. The response to our efforts was instantaneous; aërials sprang up all over Hyderabad, and long-distance reports of our transmission began to pour in. There is scarcely a street in the city of Hyderabad today which does not show evidence of the popularity of broadcasting in the form of aerial masts of all descriptions.

The Government soon realized the advantage of taking over my private station, and accordingly in February, 1935, the official Hyderabad broadcasting service was established. The Nizam's Government has now decided to enlarge the scope of broadcasting so that it may be available for the whole population, and a plan has been drawn up whereby the State will be provided with four up-to-date broadcasting stations. The main station will be in Hyderabad and will transmit in Urdu—the official language—and English. The second station at Aurangabad will use Marathi for its transmission. The final completion of the broadcasting scheme provides for two more stations at Gulbarga and Warangal, which will broadcast in Kanarese and Telugu respectively.

It is intended to equip about 2,000 villages in the State with special community receivers. The idea is to instal them in schools and public squares, where a large percentage of the population will be able to listen in. No technical skill is required to handle the community receivers, as these have been specially designed for collective listening, with fixed tuning. A special service to deliver freshly charged accumulators, and to collect the discharged ones, will be organized, thus providing for an uninterrupted service. The programmes for the sub-stations will cater for the tastes of the rural population, and a special feature will be talks to improve the cultural outlook of the population on hygiene, agriculture, and other educational subjects. It is proposed to make the annual licence fee about Rs. 2½ for crystal sets, Rs. 10 for valve sets, and Rs. 30 for sets used for public entertainment.

During my present official tour of investigation in Europe I have been much impressed by the astonishing development of television. In London I was privileged to witness a demonstration of television on 405 lines, with 50 pictures per second. The electric eye is used in this system, and scenes in the street were instantaneously reproduced on a television screen with a clearness equivalent to that of a cinema, and without the slightest trace of flicker. The British Broadcasting Corporation will introduce this system at their new station at the Alexandra Palace at the beginning of next year. I hope that a similar system may be adopted in Hyderabad at no distant date.

The Marconi Company, who have built broadcasting stations in twenty-six countries, have been entrusted with the installation of the new stations, and the equipments for Hyderabad and Auran-

gabad are nearing completion in the company's works at Chelmsford. The station for Hyderabad has a power of 3 to 5 kilowatts and is capable of being increased in power to 6 to 10 kilowatts. The power of the second station, at Aurangabad, is 500 watts. The Marconi Company is also being entrusted with the supply of complete studio equipment and all the necessary gear for outside broadcasting. High-precision drives and all the latest refinements of modern broadcasting technique are being incorporated in the equipment, which will thus provide the Hyderabad State with one of the most up-to-date broadcasting services.

GENERAL J. B. VAN HEUTSZ: "CRÉATEUR DE VALEURS"

THE BASIS AND CENTRAL AIM OF DUTCH POLICY IN
THE EAST INDIES

BY HIS EXCELLENCY DR. HENDRIK COLIJN
Netherlands Prime Minister and Minister for the Colonies

INTRODUCTION BY JOHN DE LA VALETTE

[The following article is the authorized translation of an address given by Dr. H. Colijn at Amsterdam on June 15 on the occasion of the unveiling by Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina of a national monument to General J. B. Van Heutsz, who is honoured in Holland as the "Pacifier" of Achin, and whose term as Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies (1904-1909) proved a turning-point in the history of those colonies. Of the importance of his work as a soldier and an administrator, Dr. Colijn sketched on that occasion a concise and lucid summary, which at the same time clearly showed the fundamental conditions and central aim of modern Dutch policy in the Indies. The fact that these statements were pronounced by one who not only was a close collaborator of Van Heutsz', but also is the present head of the Netherlands Government and the Minister responsible for its colonial policy, gives them an interest which goes beyond the occasion itself and warrants their presentation to British and Indian readers.]

Born in 1851, Van Heutsz passed through the Military School at Kampen (Holland), was gazetted 2nd lieutenant in the Dutch home army in 1872, and, having transferred to the East Indian army on the outbreak of the Achin rebellion, arrived in Sumatra in 1873. He soon distinguished himself by his gallantry, receiving in 1876 the Military Willemsorde, which, like the Victoria Cross, is only awarded for specific deeds of bravery in action. After having spent some years in other parts of the Archipelago, Van Heutsz became in 1889 Chief of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief in Achin. The following year he was seriously wounded and awarded a sword of honour for conspicuous bravery. In the same year he produced his famous memorandum on the appropriate method for conquering Achin without any increase in the size of the army of occupation. It was, however, not until his appointment as Governor of Achin and Commander-in-Chief in 1898 that he was able to put his theories to the hard test of their realization in practice. How completely he succeeded in this respect, and how far-reaching were the ultimate consequences, is shown in Dr. Colijn's article, as also how, during his term as Governor-General from 1904 to 1909, the methods were successfully extended to the remainder of Insulinde. Van Heutsz died in honoured retirement in 1924.

More succinctly than anything else the following words from an address he once gave in Achin will sum up the views which inspired his action :

"On us devolves the heavy duty to make this people, which has suffered so much from warfare, realize that our sole aim is to establish peace, order, security and prosperity, and to maintain these; we must make the chiefs and the population feel that under our rule a

quiet, peaceful family life is assured to them, and equal justice meted out to all, even the humblest native being supported if need be against the most powerful chief. In this way we shall everywhere spread the deep conviction that our rule is a blessing for all."

The recent activities of Dr. Colijn as "the strong man" in Dutch politics and a factor in international economics are sufficiently known to require no mention here. A few words concerning the early career of Van Heutsz' brilliant A.D.C. and the constructive colonial administrator may, however, not be out of place. Like his chief, Dr. Colijn passed out of the Military School at Kampen into the East Indian army, arriving as a newly fledged 2nd lieutenant in 1893. The Lombok rebellion in the following year caused him to be sent to that scene of activity where, in the storming of the fort of Chakra Nagara, he gained the Military Willemsorde at the same time as his first experience of actual warfare. In 1895 came his transfer to Achin, where he further distinguished himself in action, receiving the sword of honour in 1900.

Then followed, in 1901, his promotion by special selection to the rank of a captain, and his appointment as A.D.C. to Major-General Van Heutsz, whom he served from that time on with devotion and marked ability right up to the time of his chief's departure for Europe in 1909. During 1905-1907 Dr. Colijn made his exhaustive investigation of conditions in the islands outside Java, which resulted in his monumental report in three volumes on "Policy and Administration in the Outer Possessions," commonly known in the civil service as "the Colijn bible." The principles which it expounded have since passed into the Government's permanent policy, while among the many visible results of his recommendations is to be reckoned the astounding road from Siboga to Tarutung, with its 1,400 bends, which rouses the admiration of every tourist in Sumatra.

Leaving the army with the rank of a major in 1907, Colijn was appointed secretary to the Central Government in the Indies, and subsequently adviser on policy in the Outer Possessions. In these and other administrative capacities he continued to serve until, in 1909, a laconic telegram from Dr. Abraham Kuyper, leader of the anti-Revolutionary Party in Holland, reading, "Become Member of Parliament," caused him to terminate his colonial career and to enter Dutch politics.

Having been closely associated with Van Heutsz throughout the pacification of Achin, as well as during his subsequent activities as Governor-General of the Indies, Dr. Colijn is eminently qualified to summarize the aims and achievements of his great chief, the more so since they form, in fact, the foundation upon which his own present policy and colonial action have been built up.]

DR. COLIJN'S ADDRESS

WHEN Plutarch set out to write the lives of Alexander and Cæsar, he began by remarking that he did not intend to produce a history of their times; nor did he propose to give a detailed account of their deeds. Rather it would be his aim to stress the importance of the personages and of their achievements. Having been invited to pronounce a commemorative address on the occasion of the unveiling of this monument, the short time at my disposal alone would oblige me to follow the golden rule laid down by the great biographer of antiquity.

When I ask myself which aspects of the remarkable career of General Van Heutsz deserve to be specially emphasized, the question seems to resolve itself into these further two: to which of his many activities must lasting value be attributed, and what is their importance for the State of the Netherlands?

However attractive everything may be which touches the personal side of this remarkable figure, especially for those who have been in close contact with him, I should like to concentrate your attention on two points only: (1) on the importance of his work for the East Indian army, and (2) on the decisive influence which he exercised on the whole future progress of the cultural development of the Indonesian peoples, and on the political evolution which is bound up with it.

We cannot depict Van Heutsz as an army leader whose fame will remain linked in history with the resounding names of great battles of world-wide importance. Nevertheless, he deserves to be honourably remembered as a soldier who stood out as the *primus inter pares* among the military figures of our colonial history and who, for that reason alone, would have merited a monument on our native soil. But the importance of Van Heutsz as a colonial soldier and of his work for the East Indian army cannot be summed up more effectively than by pointing out that it was through him that the feeling of military impotence which had so long obsessed the Government was at last removed. The force of the colonial army and its efficiency in action had long been underestimated. In consequence the mission in Asia which Divine Providence has entrusted to the Netherlands had far too long been neglected. Our army was considered too weak permanently to occupy so extensive a territory, and it was assumed that it was beyond the country's financial power to bring it up to the required strength to achieve permanent, effective occupation. As a result, the military activities of the nineteenth century were mainly restricted to punitive raids, intended to enforce, as well as might be, a superficial acknowledgment of our authority, but beyond this one had to be satisfied with a policy of non-intervention.

This fairly general feeling had, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, been strengthened by the experience acquired in Achin. If it required about 5,000 men, holding strongly fortified lines, to occupy about fifty square kilometres of territory and a couple of seaports—how great would an army have to be to enable it to establish effective government over the whole of Achin, still more of maintaining orderly government throughout the entire Archipelago? It was especially for this reason that, outside Java and Madura, non-intervention had with rare exceptions been accepted as the guiding principle of policy. This

policy, it will be seen, did not result from any conviction that it represented in itself the most desirable line of conduct, but had its origin in an assumed military impotency, any improvement in which was deemed impossible, since the desire to achieve a credit balance in the colonial budgets prevented the necessary finance from being made available. It was in respect of this very question that, about the turn of the century, the figure of Van Heutsz as an army leader acquired a determining influence and grew to historical importance. It was he who, in the course of a few years, demonstrated in practice that the firmly rooted fear was wholly unjustified. With a military force not appreciably greater in numbers than that which had been required to control one square geographical mile he reduced the whole of Achin to submission, thus effectively proving the complete fallacy of current opinions as to what was feasible.

What were the magic means by which these unexpected results were obtained? He had, after all, the same troops at his disposal, and the same officers and non-commissioned officers as had been there before. Nor did their armament differ materially from that of the preceding quarter of a century. To achieve the desired result he employed no other means than those which, from Alexander, Hannibal and Cæsar down to our own day, have always determined the value of an army: he fostered a spirit of initiative and daring, and the courage to accept responsibilities. At times the boundaries of suitable caution were perhaps exceeded; the ties of discipline were sometimes rather severely strained, both for us junior officers and right up to the higher ranks. But the result was unmistakable: within a few years the spirit of the small East Indian army had been rejuvenated. Not only Achin but other parts of Sumatra as well were brought to see reason, as also were Borneo, Celebes and the Lesser Sunda Islands.

In all this one can only see the outcome of the renewed military values which Van Heutsz had created; "renewed" because in essence these values had always existed; but they had been left unused, and their potential power had thus become dormant. But this renewal of latent forces was in itself the creating of values, and that is why, as a soldier, Van Heutsz must be considered to have been a *Créateur de Valeurs*. It is in this way that his importance for the East Indian army far and away exceeds that of any other normally successful Commander-in-Chief.

* * * * *

If one proceeds to the contemplation of a wider field of activity, it will be readily admitted that to an even greater extent Van Heutsz stood out in his task as the supreme administrator of the Asiatic

Netherlands. When, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Dutch rule was restored in the Indies, the effective authority of the Government—outside Java, the Moluccas and the Minahassa—only extended in Sumatra to the town of Padang and its immediate surroundings, and the settlement in Palembang. In Borneo we occupied three seaports, and in Celebes we held Macassar. Our authority in all these places did not reach much further than a rifle bullet, and that was no great distance in those days. During the nineteenth century there certainly was some improvement in this state of affairs, but when Van Heutsz became Governor-General the bulk of the work still remained to be done. Especially this was the case if one did not only consider the superficial extent of our authority, but probed the depth to which our administrative activity had exercised any effective influence.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that influence had been nominal, because the aim of the East India Company was not the exercising of government; its presence in the Indies was entirely due to the desire to trade. In the nineteenth century, especially during its last twenty-five years, a great change for the better had taken place; but in large areas of the Archipelago our authority remained as purely nominal as it had been in the days of the East India Company. And this had been largely brought about by fear for the consequences which military action, followed up by administrative settlement, might entail.

It was in the Coronation Year, 1898, that a completely new principle was introduced into the Indian policy. At that time, under the ægis of Van Heutsz as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Achin, Van der Wijck being then the Governor-General and Cremer the responsible Minister for the Colonies, it was decided to undertake the complete subjugation of Achin, and to establish our administrative influence there in a permanent form. It soon became apparent that the greatly dreaded after-effects of this effective occupation did not arise in fact. In consequence, the sole consideration which had up to then dictated the policy of non-intervention fell to the ground. With this the conception of our colonial mission automatically took a different turn. The new policy came, moreover, to be accepted as being equally applicable to the remainder of the Archipelago from the moment, in 1904, when, on the proposal of Minister Idenburg, the Queen appointed Van Heutsz as Governor-General for the whole of the East Indies.

It was this great pro-consul who created the basic condition required to enable the official policy to be changed from one of non-intervention into one of intensive administrative intervention by firmly establishing our authority. The effective exercise of

authority throughout all parts of the Archipelago was also of special importance in view of the materially changed conditions in the Pacific Ocean. The continued retention of a purely nominal rule might well have entailed complications, the ultimate results of which were impossible to foresee. For that reason, if for no other, the new colonial policy must be considered as having been of prime importance.

But not for that reason alone. In other respects, too, it had far-reaching effects. The great variety of peoples and languages in the East Indies, whose differences far exceed those which exist between the peoples of Europe, is the reason why hitherto one could only speak of an external unity of the Indies: that formed by the political tie represented by Dutch rule. A sense of internal unity can only develop slowly on the basis of a cultural influence, exercised uniformly in all parts of the islands alike. The establishment of effective government; the organization of administration, police and justice; an orderly system of taxation; the construction of roads and provision for education and many other social needs—it is these constant activities of Dutch rule which, exercised everywhere according to the same principles, and consequently affecting all parts of the Archipelago more or less similarly, end by extending the same cultural influence to all, thereby fostering, by the side of the external, political unity, a sense of internal unity from which will grow among the diversified peoples the conviction that they belong together. It was by establishing effective authority where this had previously been purely nominal that the road was laid which must lead first to greater cultural unity and eventually to such a strong sense among all the Indian peoples that they belong together that this conception will have its ultimate consequences in their political life.

The promotion of all these matters is creative work of the first magnitude, work which is still daily being carried on, and which will not reach its goal within any time that we may yet foresee. But we should always bear in mind that the basis for all these activities, their indispensable basis, is the consolidation of our effective authority in all parts of the East Indies.

And it is this which Van Heutsz has achieved. It is to him that we owe it that since five and twenty years all the previously existing obstacles have been removed which hampered the fulfilment of our colonial task, and that the main condition has been fulfilled which enables us to accomplish our high mission throughout the whole Archipelago towards all the peoples that inhabit it. This is work the importance of which we cannot rate too highly. In this sphere, too, in fact here more than anywhere else, Van Heutsz deserves to be called a *Créateur de Valeurs*.

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After further references to those who, like the speaker, served under General Van Heutsz in the army or civil service, especially to those who laid down their lives for the attainment of the high aims outlined, Dr. Colijn addressed himself to Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina and proceeded:

But there is more.

If we see in Van Heutsz the man who completed the work which Jan Pieterszoon Coen started three centuries ago; if we allow our eyes to gaze beyond the borders of the realm in Europe in order to visualize the unity of the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies, symbolized by the two pylons of this monument which are linked by the crowning sun, and to see in the work of Van Heutsz the fulfilment of Holland's mission in the East as in the West, then we shall look upon the unveiling of this monument by Your Majesty in person as something more than a source of deep gratification to all those who served under Van Heutsz. Your Majesty's gracious action will then stand out for all future times as a symbolical deed by which, without the utterance of a single word, Your Majesty cries out to us: "Keep safe this pledge of 'greater Netherland' entrusted to you by our ancestors!"

To this we all who witness the unveiling of this monument, to this the whole of Your Majesty's forces at home and overseas, to this the overwhelming majority of your people make reply and say: "This pledge of 'greater Netherland' shall be sacred to us; faithfully we shall keep it; faithful to it we shall remain, God helping, unto death."

THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

BY DR. H. COHEN DE BOER

IN the Netherlands Indian Archipelago, so greatly favoured by nature, the indigenous population have always lived from agriculture. Especially in the densely populated island of Java 85 per cent. of the population live on the products of the soil.

The Javanese are strongly attached to their homes, their own language and their own methods of production; they only move away from sheer necessity. As a result, it is almost impossible to induce them to emigrate to the Outer Possessions, where enormous stretches of country await cultivation, whilst in Java there is a great scarcity of agricultural land and little or nothing remains to be reclaimed.

As a matter of fact, the great increase in the population of Java and Madura constitutes a very difficult problem for the Government. Whilst the area of these islands is only 7 per cent. of the whole Archipelago, it accommodates 69 per cent. of the total native population of Netherlands India. From 1920 to 1930, the native population of Java and Madura has increased by $6\frac{1}{2}$ million, and on ground of the census of 1930 may now be estimated at about 43 or 44 million. From the point of view of density of population this means an average of 325 per square kilometre or 51 per square kilometre more than in the most densely populated country of Europe.

Owing to the resultant unavoidable splitting up of the land into small lots, the Javanese farmer would never have been able to maintain his gradually dwindling piece of ground if great western agriculture and mining enterprises had not provided him with an opportunity of earning extra income either by the periodic lease of his ground or by work in their enterprises. In prosperous periods many millions of guilders were in this way distributed among the indigenous population, although at the same time it still further increased their dependence on the market prices of agricultural produce which already in considerable degree existed with regard to indigenous produce destined for export. During the last six years this danger has proved all too real, although the disadvantage of this one-sided source of prosperity had also become apparent in former temporary depressions.

Even in those days the question was considered whether an attempt should not be made to broaden the basis on which the prosperity of India rested, and this question has become still more urgent in view of the present disastrous position in the planta-

tions. At that time the question was considered chiefly from the point of view of safeguarding the position of the indigenous population; today it is also considered as a means of stimulating western enterprise. Amongst the measures entertained with the object of providing the Javanese with a new and wider basis of existence, for example, by intensification of the traditional food-crops (irrigation), and by emigration, the question of *industrialization* has been considered for years past.

In the years following on 1900, when the prosperity curve in the East began to incline downwards, the so-called *Kleine-Welvaart-Commissie* (Diminished Prosperity Commission) was instituted, which considered at the time the possibility of providing a new means of subsistence for the indigenous population by wage-earning in factories, which would principally work with raw materials produced within the country. These plans, however, elaborated in long reports, came to nothing, as a result of the economic revival which set in.

In 1918 a special Industrial Section was added to the Department for Agriculture, Industry and Trade (now the Department for Economic Affairs). Its task is to supply the fullest possible information to private enterprises, both in the technical and economic sphere. For that purpose it has at its disposition experienced technicians, laboratories, workshops, experimental stations for the earthenware industry, for hand-weaving, etc. Further, the Government had in 1915 appointed an Advisory Commission for Factory Industry, whilst later the Indies even had for several years an engineer as Government Commissioner for Industrialization. The advice offered by them, however, aimed at an industrialization which, owing to its more or less forced character, was unsuitable for a country so naturally agrarian as Netherlands India.

Many difficulties lie in the way of a systematic industrialization, and these difficulties will undoubtedly have to be carefully considered if the country is not to suffer considerable economic detriment and private enterprise considerable financial loss. Netherlands India, in the first place, must do everything possible to promote the *export of its agricultural and mining products*. On the other hand, in order to attain as far as possible an equilibrium in its trade balance, it must import as much as possible, more especially at the present time, when trade between the various countries has reverted to the system of barter and the aim of every country is to buy only in the countries which provide the largest possible market for its own products. By itself producing articles which were formerly imported, it raises fresh impediments in the way of its own exports. Netherlands India also has been compelled to adapt itself to this principle, when, during the negotia-

tions conducted last year with Japan over a new commercial treaty, it demanded, in view of the enormous import of Japanese goods into Netherlands India, that Japan should take a larger quantity of Netherlands Indian produce.

It is true that in a country like Netherlands India, with about 60 million inhabitants, *production for the home market* guarantees a possibility of existence for suitable industries, while on the other hand the purchasing power of the indigenous population is extremely limited and also closely dependent on the prosperity in agriculture in which they find work and on market possibilities for their export crops. Meanwhile the industries producing for the home market, which either take advantage of the presence of certain raw materials, such as the coconut oil industry, or rely on mass production, such as cigarette factories, have undoubtedly proved their ability to exist.

Other countries also have been forced by present-day conditions to the conclusion that colonies need not only be important as production apparatus, but that they can also be of great importance as markets. In this connection we may refer to what the French Minister for the Colonies said in April of this year on the occasion of the closing of the French Imperial Conference:

"In our old markets we have lost millions of customers; we shall have to seek compensation for that loss among the sixty million inhabitants of our enormous realm. We shall have to bring about—and that has been the object of this Conference—the economic unity of the whole of France. In this way also we shall strengthen its moral unity, for no prosperity is possible for the Mother Country as long as the measures which you propose are not successful in increasing the purchasing power of the native, improving his material and moral condition and in this way providing him with new reasons for attachment and devotion to the Mother Country."

Another factor with which special western industries which establish themselves in Netherlands India will have to reckon is the *labour problem*. Labour, indeed, is present in superabundance, but it is a fact that the work which western industry is able to offer is not popular with the indigenous population—the Malay says: not "*laku*." The indigenous population, although generally speaking, they have a fair aptitude for industrial occupations and a fairly developed feeling for technique, will as a rule show themselves averse to seeking work in a non-indigenous industry. This nature is one which dislikes to be tied down to regular work during fixed hours such as are prescribed in factories. They prefer to work when they wish to, and then just as much—or as little—as is necessary to provide them with the means of living.

Although the wage level is low compared with western countries and the social charges in Netherlands India are comparatively light, it should not be concluded that the amount to be paid in wages for manufacturing any product will be small. Although the Javanese, in his own long-established branches of indigenous industry, has shown that he possesses qualities which would make him very useful in mechanical industry as well, his productivity in many branches—also as a result of the above-mentioned aversion to continuous work, which as soon as this is demanded, makes absentees of 30 to 40 per cent. of the workers—will remain far behind that of the European and also that of the Japanese, whose labour discipline is developed so greatly, whilst his wages, quite apart from the depreciation of the yen, have in the last few years shown a strong tendency to drop. It is for these reasons that a Commission which lately made a thorough enquiry into the possibility of establishing a cotton industry in Netherlands India stated in its report that the labour efficiency in Java formed a somewhat incalculable factor.

In an enquiry into the possibility of establishing new industries in Java, there are many points, in addition to those above mentioned, which require careful consideration. The fact that Netherlands India lacks various *raw materials* which would be necessary for modern industries means a considerable restriction in the establishment of the same. Netherlands India, for example, possesses in an insufficient degree coal capable of carbonization, so that the iron-ore present could not be worked in a so-called heavy industry, although there have occasionally been optimistic plans with regard to the founding of blast furnaces in one of the Outer Possessions. *Transport* within Netherlands India with its enormous distances is rather costly. The coasting trade and communication between the numerous islands of this extensive Archipelago is practically in the hands of one shipping concern, the Royal Packet Navigation Company, which on account of the monopoly it enjoys is obliged, at appointed times, to touch at numerous extremely remote islands. Trade with such far distant, thinly populated posts is not remunerative, a factor which detrimentally influences the freights on the other lines.

Also with regard to the *choice of a site* for an industry various difficulties arise, more especially in connection with the supply and discharge of the necessary water. The Report of the above-mentioned Textile Commission referred to the difficulties to be surmounted with regard to the available quality and quantity of the water, which, as a result both of mechanical and chemical impurities and of the strong varying water levels, frequently deviates considerably from the standard that one is accustomed to in Europe. Further, the circumstance that in Netherlands India

practically all rivers are used for irrigation of the rice fields, and that, generally speaking, there is a scarcity of arable land and irrigation water, compels those industries whose waste water pollutes the rivers—such as, for example, the cotton industry, with its end phase of bleaching, printing and dyeing—to establish themselves at the mouth or on the lower reaches of the rivers. In this way their choice of the most suitable localities is restricted to the coastal regions.

Amongst the other factors which must be reckoned with in considering the problem of industrialization in Netherlands India, one may also refer to the fact that western big industry creates a labour class which has no other means of existence than that which the industry offers. As regards the satisfying of their necessities in food, these workers are dependent on its production by other groups of the population, whilst with the large increase in population this can lead to great difficulties in the *food supply* in years of less abundant crops. This difficulty does not occur in the case of industries which are concerned with the working up of agricultural products. Such industries all have a "campaign" period which is sharply separated from the rest of the year, and they are able to cover their need of labour almost completely by taking on seasonal labour; in this way the indigenous worker is left in his own environment and need only offer his labour for hire when things are slack in his own agricultural occupation.

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Owing to the depression which began in 1929 many of the difficulties which confront the establishment of industries are less sharply felt. This relates in the first place to what for many concerns constitutes the predominant factor—viz., the *wage standard*. As a result of unemployment, abundant offers of labour and considerably reduced standard of living, wages have also dropped considerably, frequently by as much as 50 per cent. to 70 per cent., so that, notwithstanding the low speed at which the indigenous population work, their irregular appearance at the factory and the costly European supervision which is necessary on that account, the total amount to be paid in wages in the case of many manufactured articles is now so low as to make such production attractive. Further, the slump itself, in spite of the blows it has dealt to all branches of industry and also to existing industries, has nevertheless in a certain sense stimulated the establishment of various large undertakings run according to western methods and also of several small indigenous industries. Now that agriculture is no longer profitable, it is comprehensible that capital seeks investment in other directions—i.e., in industrial concerns.

The impetus in the direction of industrialization in Netherlands

India, which is becoming more and more apparent, is thus in great part the result of economic conditions. One has been forced to the conclusion that the economic structure of the country in the past was too one-sided: everything depended on agriculture. The Government also, whose policy aims at the creation of new production possibilities, has lately systematically supported efforts at a better distribution of the risks in industrial life. In these circumstances it sees various advantages in industrialization, even when this is brought about with the assistance of foreign capital—which for Netherlands India means also Netherlands capital. During the discussions on the budget for 1935 in the Volksraad, the Government summarized these advantages in the consideration that the sum paid to foreign countries in interest on capital, profit made in enterprise and as the price of raw materials and production goods eventually imported, would always be considerably lower than the value of the product obtained, in which wages and salaries, expenditure on buildings and materials, on raw materials which Netherlands India itself supplies, etc., are discounted. The difference would wholly remain within the country, to its advantage. Further, the Government pointed to the intensification of trade—also in the circulation of money—which the establishment of such industries would bring about.

Speaking generally, however, the advantages to be derived are not the same for all industries. One of the most important standards in judging the utility and desirability of an industry which it is proposed to establish is the opening for employment which it offers to the population. This will naturally be considerably less in the big industry where mechanisation is developed to the uttermost limit than in smaller concerns affiliated to the existing home industry.

From ancient times there have existed in Netherlands Indies a number of indigenous industries which exist mainly in order to supply the comparatively trifling needs of the population in the matter of industrial products. The chief of these are: the weaving industry, in which six to eight hundred thousand persons are employed, and the associated batik industry, the latter with a turnover in normal times of 80 million guilders; the metal and woodwork industry; the manufacture of simple earthenware; the plaiting industry and industrial art in general. The aim of the Government is now directed at establishing a direct connection between domestic industry and other industries, for example, by creating around an established industry a special domestic industry in a federative sense which could supply the former with half-finished products.

Indigenous industry, then, receives in the first place encouragement on the part of the Government, who have adopted the

principle that preference must be given to industries employing labour intensively which supply the needs of home consumption and use raw materials found within the country; then follow similar industries working with imported raw materials. In the third place there arise for consideration industries employing little labour and working for home consumption; and, finally, the industries which employ labour intensively and work for export with raw materials found within the country.

In granting support, the Government sets to work very carefully. Opportunism is the rule, and each case is judged on its own merits. Considerations of commercial policy naturally exercise an influence, in order to prevent the production of articles hitherto imported from detrimentally influencing export to the importing country and thus passing the mark which has been aimed at. The Government has expressly declared that direct financial support will have to be restricted to very exceptional cases. On the other hand, every industrial possibility capable of being realized on a sound basis may reckon on measures of support if these prove to be possible and if in the opinion of the Government the advantages to be derived are stronger than the tendency to higher cost prices which inevitably results from the support granted. The influence of protective measures on the price is certainly a factor which must be reckoned with, in view of the fact that the cheap goods—due chiefly to the import from Japan—which the population are still able to buy, notwithstanding the scarcity of money, are for them of first importance. Should, as a result of a restriction in the import of any article, the prices of the stocks in hand of that article show a tendency to rise, the Government has made provisions to prevent the prices from exceeding a fixed maximum.

A measure generally adopted in times past to give protection to certain branches of industry—apart from the granting of direct support by supplying orders to the existing industry—was an increase of the *import duties* on the articles concerned. In Netherlands India, where import duties occupy considerable place in the budget, and it is difficult to reach the great mass of the population by means of direct taxes, the whole tariff was considerably increased some years ago—viz., to 30 per cent. for luxury articles and 18 per cent. for the rest; this with a view to the budget deficit—i.e., a *fiscal* object. Naturally the home industries enjoy considerable protection under such a tariff. Moreover, the Tariff Act contains stipulations which directly promote the establishment of industrial concerns. With that object, under the reserve that it is judged necessary in the economic interests of the country, exemption or restitution is granted of import duties on machinery, tools and apparatus for the equipment of industrial concerns which

will engage in the manufacture of new finished products, and that during a period *not exceeding two years*.

The idea is that such concerns, after the first difficult years, ought to be able to dispense with such protection. This was shown, for example, in the recent increase of the excise on beer. The motive given was that as the beer industry within the country had reached a reasonable possibility of existing, it was not necessary to maintain in the same degree the margin of protection which existed in the ratio between the beer excise and the import duty. In the long run the tariffs also will have to be lowered, as they have a tendency to increase the cost of living, and thereby the wage standard, which in an export country like India ought to be kept as low as possible with a view to the products being better able to meet foreign competition.

This also holds good with regard to other means at present at the disposition of the Government, whereby, with a view to industrial recovery, it can intervene when necessary, to stimulate as well as to restrict. These means include import prohibitions and quotas by which the import of certain articles can be temporarily stopped or restricted to fixed quantities; industrial regulations by which the Government can make the establishment of new concerns in a certain branch of industry dependent on its consent; and importers' licenses to protect the existing distribution apparatus, by which the greatest part of the import of certain products can be reserved for the firms which have hitherto provided for such import and distribution.

Owing to the support of such crisis measures, new branches of domestic industry have developed: for example, the production of cases for bottles, made of rice straw, which has already reached a turn-out of 900,000 per month; coconut fibre and yarns to the extent of 15,000 k.g. per month; whilst numerous small and middle-sort concerns, all working for home consumption, have shown a great increase during the last few years. New foundries (for pans) have arisen; chemical industries for manufacturing dyes, inks, glues, polish, etc., have been established; large and small factories for bicycles, biscuits, yeast, tricot work, sugar work, shoes, earthenware, farinaceous materials, preserves, bandage requisites, etc. This great variety of manufactures promotes again the establishment of other factories for packing materials, with the result that glass-blowing works, box works, tin-packing works, etc., have been founded.

The Government is very cautious with the granting of support to new big industries in addition to those already in existence (machinery works, shipbuilding, gas and electricity works, etc.). The Government is only prepared to protect these large western concerns against destructive foreign influences when they aim at manufacture for Indian consumption whilst using raw materials,

and labour present in the country and at the same time can show that the undertaking is founded on a sound basis. There are already several instances of such support.

Beer breweries, for example, established in Batavia and Surabaya, were obliged to wage a sharp competitive struggle with Japanese beer, and Japan would in all probability have won if the Government, in order to protect the national industry—in which, it may be said, German and Belgian breweries are largely interested—had not subjected the import of beer to quotas. In 1934, therefore, 60 per cent. of the total consumption of beer was covered by the Indian breweries. In the same way the import of cement was also subjected to quotas on behalf of the Padang Cement Factory, a national concern and a national interest. The granting of licenses for the import of toilet soap benefits factories like that of Unilever and Dralle (whilst it also promotes the production of ordinary washing soap by the small native concerns in such a degree that statistics show that the native population in this respect is becoming more and more independent of foreign countries).

Recent examples of important industries established in India are the factory opened at Tandjong Priok, near Batavia, by Lindeteves-Stokvis, for the manufacture of cheap iron barrels for the transport of essential oils, coconut and palm oil, spirit, etc., which barrels after one journey can be thrown away, thereby avoiding the former high costs of returning the empty iron drums. Good Year has established a factory for rubber tyres and General Motors an automobile factory. Netherlands earthenware manufacturers are considering the establishment of a factory at Bandoeng, now that an enquiry has proved that good coaline is obtainable in India. In Java, also, a chocolate industry has been established, the products of which already attract buyers in South Africa and Siam. Cigar, and more especially cigarette, factories occupy an important place, as import statistics prove. In 1929 India still imported a net quantity of 1,600,000 k.g. cigarettes and 270,000 k.g. cigars, against respectively 156,500 k.g. and 31,850 k.g. in 1933. In the field of cigarette manufacture, important concentration and amalgamation has taken place, by which the small concerns have been eliminated. The most important concerns now are the British American Tobacco Company and the Belgian Faroka Factory at Malang, which have realized that the Indian market can only be captured by supplying an extremely cheap product. As a producer of tobacco, Netherlands India naturally benefits from the reduced import.

We have already referred to the plans with regard to the textile industry. The International Credit and Trading Society, "Rotterdam," has a textile factory at Garoet. After careful con-

sideration of all the pros and cons, the above-mentioned Report of the Textile Commission comes to the conclusion that a cotton industry planned on a large scale has a chance of success in Netherlands India. In view of the fact that the thirty Netherlands textile manufacturers, no longer competing with each other but working in co-operation, aim at an industry involving a capital of fl. 20,000,000, a cautious beginning will be made to bring the industry to full development in three stages; provisionally thus with an experiment in which a capital of fl. 500,000 will be invested.

The caution which marks the activities of the Government as well as private individuals serves as an important guarantee against the failure which would certainly result from a forced industrialization. The society of Netherlands Indian industrialists founded last year under the name "Vereeniging Nederlandsch-Indisch Fabrikaat" has shown that it realizes this when, shortly after it was established, it altered its statutes which gave its aim as the promotion of industrialization in Netherlands India into "promotion of a *rational* industrialization of Netherlands India." This means that this society has set limits in co-operation for industrialization. How and where the line will be drawn will be always determined anew in practice, but it would be premature to draw the line definitely now, as the problem of Netherlands Indian industrialization is still too new and shows too many varying aspects. It will always be necessary to consider the question anew, taking into account changes that have occurred in the past and changes likely to occur in the near future.

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These are a few aspects of the comprehensive problem of industrialization as it exists in Netherlands India today. It is not merely a problem for India itself, but one which closely concerns the Motherland and practically all western countries. It is true that the colonial industry will for the time being and in the first place enter into competition with the products from other eastern countries, such as Japan, China and India, but it is certain that as regards the articles imported from these countries, western industry is no longer a competitor. In the future western industry will probably apply itself to the manufacture of the fine, more perfected articles which the East cannot yet produce, either owing to lack of ability and experience or because they do not have control over the industries which can supply and keep in repair the necessary machines. Moreover, as this article endeavours to explain, western industry and western capital are engaged in preparing to meet the new situation by engaging in an increasing degree in production in the East itself on behalf of the local market.

JAPAN'S RAW MATERIALS

BY C. RIVERS ANDERSON

A CORRESPONDENT in Tokio writes that Japan has always been dependent on foreign supplies for raw materials, and during the last few years the demand greatly increased. This has been chiefly due to the great expansion in the light and heavy industries occasioned by her huge export trade and by the demand for materials on the part of the Army and Navy. Imports of industrial raw material in 1934 amounted to 1,400,000,000 yen, or approximately 61 per cent. of Japan's total import trade.

With the exception of silver, the domestic production of all metals is insufficient to take care of the demand. Although ferro-alloys and steel are at present produced in almost self-sufficient quantities, their constituents are to a large extent imported. The country can only rely upon its supply of iron equal to 13 per cent. of steel requirements. In pig-iron Japan is 50 per cent. self-sufficient, in copper 80 per cent., in iron ore 35 per cent., and in lead, zinc, and tin between 10 and 50 per cent. In nickel, antimony, quicksilver, platinum, and aluminium dependence is almost entirely on foreign supplies.

On the other hand, Japan is fortunate in having abundant supplies of sulphur, which are a great source of strength to her chemical industry. In refined sulphur there are surplus supplies, and the country is self-sufficient in sulphur ore and pyrite. Further, the ceramic industry is greatly strengthened through abundant supplies of clay, kaolin, silica sand, limestone, and gypsum. In salt, a basic material for her alkali industry, Japan does not fare so well, having only 50 per cent. of her requirements. About 20 per cent. of her salt, however, comes from the Kwantung Leased Territory, where the industry is rapidly expanding. Soda ash production has recently increased considerably; 20 per cent. of the demand is imported. Caustic soda production is ample for present needs.

Until quite recently Japan was entirely dependent upon foreign sources of supply for nitrates, but during the last few years great progress has taken place in the nitrogen fixation industry, which is now capable of supplying almost the entire demand for nitrogen. Less than 10 per cent. of the country's needs in mica, asbestos, phosphates, magnesite, and potash are met by domestic supplies. In mica, asbestos, and phosphates supplies are very limited with regard to both quality and quantity. New supplies

of magnesite and potash have been discovered, and these will tend to reduce imports.

ORGANIC SUPPLIES

Japan is well provided with raw silk and fish oil, but is very deficient in supplies of wool, bristles, hides, and animal fats. The export of raw silk in 1933 amounted to about 70 per cent. of the total production, while the domestic supply of wool, in spite of an increased demand, amounted to only 300,000 pounds. As Japan has never gone in for stock raising on a large scale, the domestic supply of hides is naturally small, and imports are necessary in order to supply the demand for leather. In cow leather only is Japan nearly self-sufficient. The demand for bristles for the large brush manufacturing industry, and for shells for the button industry, is large, and imports of these raw materials are absolutely necessary.

Japan, with abundant supplies of vegetable materials, is in a position to export camphor, peppermint, and isinglass. While lumber supplies are plentiful, there are large imports annually for special types of constructional timbers. Vegetable oil supplies are large, and are available for export, but the production of oil seeds, with the exception of soya beans, is only 40 per cent. of the domestic demand.

Raw cotton is Japan's most greatly needed vegetable material for the important textile industry. Her annual requirements amount to some 1,000,000 metric tons, while her domestic production scarcely reaches 100,000 tons (in seed cotton). Thus the country is entirely dependent upon foreign sources of supply for raw cotton. In 1933 imports of raw cotton were valued at 600,000,000 yen, corresponding to about 30 per cent. of her total imports. In pulp for paper-making purposes imports are relied upon to the extent of 20 per cent. of the demand; but in the case of rayon pulp, the demand for which amounts to 60,000 tons annually, reliance is entirely on imports, although steps are being taken to remedy this situation. The productions of hemp and jute amount to only 40 per cent. of the demand. Shellac, rosin, and tanning materials are almost all imported.

INCREASE IN PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

The coal output of Japan in 1933 amounted to approximately 36,000,000 metric tons, imports to 4,000,000 tons, and exports to 1,750,000 tons. The country would thus appear to be about 94 per cent. self-sufficient in coal. In anthracite, however, only 60 per cent. of the demand is met from domestic sources, not

including the Navy's requirements. Coal required by the carbonization industry amounts to about 4,000,000 metric tons annually, and part of this must be met by imports. In by-products of the coal industry Japan is self-sufficient.

Only 7 per cent. of the demand for petroleum products is met from domestic sources of supply. In 1933 the output of crude oil and natural gasoline amounted to 2,400,000 hectolitres, imports to 30,000,000 hectolitres and exports to 300,000. The oil-refining industry has developed greatly during the last year or two, and the imports of oil products are being gradually confined to crude oil. When the by-products of imported crude oil are added to the domestic production, Japan may be said to meet 36 per cent. of her needs so far as petroleum products for fuel purposes are concerned. Lubricating oil is the most important derivative of petroleum for industrial purposes in Japan. The demand for machine oil depends, of course, on industrial activity; but for general purposes it may be said that home production can only supply 20 per cent. of the demand, while the remaining 80 per cent. is manufactured from imported crude oil.

Asphalt, paraffin, and carbon black have all witnessed a rise in production, and at present meet 90, 80, and 24 per cent. of the demand. Asphalt and paraffin percentages here quoted include the production from imported raw materials, whereas carbon black is a domestic product entirely, and the ratio of self-sufficiency is expected to go much higher.

From the above it will be seen that, although Japan is lacking in natural resources, those that she has have been utilized to a great extent. Her industries have expanded beyond the limit of self-sufficiency in almost every group, but particularly so in the industry using iron and steel, raw cotton, wool, rubber, and petroleum. Japan is looking towards Manchukuo to supply much of her raw material requirements, as that country, although largely undeveloped, has great potential natural wealth.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIA THROUGH A BISHOP'S DIARY, OR MEMOIRS OF AN INDIAN DIOCESE BY ITS FIRST BISHOP. By Eyre Chatterton, D.D., London. (S.P.C.K.) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT.)

For twenty-three years Dr. Eyre Chatterton was Bishop of Nagpur, a diocese which extends over three large territories, each about the size of England and Wales, the Central Provinces, and the two groups of feudatory states known as Central India and Rajputana. He has already written a book on the history of the first of these—the land of the Gonds, the “Gondwana” of Moslem chroniclers, personified in Sir Alfred Lyall’s lines, “The Nagpore Cinderella”:

“For many a year in times of old,
 Dame India’s wild, neglected daughter,
 She dwelt in the central forest wold,
 A damsel fair, but no one sought her.
 To north and south, to east and west,
 Settled each rich and prospering sister,
 They lived in towns, and danced and dressed;
 But Cinderella—no one missed her.

“Where, foaming over her curb of stone,
 Nerbudda leaps and leads her fountains,
 Or deep in southern forest lone,
 Where far Godaveri bathes her mountains,
 She wandered here, she lingered there,
 She knew no books, she wore no bodice;
 With leaf and flower she decked her hair—
 A simple nymph, a rustic goddess.”*

Bishop Chatterton is most responsive to the charms of Gondwana, but he also takes us further afield to other parts of India and to Mesopotamia, reviewing stirring events, experiences of peace and war, giving us glimpses of Lord Curzon, to whom “responsibility” was, indeed, “the very breath of life”; of Bishop Lefroy, whose “love of India and supreme desire to make Christ known in India kept him out there when it might have been wiser for him to retire”; of General Sir Stanley Maude, who, when congratulated on his brilliant successes, merely remarked on “the splendid way in which his soldiers had fought.” The narrative brings us into touch with many other interesting persons. For the peoples of India Bishop Chatterton retains warm affection.

One of his chief interests is the education, and especially the religious education, of the children of the domiciled English and Anglo-Indian com-

* For the whole poem, see Rivett Carnac’s *Many Memories*, pp. 173-5.

munity. In Chapter XV. he lays particular emphasis on the importance of this subject: "These domiciled European and Anglo-Indian children of ours," he writes, "must receive an English and Christian education. They cannot attend Hindu or Muhammadan schools, nor can they attend the ordinary Zillah or Government schools, where their teachers would be Hindus or Muhammadans, and the teaching would be in the different vernaculars of India, and without any religion. Nor do we wish to hand over our children to the various foreign Roman Catholic brotherhoods and sisterhoods (French, German, Italian, Belgian, Spanish), who would almost certainly teach them to disbelieve our form of Christian faith, and would have no interest in maintaining their loyalty to England and the British traditions of their ancestors. We feel that these children are our own, and it is our solemn duty to give them the best education we can to fit them for their life in India. These schools of ours are in no sense racial. They are based on English culture and the Christian faith. So highly are they valued by many of the Indian gentry, Christian and non-Christian, that all schools receiving Government grants are asked and expected to admit a percentage of Indian boys and girls varying from 15 to 25 per cent. I should add that eight of our most important girls' schools are maintained by English Church sisterhoods. Just now, owing to political and economic changes in India, when many Anglo-Indian fathers are out of work, the difficulty of maintaining these schools is increasing." There is no doubt that retrenchment has adversely affected them and that the Government grants have been considerably reduced in recent years. Nor is there any prospect of more liberal grants later on. Already many schools are inadequately staffed for lack of money to pay teachers a living wage. Strong efforts have been made continuously by Bishop Eyre Chatterton himself and by the Indian Church Aid Association (the Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster) to enlist sympathy and raise funds for this great cause. We may call to memory Lord Canning's words spoken after the Mutiny—when his Government was framing rules to regulate grants-in-aid to schools for the domiciled European and Eurasian community: "The Eurasian class has a special claim upon us. The presence of a British Government has called them into being, and they are a class which, while it draws little or no support from its connection with England, is without that deep root in, and hold of, the soil of India from which our native public servants, through their families and relatives, derive advantage."

Bishop Eyre Chatterton's book deserves to be widely read. He touches on a great variety of topics; he is keenly interested in all human affairs; he has a ready sense of humour, and, best of all, "an understanding heart."

INDIA THROUGH OTHER EYES: A FOREIGNER LOOKS AT INDIA. By P. Staal.
(*Jonathan Cape.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by M. C. B. SAYER.)

No one who is genuinely anxious to consider the many-sided problem of Indian constitutional reform from every angle can afford to miss reading this

book. The author is a Dutchman whose reputation as a scholar and writer is by no means confined to his own country. Few of his readers will agree with all he says, for Mr. Staal is an uncompromising exponent of the now unpopular *laissez-faire* school of thought. Some may even find him unduly provocative, for he is not always too patient with the frailties of human nature and with the lapses from clear thinking of which the protagonists on both sides will often themselves acknowledge they have been guilty.

But Mr. Staal, who is now Consul-General for the Netherlands at Sydney, after having held the same post at Calcutta for several years, analyzes the events and policies which culminated in the White Paper with such clearness and presents his interpretation of them with such force that no one who reads the book, though he may be by no means in agreement with all the author's conclusions, will be able to deny that he has gained much enlightenment from the process. This book, in short, is an admirable example of the Gallic mind at its most logical. For the French people, as is so often erroneously supposed, has by no means the monopoly of the process of reasoning which can best be defined in that subtle but expressive term. By reason of his nationality the author can treat the subject with an air of impartiality seldom achieved by British, Indian, or Anglo-Indian commentators, and his insistence on the importance to world stability, and especially to Europe, of the maintenance of British rule in India, comes, as the publishers say, "with great force from a foreigner of distinction." But racial pride and prejudice can take many forms. Mr. Staal sometimes, for the purposes of generalization, finds it convenient to label as Eastern things that are perhaps as Western in essence as the European standards he upholds. And in his desire to collect evidence in support of his theories he is not always too careful to avoid some of the very failings he condemns in the Indian politicians, for whom his keenest shafts are naturally reserved. It may be, and to a large extent is, true that "the Indian problem is being approached from the wrong end." But if, as Mr. Staal believes, the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms made the fundamental mistake of thinking that it was "feasible to evolve a form of government based on theories extracted from the actual experiences of an entirely foreign race," it is hardly consistent to argue that the White Paper scheme, like the existing constitution, is foredoomed mainly because it is not sufficiently in harmony with the principles on which we have traditionally acted or the superstition that the history of states and statesmanship is a necessary progression from obvious causes to preordained conclusions.

The truth, of course, is that the fashion of constructing constitutions on abstract principles, to which other nations have been attracted, has never appealed to the British people. "No important element in the English political system, as it now stands," as Sir James Crerar reminded the East India Association, "was imported from abroad." "With all its originality and capacity for growth and experiment" the English practice of government and administration "has always been, in the main, empirical and severely practical in its objects and methods." On the other hand, removed from its historical context and from the perspective of our own political tradition, the Indian problem would be both unintelligible and insoluble. Mr. Staal

bestows high praise upon the British soldier, civil servant, and merchant, because he realizes not only what they have accomplished, but also the constant and great difficulties that they have had to surmount. It is because he fails to see that some of the consequences which we have now to deplore were due not to the main principles adopted, but to the manner of their execution, that he is unable to devise, with the slightest prospect of success, any remedy of present discontents—though his diagnosis, in the majority of cases, is sound and penetrating—or any previous provision for the future.

Mr. Staal is not opposed to the grant of any further measure of Constitutional Reform, in principle, though he has no very clear ideas as to the direction, much less the extent, of the advance. The very reasonable argument that it is better, to quote Sir James Crerar again, "to proceed upon a maturely considered plan than to postpone action until a time when we should be obliged to improvise dangerously under the compulsion of events" makes no appeal to him, probably because he does not share the conviction of those in a better position to judge that the existing system of government has reached the limits of the period of transition for which it was intended to provide. He sees the White Paper proposals not so much as an attempt to offer a constructive solution for difficulties, that are generally admitted, in devising a system of government in India which will be capable of subsisting and developing in harmony with a system of government in this country based on Parliamentary democracy, as the ephemeral product of a series of basic assumptions, each of which he considers fundamentally unsound. These are, in his own words: "That modern Western democracy is the cause of our European civilization"; "That Western education and the Western conception of life can form the starting point for the regeneration of Indian political life"; and "That you can have daughter nations which are not of your own blood." We are reminded of the shrewd comment of a contemporary French novelist: "As for changing the States of India into a Federal Republic like that of the United States, with a Congress at Washington-Delhi, we will talk about that when goats are left to graze in peace, instead of being decapitated in honour of a terrible goddess who wears their dead hearts as a necklace. Above all, when the 560 Maharajas and Ruling Princes are ready to accept the decrees and laws imposed upon their Highnesses by a Parliament of irresponsible politicians." Nor is the conclusion to which Mr. Staal is forced radically different from that of Mr. Maurice Dekobra. Both, we may assume, "started out with the idea that antagonism between the East and West, many a time emphasized by travellers, was not perhaps so irreconcilable that an understanding of the two mentalities one with the other could not be brought about by mutual goodwill." Mr. Staal's more balanced and sober judgment may not be so sweeping as Mr. Dekobra's belief "that the Isthmus of Suez separates inexorably two incompatible civilizations, two communities as different one from the other as the animal kingdom is from the vegetable," but will be the more disappointing to many, and disquieting to others, on that account. We do not agree with Mr. Staal, but his verdict has been arrived at with obvious honesty by a shrewd and experienced observer. And the reader will learn more from this book of the trend and probable development of Indian

nationalist politics than he could hope to acquire from many more pretentious volumes.

ON HILL AND PLAIN. By Lord Hardinge of Penshurst. Illustrated. (*John Murray.*) 7s. 6d. net.

In the past the English public welcomed accounts of hunting in India, and many of them are still treasured by the older generation. To them Major Campbell, Dunlop, Kinlock, Newall, Rice, Sanderson, and Williamson are household names. But the literature on Indian hunting has lately been neglected. Here we have a delightful book by a former Viceroy who enjoyed the sport in all parts of the country. Small game is plentiful in Bikaner, and here he could indulge in the sport. Jaipur provided pig sticking. In Kashmir Lord Hardinge followed the stag. For tiger shooting there was opportunity in Gwalior, and in Mysore he witnessed the capture of a wild elephant. The descriptions are so vivid, and the recollections of the princes are so pleasant, that the reader will have but one regret—the late Viceroy has been all too brief in his entertainment.

DAS BRITISCHE ERZIEHUNGSWESEN IN INDIEN. By G. Hertz. (Berlin: *Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung.*) RM.12.

The work is noteworthy for two reasons—it is written by a lady; and, secondly, it is a most able and scholarly treatise on British education in India. The reader cannot but admire how a lady derived the experience and patience to read through such a large amount of literature. Miss Hertz studied under Professor F. O. Schrader, before the war at Madras, and Professor O. Strauss, now at Breslau University. The book is divided into three parts: Ancient Indian education, history of British education in India, and finally the system. Considering that the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford were reformed only towards the middle of the last century, the foundation of those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras in 1857 showed the interest of British authorities in India at a fairly early stage. Miss Hertz pays graceful tribute to British goodwill. In the final part the various styles of schools, colleges, and universities find their proper treatment. Altogether it is an exhaustive and learned treatise, which is documented on every page.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT OF HYDERABAD STATE FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1933.

(*Reviewed by M. C. B. SAYER.*)

The Indian States have too often been portrayed as the theatre of highly coloured drama and sinister political and domestic intrigue. There is drama, there is romance, there are plotting and planning in the Administration Report of the Commerce and Industries Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1342 Fasti; but the drama is of man's ceaseless struggle to

adapt Nature to his needs; the romance is of hard facts, and the scheming is such as must be resorted to by every liberal and far-sighted Government anxious, in the interests of a rapidly expanding population, to develop to the fullest extent the economic resources of the State.

India is justly proud of Hyderabad, which in many ways may be said to be in the vanguard of progress. For the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam has shown an enthusiasm for industrial development on modern lines, and a capacity and zeal in its execution, for which, indeed, there are few parallels. There is no branch of its manifold activities which reflects so clearly the Durbar's concern for the welfare of the people as the Commerce and Industry Department, and its annual report is always an interesting document. In spite of a somewhat belated appearance, for which there is no apparent reason, the latest issue, covering the year ended October 5, 1933, is invested with particular interest and importance. For the close of the period under review coincided with the retirement of Mr. B. Abdy Collins, who had been Director-General since the Department was revived at his instance in the year 1336 Fasti. He was mainly responsible, as the Government points out, in recording "their great appreciation of the services rendered by him to the State," for all the current activities of the Department, and also for the preparation of the revised tariff, "which went a long way to help the industrial development of the State."

So prudent was the original construction, and so careful has been the subsequent administration of the Department, in conformity with the best traditions of Hyderabad finance, that, in spite of the general depression, industrial development appears to have remained on the whole fairly steady. In Hyderabad, as elsewhere, financial stringency has necessitated curtailment of many otherwise attractive schemes which were not immediately reproductive, although, on account of the system of departmental budgeting, introduced and developed with such conspicuous success by its able Finance Minister, Sir Akbar Hydari, no essential service has been neglected or denied scope for reasonable development. The bulletins issued from time to time and the surveys undertaken on the prospects of particular industries are enduring evidence of what was in mind from the first for developing new, and reviving old, indigenous industries.

So multifarious are the activities of the Department that even the seventeen major heads under which they are grouped can convey only the most cursory idea of the range and extent of the responsibilities shouldered by the director and his small staff. Though some, like the Cottage Industries Institute, were doubtless inaugurated partly as social services, there can be little doubt that they have served as a useful economic cushion in time of depression. They have helped to maintain the purchasing power of the people at a time when it was most necessary that this purchasing power should be upheld. In the schedules at the end of the report, which offer a rich harvest to the student of social reform, in the West as well as in the East, are two which deserve special prominence. The optimistic view entertained of the bright future of the Experimental Carpet Factory at Warangal, Deccan, has been fully justified. The difficulties met with at its inception five years ago, on account of the hostile attitude of the local carpet weavers,

have been overcome. "The weavers, finding that co-operation with the factory was more in their interest than bluff, which they tried first," the manager tritely observes, "are now inclined to be more reasonable." We share Mr. Streenwas' hope that "this change for the better in their mentality will be lasting," for, as a result, the Warangal carpet industry, which had almost died out, bids fair soon to be restored to its former importance. On the other hand, the Government Soap Factory, having turned the corner and demonstrated that the production of high-class toilet soaps, in the right hands, is a commercial proposition, was being made over to private enterprise—an example which might with advantage be followed in British India in similar circumstances.

It is evident from the separate report of the Chief Chemist that the Government Industrial Laboratory has made greater strides in all directions than during any previous year. Though superficially it might appear that the chemists' main function was analysis—500 samples of every variety of substances ranging from an insignificant simple quartz to the highly metabolized products were treated—its more important work lay in the application of science to industrial production. The manufacture of greases and lubricants from castor seed (one of the staple products and exports of the Dominions), the discovery of an enamel suitable as well for all kinds of iron plates (the enamel-button industry of Hyderabad is already famous), experiments with paper and paper-pulp manufacture from indigenous bamboos, preparation of emulsions from soaps, and the fruits of numerous other investigations and researches are reviewed in a commendably clear and informative fashion. A brief but succinct review of the position of the textile and other major industries in the State during the period under review would be of greater value if the report, which none the less reflects great credit on the Nizam's Government and all the officers concerned, were published with greater expedition.

PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA. By Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E., D.S.C., LL.D., M.I.C.E. (*Printed at the Bangalore Press, Bangalore City.*)

(*Reviewed by* SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

To those interested in the future of India under the New Constitution, *Planned Economy for India*, by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, should be studied along with the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1918), now admittedly somewhat out of date, but nevertheless a valuable source of information as to the economic prospects of India at the close of the war. In the period which has elapsed since that event, great political changes have taken place, not the least important of which is a liberty of action in regard to fiscal matters, enabling the Government of India to foster industry by the imposition of protective tariffs. With the still greater freedom to administer internal affairs, which will automatically come about when the Provinces and States become a Federal Unit and each constituent member enjoys a high degree of local autonomy, the political leaders of the country will be faced with the problem of devising measures to increase the material prosperity of

the people in face of an almost alarming growth in their numbers. They will have no lack of academic advisers, nor need they fear a dearth of applications for assistance from individuals and associations with much practical experience in the exploitation of the resources available, but limited in the range of their outlook to the consideration of their own interests. It is therefore very opportune that a serious study of the position should have been made by an Indian statesman of great experience and enjoying a well-deserved reputation for singleness of mind and honesty of purpose. It is well that we should examine the credentials of anyone who asks for a hearing from his countrymen while he puts forward a reasoned plan for what he regards as the *reconstruction* of their economic life.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya was born in 1861, and is therefore now seventy-four years of age. He has behind him a long career full of varied activities. Age has not dimmed his eye, nor long years of strenuous work impaired his vigour. He was educated at the Central College, Bangalore, and at the Poona College of Science. In 1884 he entered the Bombay P.W.D. as an Assistant Engineer, and twenty years later he attained the rank of Superintending Engineer. His work and evidence tendered to the Indian Irrigation Commission attracted very favourable comment from that body. In 1908 he retired from the service, and a year later became Special Consulting Engineer to the Nizam's Government, and was responsible for the design of great flood-protection works on the Musi River, which had recently washed away the city of Hyderabad, the capital of the State. Then for three years he was Chief Engineer of the Mysore State, and in 1912 was made Dewan, a post he occupied for six years. His administration, though greatly hampered by the extraordinary conditions consequent upon the war, was marked by great activity in every direction. Among the more notable achievements due to him may be mentioned the starting of the Mysore University, the opening of the Bank of Mysore, and the construction of the Kannambadi Dam on the Cauvery River, resulting in the foundation of a huge storage reservoir, rendering possible a very great enlargement of the hydro-electric station at Sivasamudram and providing water for the irrigation of an additional 150,000 acres in the State. To carry the people along with him on the path of progress, to create an atmosphere favourable to the initiation of new enterprises, to disseminate information, and to afford opportunities for the discussion of plans, an annual economic conference was held, from which three committees were appointed which met monthly to deal with matters relating to Agriculture, Education, and Industries. The existing Department of Agriculture was greatly strengthened and a new Department of Industries and Commerce was started. Even now, to one who was behind the scenes in those days, it is difficult to estimate the value of these attempts to popularize a programme of intensive development. The results achieved were undoubtedly noteworthy, and though in subsequent years there have been setbacks in certain directions, there is ample evidence that Sir M. Visvesvaraya's methods of procedure have greatly enhanced the prestige of the State and added not a little to its material prosperity. After his retirement from Mysore, Sir M. Visvesvaraya travelled widely, and published the results of his studies under the title *Reconstructing India*. With a still

wider range of experience, gleaned by public work chiefly in Bombay and by private practice as a Consulting Engineer, he has again come forward to deal with the economic situation as it exists at present and to tender advice to those who will have to handle it in the future.

It has been necessary to cite these salient facts in the career of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, as without some knowledge of the work of the man it is impossible to assess the value of his recommendations. The book suffers much from this suppression of the personality behind it, and undoubtedly it could have been made more convincing by references to what Indians have already done and by illustrations and comments drawn from his own experiences. Sir M. Visvesvaraya was fired with enthusiasm for economic planning long before the Russian Revolution began, and for his efforts to carry it into practice in the Mysore State he deserves the highest possible credit; yet there is nothing in the book to suggest this, and the average reader will, from its title and from its proposals for five-year and ten-year plans, almost certainly come to the conclusion that it advocates an adaptation of present Russian planning to the conditions prevailing in India. This does him far less than justice, and has evoked superficial criticism which will tend to minimize the value of this constructive effort to raise the economic status of India in the eyes of the world and ameliorate the poverty-stricken condition of many millions of its inhabitants.

The book is divided into two almost equal sections. The first half consists of an economic survey which clearly reveals the economic weakness of the country, but underestimates the progress that has been made, whether through Government agency or by British or Indian private enterprise. Some stress is laid on the selfish motives of Dependency rule, and there is a lack of historical perspective in dealing with the past and a failure to recognize the immense amount of work which had to be done to evolve order out of chaos, to establish the *pax Britannica*, to create a great railway system and mighty irrigation works, to eliminate the horrors of famines, and generally to create an orderly State in which life and property were secure, and a measure of personal liberty attainable in freedom of action and speech which is even now the envy of half the world. All these things take time, and that is a factor which the former Dewan of Mysore is somewhat unwilling to concede. By carefully collated statistics the inferiority of India as compared with the leading nations of the world is undoubtedly established in most of the things which characterize a civilized state, but mere statistics are not always a reliable guide where national welfare is concerned; and so to make out his case for urgent measures, which is undeniably strong, undue emphasis is placed on deductions from figures which may be numerically accurate, but do not always represent identical things. To bestow too much recognition of the benefits conferred on India during the last three-quarters of a century would probably not please the Indian politically-minded public to which he appeals, and which he would have signalize its accession to power and responsibility by a vigorous course of action which must be made to contrast favourably with the steady but cautious policy which has hitherto been pursued—a policy which in the main has been directed to a just appreciation of conflicting interests and

which has raised the credit of India to a very high level. Let those who come after see that this high standard is maintained, or they will plunge India into financial difficulties which will frustrate the most enlightened schemes for self-improvement.

The second and by far the more important half of the book outlines a scheme for what is termed *reconstruction*, but which on detailed examination proves to be only revolutionary in its character in so far as it advocates measures which, in its author's opinion, would be calculated to greatly accelerate the pace at which progress has been made during the present century. Fundamentally they differ in no way from those introduced into the Mysore State whilst he held the office of Dewan, and as such they take but little account of the complexities likely to arise from any attempts to control Provinces autonomous in regard to their internal affairs by a Federal administration. Broadly, they bear a striking resemblance to the proposals of the Indian Industrial Commission for the creation of Imperial and Provincial Departments of Industries—proposals which were formulated under a régime of tempered bureaucratic control when there was no thought of the emergence of a federated India composed of many Provinces and States enjoying very considerable freedom of action in regard to their local problems.

Stated briefly, there is to be with the Central Government a Development Minister, assisted by a general economic staff of paid experts and advised by an elected Central Economic Council of about fifty members, which will mainly work through a permanent standing committee sitting at Delhi. Their initial function is to be the preparation of a development plan to cover a period of ten years, and it will presumably be the duty of the Minister to take the necessary steps to carry it out. In each Province there is to be a similar organization on a scale suited to its size and needs. Their functions will include rendering assistance to the Federal Government in regard to the execution of the ten-year plan and the preparation of five-year plans for their own guidance. Further, there are to be local economic councils in all districts and in the more important towns. The main object of this multiplication of what in practice will prove to be little more than debating societies is to disseminate information, incite local interest, create a spirit of enterprise, and afford opportunities for ventilating local grievances. The spheres of influence of the Central and Provincial organizations are roughly delimited, but it is obvious that, without going into details, there will be much overlapping, and it is perfectly certain that infant democratic assemblies will possess neither the experience nor the driving force to carry through elaborate plans involving a large expenditure which can only be met by extensive borrowing. A spirit of optimism pervades the constructive proposals put forward, which takes no account of the conflicting interests of the constituents of the Federation, nor of the clash of caste and creed, nor of the inherent inertia of 350 million people. On the other hand, it tacitly assumes that the advent of self-government will generate a unanimity of purpose which will silence all opposition and foster an attitude of mind favourable to the calm deliberation of economic questions in the interest of the nation rather than that of private individuals or special groups.

The ground covered by the chapters on "Reconstruction" is far too vast for critical examination in a brief review. Suffice to say they deal with almost every phase of human activity in the matter of production, and their ultimate aim is to place India on a basis similar to that attained by the United States of America. That is, it should be self-contained in respect to all its essential needs and support a large and intelligent industrial population by foreign trade in manufactured articles. Under the ægis of Britain, Indians have achieved some notable feats in this direction. Will the fervour of patriotic pride stimulate them to heroic efforts to attain the proud position to which they consider they are entitled to aspire by reason of the extent of their country and its dense population? Time alone will furnish the answer. In the meanwhile, Sir M. Visvesvaraya has done them yeoman service by bringing together in a coherent whole a definite plan of action. It should be treated seriously as the starting-point of Indian effort to do for themselves what they in their present frame of mind consider that we have failed to do.

FACT AND FANCY

Today almost everyone who can use the pen attempts a short story. Yet, so far as I know, there are not a dozen Western artists who have produced work in this direction of lasting value. Why is this so? Because a short story demands the same poetical integrity as a sonnet. And we know how few really good sonnets there are.

Now if a short story is a most difficult achievement, it is still more so when it assumes the form of a fairy-tale (unity of impression is what fixes the *genus*); for then a different and, to my mind, more sensitive type of mind comes into play. Mere knowledge and experience of life are irrelevant: what matters is the capacity to enter into and make use of the dream consciousness. The world of dreams, as A. E. was wont to say, is the world of creation *par excellence*. To tap—by innate gift or cultured discipline—this mysterious mine and materialize its forms unknown to the waking vitality is the secret of success in this domain.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the eminently practical and common-sense kind of mind is the least fitted to indulge in this genre of writing. It can fabricate according to pattern, but it cannot create new entities. The West, little given to introspection and brooding, has (with a few notable exceptions) not excelled in the fairy-tale. Its achievements belong to the world of eye and touch. The most notable collections of fairy-tales in Europe are, more or less, copies or adaptations of things Oriental. India is the home of the fairy-tale.

Many of the tales that have come to the West, after passing through the transforming crucible of other races, are tame, domesticated, altogether sophisticated. They lack the teeming fertility and splendour of the original creations. It were as though they had shed all their colour and fragrance on the way.

This has been the general fate of most tales. In one case, however, this does not seem to have happened. It is surprising how it has escaped the lynx-

eyes of Westernizing adapters. The *Poupée de Fromage* comes to us from the hands of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, an ardent Folklorist, with much of the aroma of the soil from which it has sprung.

Mr. Tagore has to be heartily congratulated on resurrecting this delicate little masterpiece, a veritable jewel of art. This tale is not a slice from life, nor indeed a pure phantasy. It belongs to a different order of writing, an order of writing that one or two Frenchmen are said to have invented recently. Be this as it may, in this tale we have a harmonious blending of fact and fancy, a perfect union of the world of experience with the world of dreams. The incidents of the story are such as might have happened in real life; but there is a superstructure of ideas. The form that T. E. Lawrence imagined but despaired of successfully evolving has been achieved with complete mastery here. The attention of Western artists should be drawn to this gracious creation. From the artistic point of view, it is a triumph.

Whoever the original author may have been, he was undoubtedly a man of extraordinary gifts. Harmless as a dove, curious as a crow, wise as a serpent. He knew that right valuations in the life of man are infinitely more important than the grace and beauty of the visible scheme. And despite his delicious diablerie, which breaks out everywhere, especially in the dainty lyrics he has put into the mouth of the monkey, he was replete with ethical gravity. From this I suspect that the original tale belongs to the very earliest strata of Buddhist literature and folklore. But this is a mere speculation. I have not seen the original work, nor even the version of Mr. Tagore; all I have to judge from is the adaptation in French by Mlle. Andrée Karpelès and Mr. Amya Chandra Chakravarty.

A word might perhaps be said about the French rendering. The style is so limpid and rhythmically musical that I cannot imagine a foreigner to be responsible for it: assuredly it is Mlle. Karpelès who has done the work of adaptation: but even for a native the French is of so fine a quality as to merit special notice. This is how a book ought to be transformed from one language into another. It may be presumed that Mr. Chakravarty has supervised the work and supplied the notes.

Our gratitude, however, goes in the first place to Mr. Tagore. But for him most of us would not have made acquaintance with this dainty *bijou*. He has rendered a real service to literature by unearthing the *Poupée de Fromage*. One could wish that Indian authors would occupy themselves more with this kind of inquiry rather than spending laborious days in compiling bulky commentaries on obscure and third-rate English writers whom nothing would awaken but the blast of the trump of the Angel of the Judgment. Once again Bengal has shown the way. If Mr. Tagore's command of Bengali is anything like so good as that of his adapter he must be reckoned among the artists of our day.

I could wish this exquisite little masterpiece were in the hands of every appreciator of true literature. Seldom have I read anything that has satisfied me so well from so many points of view. Has Mr. Tagore anything similar in reserve?

RANJEE G. SHAHANI.

ORIENTALIA

THE MERCENARIES OF THE HELLENISTIC WORLD. By G. T. Griffith. Hare Prize Essay, 1933. (*Cambridge University Press.*)

(Reviewed by W. E. D. ALLEN.)

This book is of so specialist a quality that it is otiose for anyone who cannot claim to be a Classical scholar to attempt to do it justice in a review. The author examines in great detail the rôle of the mercenary soldier during the Hellenistic period from the time of Alexander the Great to the end of the Punic Wars. The style is dry and the pages are seldom relieved by those flashes of colour and imagination with which even the most conscientious historian is entitled to sustain the interest of his readers. In spite, however, of the author's refusal to allow himself to be carried away by the variety and originality of his subject, the book makes really fascinating reading.

The significance of the mercenary as a factor in history has been, on the whole, neglected. The historians of the last century particularly, brought up in the atmosphere of national military service and of great national standing armies, have tended to overlook the fact that until the Napoleonic phase the bulk of the world's fighting had been done by the adventurers of all the nations. Recently Professor Arnold Toynbee, in his *Studies in History*, has given much attention to the importance of the "slave armies" who dominated the politics of the Middle East (Janissaries and Mamluks) through various periods down to the first decades of the nineteenth century. But the significance of the Irish and Scots elements in the armies of Northern Europe and of the German contingents in the British Army of the eighteenth century has been largely neglected, and it is generally forgotten that "Butcher" Cumberland used German infantry to suppress the '45, and that German regiments were largely employed against the English settlers during the American War of Independence. In the Ancient World similar conditions were in existence. Mr. Griffith shows how the Persian kings employed Greek mercenaries, and how Hannibal invaded Italy with an army composed mainly of Gauls, Greeks, Spaniards, and Italians.

"The situation of the Carthaginians," writes Mr. Griffith, "has points in common with that of the English in the eighteenth century. Both peoples enjoyed a maritime supremacy that made them immune from all serious fear of invasion and encouraged them to forget that their fathers had known how to carry arms: and both peoples could easily afford to devote a part of the profits from their empire and their commerce to hiring barbarians to fight for them on the occasions when fighting became necessary."

The author sees in the vogue of the Greek mercenary one of the results of a great movement of expansion outwards of the population of Greece which began with, and really before, the Asiatic campaigns of the Macedonians.

"The generation of Alexander and the Successors was a time of dispersal for the Greeks. It was not only that thousands of Greeks fought as mercenaries in the conquest of the East and its partition, nor only that many of them remained in the East as military settlers. The movement of emigration must have far transcended mere movements of troops. For every one of the new cities for which a military origin is known or even suspected, there are two or three which have nothing to connect them with soldiers. There can be no doubt that the opening of Asia and Egypt to the Greeks was something not unlike the discovery of a new world. . . . The effect on the race as a whole can have hardly been less than that of the early age of colonization. . . . For the other side of the picture turn to Polybius' description of the Peloponnese about 150 B.C. : it is a picture of depopulation and race-exhaustion."

The author has a high opinion of the military and political qualities of Alexander the Great, and it is interesting to compare the considered opinion of a specialist with the widely advertised prejudices of recent "outliners" of history. His view that Antigonus "narrowly failed in an attempt to concentrate in his own person the power which Alexander had formerly wielded in Asia" is based on a careful study of the military career of that heroic octogenarian. Equally his view of Pyrrhus as a leader of Græco-Macedonian mercenaries rather than as the potential builder of a conqueror-state of the Macedonian type on Epirote soil is stimulating. With regard to Mithridates, the author suggests that his military system, "while it was to some extent dependent upon Greek tactics and formations, was never greatly dependent upon a Greek population for its man-power, except indeed for its officers."

In writing on the Pontic and other kingdoms of Lesser Asia, the author, following the contributors on the same subject to the Cambridge Ancient History, appears to limit himself to the Classical point of view. He makes little reference to the Armenians who were playing an important rôle in the politics of Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period (and who, later, figured prominently in both the Roman and Byzantine armies). Similarly he ignores the presence of Greek mercenaries in the Caucasus, at a period immediately subsequent to the campaigns of Alexander, and the important influence which they exercised on the foundation of the Kingdom of Iberia. There is evidence also for the fact that Caucasian slaves in Athens were in the habit of enlisting as mercenaries in "Greek" contingents (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV., viii., 3-4).

The author's analysis of the components of the Carthaginian army is particularly valuable. The Carthaginians themselves seem to have taken little part in service in their own fighting forces until, in the Third Punic War, "they were compelled to fight not for power or a province but for their lives, and with their own bodies, untrained and unwarlike as they were : and with characteristic perversity they fought very well." Hannibal's army was composed of Libyans, Spaniards, Ligurians, Celts or Gauls, Carthaginians, Italians, Greeks. He appears to have set particular value on the fighting qualities of the Campanians. The Carthaginians, like Pyrrhus,

employed elephants in fighting, and at one time there were 140 Indians in charge of the elephants, serving in Sicily.

“The Indian trainers on their backs probably regarded the battle as a party of pleasure, well worth the long journey from India. This long journey is itself of great interest, since it shows to what trouble and expense the great powers of the day were prepared to go in order to keep abreast with the very latest developments and inventions. The Indian trainers in Egypt were surprising enough, but their appearance at Carthage is almost astonishing, and we are perfectly in the dark as to the means by which they were procured.”

The author concludes with chapters on the “Provenance and Recruiting” and on the “Pay and Maintenance” of the mercenaries, which are a monument to the amazing resource and to the meticulous care for detail of modern historical science.

THE RAMPUR ANTHOLOGY. By J. A. Chapman. (*Oxford University Press.*)

Rampur is a small state in Northern India, with which Mr. Chapman is evidently well acquainted. He has compiled an anthology which may be compared to a bouquet of sweet-centred flowers. Most of the poems are his own renderings chiefly from the Persian: Hafiz, Omar Khayyám, Sadi, and others from the Urdu and from Bengali. They are divided into Rubáiyát, Odes, Ballads. These poems are very delicate and well rhymed. Finally, Mr. Chapman has appended some of his own poetry, which generally breathes an Eastern atmosphere. But there are notes of disappointment: for instance, in the poem “Wrong,” beginning with:

Man sings with soul made dark
Because of wrong.

A SEARCH IN SECRET INDIA. By Paul Brunton. Illustrated. (*Rider*) 15s. net.

This fascinating book will be read, and deservedly so, by a large English public. Secret India is in reality that of Yogis and Faqueers, of whom the Western world knows so little. The reader of this book should not overlook the short but important Preface by Sir Francis Younghusband, who makes it clear why the book might also have been styled Sacred India, as certain Indian phenomena are kept secret because they are so sacred. Mr. Brunton, who journeyed to India in search of the Yogis and their knowledge, is now able to state that he had his faith restored through his overwhelming experience. And who was responsible for the change in his thinking? An unassuming jungle Sage who had lived for years in a mountain cave. The secret India's spiritual life, so Mr. Brunton writes, still exists, and he has given authentic records of some Yogis who have attained strength “for which we lesser mortals yearn.” In another passage from

this most interesting and valuable volume Sri Sankara, the spiritual head of Southern India, says in conversation with the author: "Do not blame people so much as the environments into which they are born. Their surroundings force them to become worse than they really are." Society must be brought into tune with a higher note. Through his earnestness many guarded secrets have been disclosed to Mr. Brunton; he has been able to see many unbelievable feats, and one can only wish that the book will enlighten many readers, broaden their outlook, and help in making this a better world.

A GUIDE TO ELEPHANTA. By Dr. Hirananda Sastri. With map and 18 plates. (Delhi.) 4s. 3d.

Dr. H. Sastri has, with great ability and thorough knowledge, undertaken an entirely new handbook chiefly for the use of visitors, but also for all lovers of Hindu art. It may be recalled that the sculptures are entirely Brahmanical, and that they represent some of the finest specimens of what is now called early mediæval Hindu art. Dr. Sastri follows in his arrangement that of other official Indian guides, such as Sir John Marshall's *Sanchi and Taxila—i.e.*, after an account of the history and general outline of the art in connection with these caves a full description of the sculptures is given. Everyone will agree with the author's condemnation of the vandalism practised by the Portuguese when they occupied the island.

THE SAKTAS. By E. A. Payne. (Milford.) 5s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by ARTHUR DUNCAN.)

Sakti worship is a complex and late movement within Hinduism, which began to develop very early in the Christian era and was flourishing in India in the eighth and ninth centuries. The books are kept in greater secrecy than most other books of the Hindus, but during the last two decades "Arthur Avalon" and Sir John Woodroffe have done much to interpret the mystical doctrines to English-speaking readers.

Saktism is the worship of the androgynous Hindu trinity. The *Sakti* signifies the energy-giving will or power of the three gods, Brahma (the creator), Vishnu (the preserver), and Siva (the destroyer), as manifested in their consorts Saraswati, Lakshmi, and Kali respectively. The goddesses are likened to the active energy of the soul and to the power of burning in the fire.

The cult has lost much of its vogue. Today it is practised mainly in the eastern part of India—in Bengal, Bihar, and Assam, where emotionalism and mysticism are prominent features of the racial character.

Mr. Payne's book is a scholarly account of the sect, which will be particularly useful to students of comparative religion.

THE MAHABHARATA, ANALYSIS AND INDEX. By Edward Rice. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Edward Rice has accomplished a task which was well worth while for all students of ancient India and of the epics in particular. To seek for a given passage through the mazes of the Mahabharata was always difficult and always tedious. From this analysis, accompanied as it is by an index, one can easily find what is required. Beyond this the compiler hardly tries to go. The book is aptly described on the jacket as a map of the Mahabharata jungle "which makes it easy to locate any incident, legend, or doctrinal teaching of which one is in search." The claim is fully borne out.

L'INDE ANTIQUE ET LA CIVILISATION INDIENNE. Par P. Masson-Oursel, H. de Willman-Grabouska, et Philippe Stern. (Paris: *La Renaissance du Livre.*) 40 fr.

(Reviewed by ARTHUR DUNCAN.)

This is one of the volumes of *L'Evolution de l'Humanité*, in the production of which the leading savants of France are co-operating with M. Henri Berr, director of the Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique.

It is almost unnecessary to commend a book of such knowledge and of so admirable a spirit. It covers the ground fully and fairly up to the seventh century A.D.—to the time of Harsha, whose short-lived glory marks the close of Aryan India. His was the last national empire in India. The book is indispensable for the student of those centuries, and indeed for any period, for in that past world lie the sources of many modern problems and the explanation of not a few of them. In Indian history we must turn largely to ethnology, philology, and archæology to enlarge our knowledge of her ancient past. Quite recently the horizon has been expanded by the archæologist's spade: in the Indus Valley an unexpected civilization has been unearthed, dating back to the fourth and third millennia B.C. There are evidences of a highly developed city life and of intercourse with distant lands and forwarding connections with the Hinduism of today. It is improbable that this civilization was confined to the Indus Valley.

In *L'Inde Antique* Indian history, society, religions, and philosophies are dealt with by Professor Masson-Oursel. Professor Helena de Willman-Grabouska, of the University of Cracow, deals with Indian literature, in which love and women occupy so prominent a place, although in character it is essentially religious. She gives many interesting summaries of the epics, plays, and stories. The section on art is the work of M. Philippe Stern, Assistant Keeper at the Musée Guimet.

Professor Masson-Oursel has his own theory of the origin of caste—endogamy within the phratry—which is at variance with the largely accepted theory of Senart that the castes were grafted on to the ancient "classes." "Il semble que," he says, "non sans luttes, ils aient superposé à des mœurs aryennes—endogamie de la phratric—une théorie qui leur est propre." Caste, therefore, according to Professor Masson-Oursel, was created by a "development" largely assisted by the Brahmans, by which the notion of the three

abstract essences, *brahman*, *ṛshatra*, and *vis*, gave rise to the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaisya castes.

Professor Masson-Oursel emphasizes the difference between the working of the Indian and the Western mind. Indeed, his remarkably sober and lucid study of Indian religion and philosophy, which forms the major part of his contribution to the book, is an elaboration of this particular point of view. In the Indian religions we hear deep calling unto deep. As Kipling said :

“ Here in this mystical India, the deities hover and swarm,
Like the wild bees heard in the tree-tops or the gusts of a gathering storm.”

The most sacred part of India is the most secret, for her profound truths are overlaid with sacerdotal verbiage. She has developed her own spiritual technique, and her *via mystica* is steeper and speedier than any revealed by reasoning. India has dedicated herself to the unlimited. Her religious beliefs and philosophical reflections claim not to treat of a real, independent of thought, but to establish modes of existence by means of the autonomous activity of mind. Hence the intensity of spiritual life in India. The essential contribution of the Indian genius to mankind is a psychical element, the sense of creative activity. “ En définitive, l'apport essentiel du génie de l'Inde à l'humanité, c'est un élément psychique dont il ne faut ni rabaisser ne surestimer le valeur : le sentiment de l'activité créatrice.”

A very comprehensive bibliography and some sixty illustrations add to the value of this admirable book.

HINDU MONISM AND PLURALISM AS FOUND IN THE UPANISHADS AND IN THE PHILOSOPHIES DEPENDENT UPON THEM. By Max H. Harrison. (*Oxford University Press.*) 11s. 6d. net.

The author has produced an eminently readable and learned book on a difficult subject. The difficulty may be gathered from this sentence in the book : “ It is necessary for any complete understanding of the growth of the systems of Indian philosophy to remember that they developed under the stress of criticism not merely from the schools which we have mentioned, but from other movements as well, some of which are but slightly known to us.” It is a pleasure to notice that Mr. Harrison, well acquainted with Sanskrit literature and European treatises and translations, of which the very fine bibliography gives full testimony, is an independent thinker. The whole book is well divided and proportioned. The contents may briefly be enumerated. The Sources, the Purpose, and Method of the Indian Thinker; Brahma and Atman in the Upanishads; the Philosophy of Non-Dualism in Sankara; God, the Soul, and the World in the Upanishads; the Philosophy of Modified Non-Dualism in Ramanuja; Origins of the Sankhya Philosophy; the Pluralistic Philosophy; and the most interesting chapter, Criticisms of the Systems upon one another. There is an Index of Sanskrit passages referred to and a general Index which Mr. Harrison might perhaps have enlarged. As an illustration of Indian Philosophy the following quotation from the Brihadaranyaka Up. on page 137 may be given : “ Evil does not overcome him, he consumes all evil. He becomes free from evil, free from passion, free from doubt, a true Brahman.”

BEOWULF AND THE RAMAYANA : A Study in Epic Poetry. By I. S. Peter.
(*John Bale and Sons.*) 9s. net.

Mr. Peter has chosen for his thesis a comparison of the Anglo-Saxon and Hindu epics. The numerous references on every page testify to his ability, wide reading, and great care. In examining the book, one is struck by faultless printing due to good proof reading, especially of foreign words.

THE LAKHERS. By N. E. Parry, with an introduction and supplementary notes by Dr. J. N. Hutton. (*Macmillan.*) 36s. net.

The publishers can claim great credit for continuing their valuable series on Anthropology and for issuing the publication in such an excellent style. The author, Mr. N. E. Parry, has supplied not only a monograph, but an encyclopædia on the Lakher, a Lushei tribe of the Chin Hills in Assam. It is, therefore, impossible to do justice in a few lines to the contents of the volume. It opens with a general description (59 pages) of the people, and proceeds to inform us of their domestic life, including occupation and amusements. This chapter contains most of the text illustrations, which include basket work and weapons for war and hunting. The subsequent chapter explains the laws and customs of the country. The pages on village government and life, class distinctions, the relationship between man and wife, fully explain the fine character of the Lakher. Complete tables of marriage prices taken by the fathers, brothers, and aunts are carefully given. In the following part the author deals with religion and religious ceremonies on all occasions. It should be noted that the Lakher are monotheists. The Lakher language is a treatise by itself with a grammar and list of words, ending with a number of folklore stories in English. There are seven appendices, which include a list of trees and plants, with their Lakher and Lushei names where possible. The value of the volume is increased by a detailed index of 25 pages.

GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES. Vols. 52 to 56. (*Baroda.*)

These five new volumes mark the development of Indian scholarship and book production. The series has the advantage of able editing and ample critical notes in the introduction to each volume in English. Of the new issues perhaps the one of greatest interest to Sanskrit scholars is No. 53—*The Guhyasamaja Tantra*, edited by the director himself. It is one of the earliest Buddhist tantras, and to which later writers on the subject are chiefly indebted.

BEST SHORT STORIES OF INDIA. Selected and edited by Phyllis Atkinson, B.SC.ECON. (LOND.). Foreword by R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E., I.C.S. (RETD.). (Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co., "Kitab Mahal," Hornby Road.) Vol I., pp. xxiii + 310; Vol. II., pp. xiii + 290. Price: Each Vol. Rs.4.

The late Sir Richard Carnac Temple may well be regarded as a pioneer in the field of Indian folklore. Not merely did he welcome and encourage all such contributions to the *Indian Antiquary*, but he set the example himself as to how collections should be scientifically presented. When in 1868 the first edition of Miss Frere's *Old Deccan Days* made its appearance, followed later by Miss Stokes' *Indian Fairy Tales* in 1879, the necessity for anything more than a few notes explaining native terms and customs was not realized. It was not until 1884, with the publication of Temple's *Wide-awake Stories*, that the scientific study of Indian tales really started. From these early beginnings the interest in local folktales in all parts of India has grown enormously, so much so that a study of them all is now a really large undertaking. Some idea of the extent of these collections can be obtained on referring to W. Norman Brown's excellent article "The Pañcatantra in Indian Folklore" in *Journ. American Orient. Soc.*, vol. 39, 1919, pp. 1-54. The bibliography covers ten full pages. Now, although many of the collections were published as individual works, many of them are hidden in the pages of journals of learned societies and thus are often lost or forgotten.

It is thus with great satisfaction that we find in the work before us a really excellent selection of folktales culled from the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* and presented in a form worthy of their importance.

In Volume I. we have selections from the collections of Mrs. F. A. Steel, Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, Putlibai D. H. Wadia, and S. M. Natesa Sastri. The districts covered are the Punjab, Kashmir, Western and Southern India. The selection is really well chosen and affords a good idea of the varied and highly imaginative genius inherent in the local folklore of the people. In Volume II. such well-known authors as Damant, D'Penha, Cole, Crooke, and others are included. It will thus be seen that the work before us fully justifies its title. A word must be said in praise of the paper, printing, and general "get up" of the volumes. The publishers already have a high reputation to live up to, and in the present case the size, type, and format leave nothing to be desired.

THE CASTE SYSTEM OF NORTHERN INDIA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH. By E. A. H. Blunt. (*Oxford University Press.*) 15s. net.

The author of this able monograph is a member of the Indian Civil Service who has been able to find time outside his official duties to make this study of the caste system of Northern India. He modestly claims it to be a re-arrangement of Crooke's *Tribes and Castes*. Although the work just quoted has been the basis of this study, there is much material which is entirely new and particularly accessible to the author. Whatever views one may have of caste, there is a good deal of interest also to the student of anthropology.

Very useful are the list of caste names and the glossary of terms, but one would have liked to have the bibliography not merely in footnotes, but also printed separately as a guide to the student.

THE PAKKHTO IDIOM: A DICTIONARY. By Major G. W. Gilbertson. Two vols. (Published by the author.)

Major Gilbertson has accomplished an immense work of the greatest difficulty. The two volumes contain almost 1,000 pages. To do this requires profound knowledge, the reading of most of the available literature, and, in addition, time and earnest application. Major Gilbertson has produced something useful—nay, necessary—to the officers and others whose duties bring them into contact with the Afghan, and this is an admirable performance.

Major Gilbertson has contributed a detailed foreword in which he deals with the use of this dictionary, the orthography, the romanizing, and the proverb. All this is very practical and clear, and the student can but benefit by reading several times these few pages. At the end is a list of books in and on Pushtu in alphabetical order, not in the usual order of authors, and finally a list of works on Afghanistan. The volumes are remarkably free from printers' mistakes. In spite of conscientious search only one has been found—"Strafgesetsbuch" (on page 961) instead of "Strafgesetzbuch." One cannot help admiring the great care which Messrs. Stephen Austin and Sons, of Hertford, have taken in the printing. They deserve praise as well as the compiler and author. It is truly a monumental work.

OCHIKUBO MONOGATARI, OR THE TALE OF THE LADY OCHIKUBO. A Tenth Century Japanese Novel. Translated by W. Whitehouse. (*Kegan Paul and Co.*) 7s. 6d.

The more one learns of the Far Eastern Island Power, the more one wants to know of its early literature or folklore. Ochikubo is supposed to be the first Japanese novel, built up on real life, with dialogues in order to hold the reader's attention. The general impression it gives is that human nature with its strength and weakness is more or less alike all the world over. The present volume, which in interest is hardly inferior to *Genji Monogatari*, depicts the sufferings of Lady Ochikubo caused by her cruel step-mother. The heroine is taken away by a young man, Michiyori, who eventually falls in love with her and decides to take revenge for the wrongs committed on the lady. In the end the two parties become reconciled. The translation, made with the assistance of a Japanese scholar, is well done. The notes that are added are most helpful to the reader.

CHA-NO-YU, THE JAPANESE TEA CEREMONY. By A. L. Sadler. With plates and text illustrations (*Kegan Paul.*) 15s. net.

Okakura's *Book of Tea* has made the reading public familiar with the tea ceremony, and many of these readers will welcome this most elaborate work

on the same subject, issued at a very reasonable price. Numerous illustrations, in addition to some plates, adorn the volume.

To Europeans generally the tea ceremony is too long and monotonous, but to the Japanese it is the worship of simplicity, as well as of the antique in objects of art. The history of the tea ceremony goes back to over 400 years, and during this time quite a number of schools have sprung up. It was Sen-no-Rikyu who organized and codified the ceremony as it stands more or less to-day.

Professor Sadler has exhausted the whole subject; he deals with its history, the utensils, the dress required, the pottery. The larger part contains the practices of great tea masters, the stories of which are indeed entertaining. Lovers of Japan, the culture and thought of the people, will derive an additional insight into Japanese civilization. Professor Sadler appears here as an accomplished scholar of the difficult language and as a master of the manners and customs.

THE LADY OF THE LONG WALL: A KU SHIH OR DRUM SONG OF CHINA. By Genevieve Wimsatt and Geoffrey Chen. Translated from the Chinese. (Oxford University Press.) 18s. 6d. net.

Ku Shih signifies the songs of the people, as opposed to classic poetry cultivated by the literati. Mêng Chiang Nü is probably the first of these ancient ballads translated into English. This ballad should be welcomed by the student of Chinese and the general reader, not merely on those grounds, however weighty they are, but also on account of the subject it portrays: the extreme devotion of the wife to her husband. The wife's mourning is intense, and she did not rest until the bones of her beloved were found, which she carried home on her back. On her return journey Mrs. Chiang became thirsty and wept profusely, when of a sudden a spring of sweet water burst forth. This is not the only touching story, but it denotes the beautiful mind of the people.

Miss Wimsatt is a poet as well as a scholar. The ballad is rendered into elegant and easily-read verse. This is prefaced by an appropriate account of the life and times of Emperor Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, and a very able study of the Ku Shih or Drum Songs. Useful and interesting notes to the five cantos are appended. Lastly, a note of praise should be added for the fine printing, charming binding with a part of the Great Wall embossed in gold, together with the four pictures of artistic old Chinese paintings; they combine to make this fine work truly attractive.

THE STORY OF KALAKA. TEXTS, HISTORY, LEGENDS, AND MINIATURE PAINTINGS OF THE SVETAMBARA JAIN HAGIS GRAPHICAL WORK: THE KALAKA-CARYAKATHA. By W. Norman Brown. (Washington.)

Professor W. Norman Brown has placed the whole Oriental world under a great obligation by the publication of this Jain work. The Kalaka story usually appears at the end of the *Kalpasutra*, and is read by the Jain monks

at the time of the Paryusana festival. In a long introduction Professor Brown details the story in its several versions and discusses the political history touched upon therein, particularly the Sakas. A special chapter is devoted to the study of miniature painting in Western India, twelfth to sixteenth century, with which the original MS. is adorned and of which 15 fine plates, some of which are in beautiful colours, appear in the volume and are fully explained by the learned Professor. This chapter on painting is very valuable indeed, and it also lays stress on the first use of paper for manuscripts and the effect it produced on the character of illustrations. Another chapter deals with the various versions in Prakrit and Sanskrit in a complete and able manner. There follow the various versions in Roman characters fully annotated on each page and their translations, with explanatory notes.

THE LIFE OF THE ICELANDER, JON OLAFSSON, TRAVELLER TO INDIA. Written by himself and completed about A.D. 1661, with a continuation, by another hand, up to his death in 1679. Translated from the Icelandic edition of Sigfus Blöndal by Bertha Phillpotts. Vol. II., ed. by Sir Richard Temple and L. M. Anstey, 1932. Hakluyt Society (*Agent, Bernard Quaritch and Co., Ltd.*). 31s. 6d. net.

The student of Indian history, travel, and adventure will be delighted that the second and concluding volume of this work has now been published after an interval of nine years. The second volume begins with an account of the first Danish expedition to the East. We learn of the relations of the Portuguese with the King of Ceylon, or Kandy, which ended in the King's submission to them; the arrival of the Dutch in Ceylon, and their arrangements with the Sinhalese. The author's recollection of what he had seen is on firmer ground, and his report of the Hindu festivals is very substantial. It must constantly be borne in mind how inexperienced the travellers to the East were at the time, and misconceptions must be judged accordingly. There are three plates in this volume, the frontispiece being a Danish man-of-war, one a plan of the Fort of Dansborg and one of the Danish church at Tranquehar. The latter part of the volume deals with the homeward voyage via the Cape, St. Helena, and the Irish Coast.

A STUDY IN CREATIVE HISTORY, THE INTERACTION OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN PEOPLES TO 500 B.C. By O. E. Burton. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The more we learn, chiefly through archæology, of the past history of the countries of the East, the stronger must needs be our wish to obtain sounder knowledge of their origin and their early intellectual development. The subject is vast, and only in years to come we shall, perhaps, be in a position to obtain a clear vision. In the meantime we must be satisfied with a résumé as far as our present knowledge will allow. Mr. Burton rightly concludes that great movements of the spirit have taken place down to

500 B.C. Religious systems had more or less found firm root. The monuments of Egypt and Babylon, the teaching of the Buddha and Confucius, the mythology of the Greeks, etc., are testimonials for enormous mental movements, and were the outcome of still older civilizations. What is even more astonishing to us to-day, is that, undoubtedly, each country had its own culture built upon preceding thought or necessity, and that their interaction must necessarily have been limited. Mr. Burton has made an extensive study of ancient Eastern history, and he has evidently studied the literature of the several countries, a formidable work in itself. Mr. Burton can claim that he has successfully and originally given to the intelligent lay reader a useful and interesting handbook of the history of the ancient Eastern world.

THE AGRICULTURAL LIFE OF THE JEWS IN BABYLONIA BETWEEN THE YEARS 200 AND 50 C.E. By Rabbi J. Newman. (*Oxford University Press.*) 8s. net.

We know that agriculture was practised by the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, and Hindus, and it is but natural that in the course of thousands of years improvements must have been made. It is of considerable interest to learn how far this steady progress had evolved by the first centuries of our era. Agriculture had in the meantime extended to a number of branches, and this book deals with all of them. The sources are wholly derived from the Talmud, and thus the reader is assured that the account is based on contemporary solid records, and that it in truth represents the whole economic life. Dr. Newman gives us an excellent picture of the life during this period, and shows definitely how the Jews had become attached to the soil and exercised the various professions. The whole life passes before us with its landlords and workers, with farmers' life, even with the taxes, which even then must have worried the unwilling tax-payer. As befits a learned book, numerous notes testify to the writer's erudition.

CHINA YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY. By E. T. Williams. Illustrated Fifth Edition revised. (*George Harrap.*) 18s. net.

Professor Williams has held very eminent positions in the past, enabling him to obtain a thorough insight into the life and culture of China and furthermore into the present situation. Since the issue of the fourth edition in 1928 many changes have taken place, and further editions will again deal with the conditions which are bound to arise in the future. Everything pertaining to the past and present of that huge country has been ably placed before him, its geography, the origin of the people, as far as it can reasonably be traced to-day, social foundations, village life, religions, art, and literature. In the later chapters, the forced opening of China's door, with its subsequent events, are dealt with. In fact, there is no subject which has not received full attention.

INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES. VOL. II.: PUBLIC LIFE AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. By S. V. Venkateswara. (*Longmans, Green.*) 12s. 6d. net.

The author shows great application and wide knowledge of Sanskrit literature in dealing with ancient Indian polity. He has not been satisfied with a thesis on Kantilza's *Arthasastra*, the chief handbook on political science, but has also carefully studied a large number of Sanskrit and Pali texts upon which his theory is based, and has further made use of Persian sources for the Mughal period. It should be constantly borne in mind that the world's civilization is very old, especially since our knowledge has been widened by recent excavations, and that social institutions have existed in immemorial times. Mr. Venkateswara is a very sound student, and he has added to his Eastern knowledge experience of the West.

ANCIENT ORIENTAL SEALS IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. EDWARD T. NEWELL. By H.H. von der Osten. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 27s. net.

This handsome work forms Vol. 22 of the Oriental Institute Publications of the University of Chicago. Mr. Newell has been a collector of seals for many years, and these seals have now been carefully catalogued by Mr. von der Osten, to whom Near Eastern scholars are already much indebted. The plates are a beautiful picture book in themselves, both in respect to the variety of pleasing subjects and the perfect typography. The Catalogue gives in each case the nature of the material, together with the size of the seals and a full description of the subjects. The notes are arranged according to details, such as deities, heroes and demons, human figures, animals, flowers, and so on, and give detailed descriptions. There are a number of text illustrations, after copies from originals. A large bibliography, an index of seals, and a General Index conclude the volume. The Introduction is a careful summary dividing the collection into the following groups: Archaic and Sumerian, Akkadian, Sumero-Akkadian, Babylonian, Kassite, Hittite, Egyptian, Assyrian, North Syrian, Achæmenian, Sassanian, and finally a few pieces of forgeries are shown.

THE CHRONOGRAPHY OF GREGORY ABUL FARAJ, COMMONLY KNOWN AS BAR HEBRÆUS, BEING THE FIRST PART OF HIS POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD. Syrian text with English translation. Ed. by Ernest A. Wallis Budge. 2 vols. (*Oxford University Press.*) £5 5s. net.

The Editor and translator of these two enormous volumes has been perhaps the most productive writer among British scholars. One may even wonder how this late official of the British Museum has been able not only to gather this extraordinary mass of knowledge in a number of languages, but, still more, how he has found the time outside his official duties to compile these countless works and prepare them for the press. A number of publishers have been engaged in issuing them, and the Oxford University

Press deserve great credit for undertaking the publication of these huge volumes at the present time. The work is not so much a Chronography as an Encyclopædia, or a collection of information on all kinds of subjects, comparable with some of the large Arabic publications of bygone days. The subjects are varied: History, with the Manners and Customs of the various nations described, their wars, religions, languages; astronomy—in short, it is a kind of Chronicle. Such a detailed Chronicle is interesting from many points of view. Many peoples are dealt with in the Chronography: the Jews, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, and the Huns. The text is beautifully printed on black in facsimile, and also in other respects the printing of these handsome volumes leaves nothing to be desired.

THE HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA, EXTENDING FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE TO THE RISE OF THE PALA DYNASTY AND BENGAL (A.D. 320-760). By R. Basak. With map and synchronistic table. (*Kegan Paul.*)

The history of India is constantly being revised in accordance with new discoveries or epigraphic records. The task of writing on an untrodden field is not a light one, as old notions are superseded and new finds are constantly being made. Professor Basak has made full use of his residence in Nepal. As may be expected from a modern Sanskrit Professor in India, his learning is very considerable; he has used in support of his arguments not only Sanskrit texts, but also appreciates and values numerous European authorities. There is, of course, no end to research in ancient history, and disputes arise as to correctness in the interpretation of inscriptions, but Professor Basak treads warily and realizes difficulties of such a nature. Any new contribution, especially from such a source, means a step forward towards a clearer knowledge of historical India. The author need not apologize for his lengthy chapter on the history of Nepal; the chronology of the early Nepal kings is worthy of profound study and discussion.

THE LIVING RELIGION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE. By Nicol Macnicol. (*Student Christian Movement.*) 10s. 6d. net.

This book of 324 pages is intended to be a guide for sympathetic understanding of the six chief religions of India. The religions dealt with are Hinduism, Islam, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, and the three sections of Christianity. Dr. Macnicol is already well known for his work on *Indian Theism*.

THE CRUSADE OF NICOPOLIS. By Aziz Suryal Atiya. (*Methuen.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The last great Crusade of the Western Powers against the Turks in the Middle Ages was hardly a creditable performance. The Powers lacked unity, they were guided by wrong principles, and finally they were inferior

to the Turks in military respects. The author gives a lucid account of the whole Crusade, its conception, the battle of Nicopolis, and subsequent events. The story is told in 125 pages, followed by Appendices, over 40 pages of notes, and a bibliography of 20 pages. The bibliography includes not only various European sources, but also Turkish, Arabic, and other Oriental texts. Although fairly small in size, the book is a masterpiece of erudition, the fruit of much research.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF ISLAM. By R. Levy. Vol. II., 1933. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 21s. net.

Mr. Levy has not been lacking in diligence. The second volume has soon followed the first. Readers should be reminded that the work, now completed, is compiled chiefly from original sources. Mr. Levy is a great reader of Arabic literature, which is shown by the numerous footnotes and the bibliographies at the end of each chapter. The new volume is divided into six chapters: Religious Conceptions of Islam, Moral Sentiments in Islam, Custom and Law, Government, Military Organization, and Science. Each of them represents a treatise by itself and would deserve to be considerably enlarged.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Dr. A. S. Altekar. (*Benares Indian Book Shop.*)

This volume is intended to give an exhaustive account of education, in all its aspects, in ancient India, and the Professor has accomplished his purpose remarkably well. The work is also a history of education to about A.D. 1200, although considerable references are given to the time of British influence. Dr. Altekar has drawn upon Sanskrit and Pali literature, as well as upon the accounts of European travellers, and passages from them are given in brief footnotes. All sections of education, including the literary and religious, are adequately dealt with. The author does not omit to mention State help given to certain institutions such as existed at Nalanda, Taxila, and Benares. The general reader will receive through its perusal a good idea of cultural life in ancient India.

THE PRIVATE LETTER BOOKS OF JOSEPH COLLET. Ed. with Introductory Notes by H. H. Dodwell. (*Longmans, Green.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Not public speeches but private letters often throw the best light on a man's character. And the reading of epistles addressed to friends and near relatives two hundred years ago is of peculiar interest, especially when they deal with India. Descended from a family of merchants, Joseph Collet continued in this vocation, but failed, and in order to retrieve his fortune and make good the losses sustained by his creditors he went to Sumatra as deputy-governor of York Fort in 1711. By 1716 he had made good these losses and exchanged his position with one at Madras. One of his first successes

was an embassy to the Mughal Court at Delhi. His trading activities resulted in his amassing a vast fortune, with which he dealt very generously. Collet's character stands out in this correspondence as an honourable merchant of the old type. He would not assist men trying to seek a fortune, but chose them on their merits. Collet eventually became governor of Madras and returned home in 1820, and died at his property, Hertford Castle, in 1825. The last portion of this commendable volume contains a family history by Miss Clara Collet.

PAGAN SURVIVALS IN MUHAMMADAN CIVILIZATION. By Professor Ed. Westermarck. (*Macmillan.*) 8s. 6d. net.

Any work of Professor Westermarck's is sure to be full of research, and the present one is no exception. His study, however, is restricted chiefly to North Africa, and in particular to Morocco. As is well known, the main religions are intimately interwoven, and have influenced one another. The Jews owe a great deal to the teachings of Zoroaster, etc., and Christianity is closely connected with Judaism. Numerous books have been written setting forth the value of Paganism as a forerunner of Christianity. Naturally Islam in some of its forms has also adopted a number of Pagan survivals. The author makes it quite plain that one source is Arabic paganism itself, which existed before the advent of Muhammad, and the second source is to be found amongst the peoples to which Islam spread, and has been retained or consumed.

Professor Westermarck has once more drawn from his enormous learning, and has ably and clearly placed before the public this monograph dealing with Morocco.

QUATRAINS OF HALI. Original Urdu with literal translation by G. E. Ward and rendering into English Verse by C. S. Tute. (*Oxford University Press.*)

The Urdu poet Hali lived in the second half of the last century. He was much appreciated on account of his educational services, and also on account of his poetry in Urdu, Persian, and Arabic. Mr. Tute is likewise a poet, and he has generally found the most happy poetic voice, full of rhythm.

GENERAL

THE NEW EMPIRE. Letters to a Conservative M.P. on the Future of England and India. By K. M. Pannikar. (*Martin Hopkinson.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

How will India use her political victory? Will it sound the death-knell of the British Empire, or will a new India, inspired with friendship towards Britain, pledge her strength to maintain the British Commonwealth?

In a recent book entitled *The New Empire* an Indian writer, Mr. K. M. Pannikar, attempts to lift the veil and obtain a vision of the future of India. It is a vision of hope, a dream of an India in which British and Indians work in harmony for the greater glory of India and the Empire.

Mr. Pannikar writes with authority. A subject of a very progressive Indian state, he has been a close student of Indian politics for many years. As secretary to the Princes' Delegation, he played an important part at the Round-Table Conference. The book takes the form of a series of letters to a Conservative M.P. Of the political parties in England only a Conservative is, the writer thinks, sufficiently imperially-minded to understand his attitude.

Mr. Pannikar is a realist in politics, a quality not often found among his countrymen. He recognizes that India's troubles are economic, not political, and that unless they can be dealt with, the political achievement of Indians is a Pyrrhic victory. India is indispensable to Britain, he argues, but Britain is equally so to India. Without Britain, India is utterly defenceless. Britain must remain responsible for her external relations: equally important is British co-operation in the political field to counteract the centrifugal tendencies that are certain to develop under a federal system in the great provinces, in which difference of language, race, geographical conditions, and, in some cases, cultural outlook invite self-expression. India owes her progress to British institutions, British traditions. Only in close collaboration with Britain can she achieve anything approaching a stable democracy. In the economic field India needs British capital, British technical experts. On the other hand, the economic structure of the British Commonwealth must collapse if the Indian market for British capital and manufactures should be lost. Mr. Pannikar is equally convinced that India should not cut herself off from the cultural influence of the West. The golden age of the past, which means so much to the Indian student world, is a myth. Indian nationalists are not reactionary. The fight in the future will not be for Dominion status: that is a mere name. Nationalist policy will be directed to acquiring a dominating influence over the social, cultural, and economic development of India.

But to make this self-realization possible, Mr. Pannikar reminds the Indian nationalist that the closest partnership between Britain and India in the economic and political fields must be secured. At the same time, he suggests to the Civil Service that the arrogance of caste is not the monopoly of the Brahmins. British bureaucracy should descend from its Olympian heights and accept the *fait accompli* that it is no longer a governing corporation but the servant of a national Government. Purged of this heresy, it should, as an all-Indian service, not only act as a breakwater to provincial separatism, it is almost indispensable as an instrument of efficient administration.

Mr. Pannikar admits that a policy of economic nationalism would imperil the British connection, but he does not say how that danger is to be exorcised. Agriculture is the keystone of Indian economic life: put the peasant on his feet and the economic regeneration of India will follow. But nationalist India wants rapid industrialization behind an unscaleable tariff wall, a policy inimical to agricultural development. Differences in outlook in a question of this kind might easily imperil the partnership.

Is the ideal partnership possible? It is not an easy proposition, but with good-will and tolerance on both sides a *modus vivendi* should be within the scope of practical politics.

A more friendly atmosphere in social relationships would go a long way towards conciliating Indian good-will, both in India and England. There are still inhibitions in India which do little credit to our sense of propriety: in England, as Mr. Pannikar observes, much unnecessary resentment is caused by the attitude in the case of some second-class hotels and boarding-houses in making difficulties about admitting Indians. And why is it that so little hospitality or friendly interest is shown by English people to the 2,500 Indian students in this country?

Why is the opportunity missed of influencing in our favour many of the future leaders of Indian opinion?

Mr. Pannikar should have a wide public in Britain. And many of us will hope that his dream may be realized: of an India with a new civilization more broad-based than at present, combining the ideas, ethics, and social culture of the West with her own institutions. But one may be permitted to doubt whether his enthusiasm does not carry him too far when he expects that Hindus in the mass will welcome a social revolution brought about by industrialism in which Hindu caste-society will be utterly destroyed.

A MYSTIC ON MYSTICS.

A year or so ago, when reviewing, in these columns, *The Living Universe*, I expressed the opinion that we should be grateful to Sir Francis Young-husband for throwing some light on that obscure and little understood phenomenon called, for want of a better term, Mysticism. It appears that before this appeal was made Sir Francis had been occupied with the compilation relating to the topic.

The book before us, *Modern Mystics* (John Murray, 10s. 6d. net), apparently embodies the outcome of his researches in this direction. All those who are interested in this matter will find the work amply reward a careful perusal. It deals with the lives, in a biographical form, of certain modern Mystics—Hindus, Muslims, and Christians of various denominations. The first thing that impresses me is the catholicity of spirit displayed by our author. Diversity of creed and race have not constituted any obstacle to a sympathetic understanding of the different types that he has chosen as representative. It is not often that one finds similar breadth of spirit. Sir Francis is to be congratulated on this gift. I have found nothing in his account of Hindus and Muslims that betrays the slightest trace of prejudice or patronage. He writes as he feels, and says what he really thinks. This is a quality that cannot be praised too highly.

This makes any maladjustments in opinion seem venial. I do not think that Keshub Chander Sen was a man of such supreme importance as Sir Francis imagines. Nor do I take Vivekananda for the apostle Sir Francis makes him out to be: I should place him among the eloquent propagandists. The difference between these men and Ramakrishna was as great as that between clay and gold.

Although Sir Francis' narrative makes fascinating reading, I should have preferred a quieter style. To me his present manner appears a trifle breathless and rhapsodic.

As to whether Sir Francis has thrown any new light on Mysticism, I should prefer to reserve my judgment. The problem is not isolated; it links on to other problems. With all this I hope to come to terms in some future essay that I should like to entitle *Religion, Mysticism, and Morality*. In that way I should give some indication of the direction of my thought. For the present I should like to draw the attention of every thoughtful reader to Sir Francis' book. Everything that he writes is worthy of serious consideration.

RANJEE G. SHAHANI.

SIR ERNEST SATOW. A Memoir. By B. M. Allen. With portrait and map. (*Kegan Paul*.) 5s. net.

Sir Ernest Satow is well known to all students of Japanese and travellers in Japan. A memoir of this great diplomat and scholar is therefore a most desirable appendix to his own writings. Mr. Allen, who has recently completed a book on the soldier Gordon in China, has now dealt with another side of human activity—that of peace—in this monograph. We are reminded that Sir E. Satow arrived in the Far East a few years after the enforced opening of Japan by the American squadron. The way in which this was performed was not exactly friendly. However, Satow's advent took place in the midst of trouble, before our present Japanese friends had time to recover from the attack. Having spent almost forty years in Japan, he could prove by his writings, and especially the Traveller's Handbook, that his knowledge of the country, its people, its arts, and language had left him, perhaps, without a rival. Every resident in the East can claim respect if he is familiar with the literature of the country. And a diplomat is no exception. One could wish they would all be of the same type. A list of his numerous writings is appended, and includes the Autobiography issued in 1921.

NATIVE EDUCATION : CEYLON, JAVA, FORMOSA, THE PHILIPPINES, FRENCH INDO-CHINA, AND BRITISH MALAYA. By H. A. Wyndham. (*Oxford University Press*.) 10s. 6d. net.

Education is a great boon, but it can also be turned into an evil. Since there has been such a vast progress in this respect in India, a section of the population have taken their place in administration, and at the same time the numerous job-hunters have become dissatisfied with their position, with the result that their energies are frequently turned aside. Mr. Wyndham has undertaken an enormous task in giving a history of education in the various parts of Asia where Europeans, Americans and Japanese hold sway. The difficulties of such research can hardly be imagined when it is borne in mind that the conceptions as regards education vary according to time and the want of uniformity on the part of these nations. These factors make the

study all the more stimulating, and Mr. Wyndham has done great service not merely to the states in question, and his views will have to be seriously considered by the whole world. There is a very large bibliography of books and articles on education according to the different countries, and praise is due to Mr. Wyndham for his industry and his generous appreciation of what has been achieved in the various countries included in his survey.

THE STATE AND ECONOMIC LIFE. (Paris : *International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.*)

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR J. COATMAN.)

This book is the report of the Proceedings of the Sixth International Studies Conference. It contains excellent reports of the debates, and of the rapporteurs of the two Committees into which the Conference was divided, and the report of the General Rapporteur, Dr. Arnold Wolfers. Further, it contains digests of the data papers submitted on behalf of all the countries which took part in the Conference, Sir Eustace Percy's Address of Welcome and Sir Arthur Salter's Presidential Address. It is clear, therefore, that we have here a more than usually valuable and authoritative bird's-eye survey of some of the most important problems which face this distracted world of ours. Meeting on the eve of the World Economic Conference, the International Studies Conference was entirely unofficial, and its proceedings are, therefore, free from the necessary restraint and reticences which marked the subsequent World Conference of Governments. Nevertheless, this in no way derogates from the value and authority of its utterances, for there were gathered together in Chatham House, where the International Studies Conference took place, some of the most famous students of Politics and Economics in Europe and America.

The scope of the proceedings is indicated by the title of the book. The Conference met to consider the extent to which Governments have entered into the economic life of their countries, the forms which their intervention has taken, the effects of this governmental action on the international economic structure, the repercussions on the political structures of the various countries concerned, the effects of the developments of recent decades on the philosophical and political principles on which the State is based, and other questions of profound importance. When the list of delegates to the conference is scanned, and the range of their work is considered, the significance of the contents of this book will leap at once to the eye.

The Conference divided at once into a Committee on International Trade and Finance, and a second one on State Intervention in Private Economic Enterprise. The work of the first Committee was divided between the Most Favoured Nation Clause, The Open-Door and Colonial Preference, Imperial Preference, and The Regulation of International Debts and Capital Movements. In respect to all these subjects, discussions of great importance and interested proceeded. The working of the Most Favoured Nation Clause was generally held to be unsatisfactory, and various suggestions were

made for its improvement, including the suggested creation of some international trade commission or commissions. A full discussion took place on the subjects of The Open-Door and Imperial Preference. Opinion was generally in favour of the Open-Door principle, and it was agreed that British Imperial Preferences and the Ottawa Agreements in particular were to be welcomed only in so far as, and if, they contributed to the extension and to the more rational organization of world trade. In short, the proceedings of this committee form one of the most effective demonstrations possible of the complete interdependence of the whole of the modern world.

The wide range of the work of the second committee can be seen from the list of subjects which it considered. They are: The Philosophical Aspects of State Intervention in Private Economic Enterprise; The Practical Aspects of State Intervention at the Present Time; Certain Forms of State Intervention in Actual Practice; The Problem of Labour Organization and Representation; Planning: Liberalism *versus* Authoritarianism; and The International Implications of Various Systems and Forms of State Intervention. It is impossible to summarize the discussions on these profoundly important topics. They should be read, together with the extracts from the cognate data papers, for they give the essentials of one the most important surveys of the meeting ground of national and international politics and economics known to the present writer. Truly this book should not be neglected by any student of international, or, indeed, of his own national affairs. It is a whole library within the covers of one book.

THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE PROBLEM OF PEACE. By Shrikrishna D. Chitale.
(Poona: *International Book Service*.)

To judge and present prevailing world conditions is a difficult enough task for any European politician. For a young Indian thinker to venture on such an enormous task as to grapple with the subject requires a good deal of courage. In his early chapters the author shows how the commercial and military rivalry between the European nations increased. He has still hope in a World Peace Committee to prevent another serious outbreak.

FORTY-FOUR YEARS A PUBLIC SERVANT. By C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., I.C.S.
(ret.). (*Blackwood*.) 12s. 6d. net.

Mr. Kincaid had good fortune during his service in India: he was able to indulge a gift for writing without incurring the sad fate of Kipling's "Boanerges Blitzen, Servant of the Queen," who as the result of a ready and mordant pen,

"Languished in a District desolate and dry,
Watched the Local Government yearly pass him by."

On the contrary, he obtained good districts and high office. In particular his appointments as head of the judiciary in Kathiawar and as a Secretary to the Government of Bombay at the time of the Royal visit to India gave

him experiences, friends and acquaintances, whose vivid portrayal much enhances the interest of these reminiscences.

The book can be commended as an interesting account of the author's experiences, not only in the Indian Civil Service, but also as a Consular officer in Cherbourg and Berne. As the book's coverlet says, he has depicted the social life of a French provincial town with an insight and humour that will be pleasantly recalled by readers of *Blackwood's Magazine*, where his account of it first appeared.

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, BEING THE OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM. By Colonel E. J. King. Second edition, rewritten. (Published by the Order at St John's Gate.)

The dignified manner in which this volume has been produced helps to make the reader realize that he has before him a work of great importance. One need therefore not be surprised that the first edition issued in 1924 became exhausted, and that a second edition was called for. It has grown into a new work; it has been re-written and supplemented by new chapters. Colonel King, its author, is a profound worker and scholar, one to whom the British public and even more so the Order must be grateful. The Bibliography of English, French, and Italian literature, pertaining to the history, alone is proof of Colonel King's conscientious research, and the documentary references on most pages are a further sign of his devotion. The volume is divided into two parts: the History of the Order, and the Foundation of the Order. There are eight appendices, consisting of documents, of seals of the Grand Priory, of the grades of the Order, of medals issued, and a roll of Knights of Justice since 1831. Immediately preceding the text is a most useful list of the Grand Priors and Titular Grand Priors from the beginning in 1144 A.D. We recommend this volume to all the public libraries in the Empire and to those of the Empire who look with pride upon the accomplishments of the most famous of the Military Religious Orders.

A PAGEANT OF ASIA: A STUDY OF THREE CIVILIZATIONS. By Kenneth Saunders. (*Oxford University Press*.)

Dr. Saunders' new work is probably the first extensive story of Far Eastern culture, and it is one from which the European may obtain much inspiration as to the lines on which civilization should progress. It is not difficult to guess to which countries Dr. Saunders refers. We know that we owe our spiritual refinement to the literature and art of India, China, and Japan. We are informed that he has spent ten years in these countries, during which time he has directed his interest to the subjects of the present volume. The great movements pass before our eyes, all in right succession, under the author's own critical guidance, whose sympathy with the ideals of the East is prominent throughout. The volume deals therefore not merely

with the fine arts, of which numerous good reproductions facilitate the reader's study and task; Dr. Saunders has wisely included the chief literary and philosophic achievements. Selections from the Holy Scriptures of the three nations are given in each chapter. Passages of the Vedic hymns, the Upanishads, of Buddhist scriptures, of the Chinese classics and Taoist writers, of Chinese poetry, of Japanese Buddhism and poetry are skilfully interwoven in the text, and delight the reader. Finally, a chronological comparative table from 3000 B.C. beginning with the Indus Valley civilization down to 1600 A.D. adds to the usefulness of the volume. It is a kind of map to the culture of a whole continent. Dr. Saunders must be complimented on this elaborate production.

THROUGH WONDERLAND OF THE UNIVERSE. By R. K. Golikere. (*Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala.*) Rs. 6/4/-.

Of late the interest in general literature, popular and scientific, has made steady progress in India. The book by Mr. Golikere is a notable example. The object is to popularize science and to familiarize the educated Indian with the achievements of the West in this direction. The author's method is to make statements, all numbered, which are afterwards enlarged upon in elaborate explanatory notes. The chapters include the earth and its interior, the ocean, the earth's surface, volcanoes, the peaks of Asia, the atmosphere, the planetary world. The volume is well compiled and makes reference to some of the men to whom these achievements are due, and also embodies here and there ancient Indian science.

RUSSIA AND ASIA. By Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky. (*Macmillan.*) 14s. net.

Considering the importance of Russia on account of her size and power, it is strange that no book on Russian expansion or influence in the continent of Asia as a whole has been issued, though, of course, we do not lack monographs on relations with separate countries. The author, now a University Professor in America, writes with special authority as a member of the Russian intelligentsia. The book gives chiefly an historical account which cannot be but a *coup d'œil*. The Bibliography is illuminating, but only French and English books are quoted, with a few exceptions.

NEAR EAST

CHOIX DE PROVERBES, DICTONS, MAXIMES ET PENSÉES DE L'ISLAM. Par Ed. Montet. (Paris: *G. P. Maisonneuve.*) 20 fr.

Professor Montet had the happy idea to collect in his study proverbs which he found chiefly in Arabic, but also in Persian and Turkish literature. They have been translated, collated, and put in order of subjects. Of course, we have the English edition of Arabic proverbs by Burckhardt, but the French edition is issued at a popular price and it includes those from the Touareg

and the Sudanese. In numerous cases the origin of the proverbs and maxims is given and occasional notes are provided.

THE HANDBOOK OF PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN. By Sir Harry Luke and E. Keith-Roach. Third edition. With map. (*Macmillan and Co.*) 16s. net.

It is not to be wondered at that a third edition of this capital Handbook has been found necessary. The volume has been compiled by two great authorities and all possible subjects have been fully treated within 549 pages. All the latest material has been thoroughly considered and used, with the result that the Handbook in its new form replaces the old editions. The volume is divided into a number of sections for both Mandates. Geography and history of ancient and modern Palestine are briefly stated. Peoples and religion are perfectly classified. The excellent department of archaeology receives graceful acknowledgment. Information for tourists is given. Government activity is dealt with in eighteen sub-sections. All possible questions regarding commerce and industry are here answered, and finally geology, mining, and natural history are explored as far as the space of fifty pages will allow.

The work is a perfect encyclopædia, concise, correct, and complete.

TURKESTAN SOLO: ONE WOMAN'S EXPEDITION FROM THE TIEN SHAN TO THE KIZIL KUM. By Ella K. Maillart. Translated from the French. With four maps and numerous plates. (*Putnams.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Miss Maillart has presented the public with a remarkable book. Nine months were spent by her in Central Asia, a very short time and yet full of interest, novelty, and adventure. The first half of the journey was from Moscow to Kirghiz, with a party of Russians going the same way. Here we learn a great deal of the working of the Bolsheviks, although Miss Maillart refrains from entering into political questions. In the second half of her description of adventurous travel we are taken, with Miss Maillart solo as our guide, to Tashkent, Samarkand, Bokhara, Khiva, then to Kagalinsk near the Sea of Aral. The account of her stay in the Kirghiz country is as entertaining and informative as the rest. One is carried away by it, one need never have fear of being bored; indeed, the world seems too small for Miss Maillart. The illustrations of the people, scenery, and of architecture are of the very best, and so are the maps. Miss Maillart will, through the interpretation of Mr. John Rodker, the translator, to whom also much credit is due, secure many readers in the English-speaking world.

THE HERITAGE OF SOLOMON: AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF ANCIENT PALESTINE. By John Garstang. With maps and illustrations. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 20s. net.

Professor Garstang had issued in 1931 his brilliant work, *Joshua Judges*, dealing with the foundations of Bible history, and now presents us with a

new volume of over 400 pages. First we find a good deal of history illustrated by maps, then of archæology, and further social customs. Explanation is given why sociology itself has not been treated as the sole subject. The volume is issued in the series of Spencer's descriptive sociology. He states that the sources of information are only partly contemporary with the Bible, and therefore they had to be searched for critically and historically. The volume is not crowded with references, and results arrived at by the scholars have been purposely avoided.

FAR EAST

BALI: ENCHANTED ISLE. A Travel Book. By Helen E. Yates. Illustrated. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 7s. 6d. net.

Bali, one of those dreamy, restful islands of the Dutch East Indies, is attractive enough to call for literature, and yet such a book was lacking. Miss Yates has, during her travels in the East, paid a short visit to the island, and she has done wisely to put her sightseeing into pleasant book form. The country and the life of the people pass before us, we see the pretty and busy women at work. Miss Yates gives chapters on village laws, on the beliefs, the temples, and also a short history. For these chapters help no doubt has been obtained from local Dutch residents. The pictures are exceedingly good and clear and are inviting enough to draw visitors with means to this happy spot. Miss Yates has put charm into the pages and thereby has added to our longing to visit this place of peace and rest.

JAPAN IN CRISIS. By Harry E. Wilder. (*Macmillan*). 8s. 6d. net.

Mr. Wilder has made a profound study of Japan, but here has indulged in exploring the Japanese mind rather than the political or economic development. It is extremely difficult to judge another nation, although help for arguments and conclusions may have been given by foreign residents and natives. Mr. Wilder is dissatisfied with the Japanese Government; he gives reasons for his dissatisfaction. His are conclusions to which not every thinking man will subscribe. Japanese maintain that their country was attacked by the American fleet, and that they had to open their ports to foreign trade against their will. Foreign powers offered their services to Japan to build up their fleet and army, with which they defeated China and Russia, perhaps more effectively than some foreign powers liked.

CHINA'S PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION. By Wang Ching-Wei. (Shanghai: *China United Press.*) \$2.50 U.S.A.

President Wang has issued, through this authoritative book, to the outside world an appeal to listen to a tale of woe, to take note of what China has accomplished with enormous effort to overcome her difficulties, and finally to learn what the country is doing, and will do in future, in order to obtain

once more their respect and admiration. A ray of hopefulness pervades the volume which the thinking as well as knowing reader will heartily appreciate. A great nation such as the Chinese, with an unprecedented history, culture and energy, can never go under. Phases come and they pass by, but the spirit will revive some day.

What will strike the reader most is President Wang's sincerity, earnestness, and determination to rebuild the country on new lines, and as he will succeed, or lay the foundation to it, he will be one day counted as one of the great men of China, the country which has been loved by most people who have lived there during the last hundred years. President Wang is well aware that the revolution from the old system with its subsequent chaos is still going on, but he steers his ship well in troublous waters. The whole system is being reorganized, and the task is by nature so tremendous that an outsider can hardly grasp it. The chief task is one of unification, and this is to be accomplished by economic efforts. He does not believe in force, therefore, and by paying attention to European example communications within the republic are being increased, foodstuffs and raw material are placed under control, wireless, telephone and air mail services are created. China and the world at large will therefore recognize the great efforts President Wang makes in order to lead his country out of her trouble, and all friends of China must hope that leading statesmen will assist him for the sake of the peace and progress of the whole world. There is an appreciative biographical sketch of Mr. Wang by the eminent Mr. T'ang Leang-Li, for which the student will feel grateful.

THE SECOND-GENERATION JAPANESE PROBLEM. By E. K. Strong. (*Humphrey Milford*.) 15s. net.

This work is one by a conscientious and painstaking specialist, and is the result of very considerable study. Although the enquiry refers to California, the subject is of vital interest to the politician and to the state in general. There are in the volume 43 statistical tables which show how completely Professor Strong has mastered his subject. The book opens with the problem itself, which appears to be chiefly economic. How is the second-generation Japanese to be employed? There is another difficulty. Immigration of Japanese being greatly restricted, they chiefly live in groups in larger cities. It has now been suggested that, unemployment being rife, they should be induced to go to the country as farm hands. Chapter V. deals with the chief complaints against Japanese, and here opinions are divided, although no serious objection seems to be brought forward. In fact, some describe them as an admirable race, and admirable they are in many respects, also in the second generation: frugal, hard-working, perhaps too much so for the Western standard. Professor Strong now asks definitely: Will the whites radically change their conception of the Japanese in future; when will this take place; and, thirdly, how far will such a change go? Professor Strong's book calls for wide study.

BRITISH OPIUM POLICY IN CHINA. By D. E. OWEN. (Milford : Yale University Press.) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by ARTHUR DUNCAN.)

It is refreshing to observe that in his account of the traffic in opium between India and China, Dr. Owen does not adopt the designation "Opium War" which still finds favour in prejudiced and ill-informed circles.

The book is historically accurate and bears evidence of much research. But the author assumes a very critical moral attitude which is quite unjustified by the general trend of events in the period with which he deals. In his preface he says the Indo-Chinese opium trade was "one of the most curious chapters in the annals of European expansion," and he describes as "grotesque" the circumstance that "roughly one-seventh of the revenue of British India should be drawn from the subjects of another race as payment for a drug-forming habit." It was not the moral aspects of the trade that disturbed the Chinese Government, for opium was used in China centuries before the British connexion: it was on the Canton Customs Tariff as far back as 1589. The officials were perplexed by the practical problem of arresting the huge exports that were depleting the national supply of silver bullion in exchange for extensive imports of foreign merchandise, including opium. The war was not fought by the British to force opium on an unwilling consumer, but to uphold the national dignity against the intolerable attitude of the Mandarins and the exactions of their Government. Opium was only an incident in the war, and it would be just as true to say that the tea which was thrown into Boston Harbour was the cause of the British war with the American colonies.

Dr. Owen has overlooked the fact that medical testimony is practically unanimous that, taken in moderation, the drug is harmless and in many cases decidedly beneficial; and the absence of any reference, on this point, to the very complete and impartial account of the Straits Settlements Commission is an important omission from the bibliography.

THE GREAT WALL CRUMBLES. By GROVER CLARK. (Macmillan.) 20s. net.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

For a clear, comprehensive survey of Chinese history from the semi-mythical emperors of 3000 B.C. down to the latest clash with the Japanese, Mr. Grover Clark's book can hardly be too highly praised. Essential facts and leading characteristics, what made China in the past and what has been unmaking her in the present, are selected with unerring skill and most interestingly presented. Towards the end Mr. Grover Clark seems to take the will of the few for the accomplishments of the many too much at face value. Undoubtedly there has been a conspicuous change in the past four years, and that of a quality to promise still better things. But he hardly seems to make enough allowance for the total lack of moral sense in too many of the officials and politicians, which continually retards progress and thwarts the efforts of the better class. On the whole, however, he is

extremely fair-minded. It is an unusual pleasure to find an American writer speaking of "the so-called Opium War" of 1841, and his condemnation of Western policy in China during the nineteenth century is balanced by clear recognition of the mandarins' arrogance and intolerance. In both these views one can well agree with him.

The peculiar importance and obstinacy of China's recent upheaval is that for the first time in history she has experienced revolution instead of rebellion. The latter she has known times without number. Mr. Grover Clark calculates that through all the centuries of Imperial rule China could only be called really united for about a quarter of that time. But the social system, founded on the clan, the village and the country, held together through it all. China was always a democracy in the truest sense within an autocracy. The unimportance of Government to the people at large was conspicuous. And when the tumult and shouting of each period of anarchy between one dynasty and the next had died down, the life of China was found going on exactly as it had been going for thousands of years. Had the Empress-Dowager been a really able woman, instead of being merely masterful and ruthless, or if Yuan Shih-kai had been able to convince China of his moral worth—his failure to do so, as Mr. Grover Clark finely shows, was the real cause of his failure to make himself Emperor—recent history would have been very different. As it was, the direction of the forces of discontent with an effete and oppressive dynasty, which had been boiling up for a century or more, fell, in 1911, into the hands of a group of foreign-trained idealists, who believed that the only way of facing the Western incursion was to borrow the manners and machinery of the West and beat it at its own game.

A particularly interesting section of the book is that which deals with the Taiping and Muhammadan rebellions and the appalling destruction they wrought. It has seemed surprising that the revolution of 1911 should have brought so few men of outstanding character to the front. These rebellions are the answer. Mr. Grover Clark gives the case of one family which for centuries had supplied China with able public servants: before the Taiping Rebellion it numbered 2,000 members; after it there were just seven. Even yet China has not recovered from those fourteen years which destroyed 70,000,000 of her people and many of her fairest cities.

But signs of recovery both from this and from the many mistakes of the Republicans are visible. There is a new tendency in China to look back into her own past—as witness the strong revival of Confucianism which Mr. Grover Clark curiously overlooks—and to select from that and from the West what she feels to be suitable to her needs. The Great Wall has indeed been broken down and the Westerner has had his will of China. But from having forced her to accept his superiority, he is rapidly coming to the point when he will have to acknowledge hers, at least in her own borders. One need not, however, anticipate further conflicts as the result. West and East have begun to learn a great deal about each other. Books like Mr. Grover Clark's will certainly help them both to better friendship.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

THE UKIYOYE PRIMITIVES. By Yone Noguchi. With 93 plates, eight of which are in colour, and a full-size coloured woodcut as frontispiece. Tokyo, privately printed. (London: *Kegan Paul and Co.*) £3.

Any work by Mr. Yone Noguchi dealing with Japanese art is welcomed and appreciated by the European lover of that art, as he combines his own artistic nature with that of his poetic spirit and art criticism. We value his gifts—for such they are—all the more as art is one of the accomplishments of a Japanese gentleman, and is almost born with him. A Japanese art critic can interpret his art more readily than a European; he is familiar with the subjects, he can translate into our languages, and finally he is able to explain the symbolism represented in these works of art, which is so very difficult and which adds to the full enjoyment of these objects.

Mr. Yone Noguchi is a master of his art; he writes English beautifully, and makes us almost feel at home in Japanese art. His new volume enlightens us upon the best period of colour prints. In the Foreword he deals with the development and characteristics of the woodcuts. In succession we see the whole panorama of these great artists, beginning with Horonobu, the originator of the Ukiyoye art. It was a happy idea to acquaint us with the artists' general working ability before giving the descriptions of each of the 93 plates. It is through these descriptions that we learn to the full to enter into the spirit of the Japanese artistic mind. The dates of Japanese prints are added, and lists of illustrated books, again with their dates, are given for Horonobu, the two Sukenobus, and Masanobu.

FRIENDS OF FAR EASTERN ART. Exhibition of Chinese Art Catalogue issued by Mills College, California.

Four hundred items were shown at this exhibition, representing pottery, bronzes, jade, sculpture, and painting. The catalogue, sufficiently descriptive for visitors only, is arranged according to dynasties and then to subjects. Each chapter has a short introduction setting forth the art movements of the period. Forty-eight plates show good representative examples from American collections.

DE JAPANSCH KLEURENDRUK EN DE KARAKTERISTIK VAN DE JAPANSCH TRENT.
Door N. G. van Huffel. With 27 illustrations. (The Hague: *L. J. C. Boucher.*) Guilders 4.90.

This is indeed a capital Dutch work on the production of Japanese colour prints. In 1892 Mr. T. Tokuno issued a valuable treatise on the same subject in English for the Smithsonian Institute. The book by Dr. N. G. van Huffel goes farther than the other, as it provides an analysis of the printing process of a Japanese woodcut (by Horonobu) in ten different plates. One can see at a glance the printing of such a woodcut from the earliest stage to its completion. It is strange that the Japanese colour print made its first general entry into Europe in 1880 through the brothers Goncourt, who had

recognized its beauty. The author explains in short outline the actual wood-cutting, writes on the Japanese wood, on the design, on the printer's wood-block, on the tools used for it, on the paper, the mode of binding books in the old style, on the colours, on the printer at work, on the sizes, the seals and dating, and finally he discusses the characteristics of Japanese prints.

PAINTING IN THE FAR EAST: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF PICTORIAL ART IN ASIA, ESPECIALLY CHINA AND JAPAN. By Laurence Binyon. Fourth edition, revised throughout, with 41 plates. (*Edward Arnold.*) 35s. net.

Mr. Binyon's work has been since its conception in 1908 a trusted friend and guide. Not only does the artist speak in every page, but in addition the poet has, through his charm of language, made Far Eastern art a pleasure. The fourth edition has been thoroughly revised. So many early paintings have come to light that considerable changes in the arrangement and in the text itself became necessary. In this new form the volume includes some appropriate and appreciative pages on Ajanta, upon which subject Mr. G. Yazdani is just editing a scholarly monograph, and which is being issued under the auspices of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad's Government. Considerable revision was found necessary, and the student owes thanks to Mr. Binyon for developing his thoughts and for giving him the results of his untiring study.

HISTOIRE DE LA PEINTURE CHINOISE. Par Osvald Siren. 2 vols. fol. With 228 plates in collotype. (Paris: *Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire.*)

Mr. Osvald Siren is an indefatigable and authoritative writer of works on Chinese Art, and writes in French, sometimes in English, with equal facility. His latest work, *The History of Chinese Painting*, adds to the high reputation which he has already earned with a number of admirers of Far Eastern painting. Some readers may regret that the Chinese names and words are transcribed in the French style. No blame should be attached to Mr. Siren, but on this occasion a new appeal may be made to scholars of the Chinese language to unite and adopt a universal system for transcription.

The arrangement of this large work, consisting of two volumes, is of the very best. It is divided into the various epochs, beginning with the Han Dynasty and ending with that of the Yuan. Somehow the true lover of Chinese pictorial art will miss, for the sake of completion, an exhaustive treatise on calligraphy, this being one of the foremost sections of Chinese art. It is true that the author gives some data in his Preface on calligraphy, and also supplies the very first plate in the way of illustration.

The chapter in Volume II. on the Imperial Academy of Arts, organized under the Northern Sung by order of the Emperor, is an additional proof of the high civilization of the Chinese in olden times, and of the great culture which many Emperors had acquired. It was generally due to the initiative of Emperors that arts and letters flourished.

A charming chapter is that on the painters of the grape, of the blossoms of the plum, and the narcissus. Everyone will be delighted to notice the pages on the painters of bamboo. As the writer rightly states, the drawing of bamboos acquired an importance which it had not before. The bamboo, amongst the Chinese, is a favourite subject denoting gracefulness, delicacy, strength and beauty, and it is a pleasure to see a few plates of such samples, although others might have been added showing the art of drawing the knots, which is a most important subject with the Chinese.

Of course, the appreciation of artistic subjects varies according to one's taste. Some prefer portraits, others landscapes, others again religious subjects, and others the portraiture of flowers and birds. Everyone looking at the miscellany of plates in these two handsome volumes must be struck with plates 95 and 96 in Volume II., the delicacy of these lovely plum blossoms; or plate 126, with its graceful and delicate brushwork. Another plate denoting the charm of Chinese art is No. 107, also in Volume II.—*i.e.*, insects and leaves of the lotus.

The care which Mr. Siren has taken in the compilation of his work can be seen in the number of indexes added at the end. They include an index of Chinese names, printed in Roman and in Chinese characters; an index of other names; and also a bibliography of European and Japanese works, as well as a long list of Chinese works which the author has consulted. This list is again printed in the European character and separately in the Chinese character.

L'ART DE L'ANNAH. Par Henri Gourdon. (*Les Arts Coloniaux*, Paris, E. de Boccard, Editeur, 1, Rue de Médicis.)

(Reviewed by DR. H. G. QUARITCH WALES.)

This is the first of a series having the admirable object in view of stimulating the appreciation by a wider public of the comparatively little-known arts of the French colonies. The title of this volume is misleading, since the work does not concern itself at all with the Chams, who for centuries were responsible for the art of Annam, and it is in fact confined to a sketch of the various manifestations of *Annamite* art from Tonkin to CochinChina. Within the space of some sixty-five pages, and without laying claim to originality, the author gives a readable and well-informed sketch of the different departments of Annamite art which should serve to interest and gratify the curiosity of the general art-lover in Europe. If he should wish to delve more deeply into the subject a useful bibliography is appended. Annamite art is not a great art. It is the art of a poor people struggling through long centuries of adversity. Unlike their neighbours the Khmers, or even the Chams, who produced a great art as a result of combining their own artistic genius with the religious inspiration of India, the Annamites for the most part followed Chinese conventions slavishly, and in some departments, especially ceramics, it is often difficult to say definitely whether the older products are indeed the work of Annamite or of Chinese craftsmen. Nevertheless, and especially in the sphere of architecture, the delicacy

of execution and attention to detail which characterize the work of the Annamite craftsman have produced works of undeniable charm and grace. But it is in the decorative arts, such as bronze-founding, wood-carving, and lacquer work, that the Annamite exhibits his executive skill to the greatest advantage, and these arts still survive at the present day. Though, as elsewhere in the East, they have suffered at first from European influence, the French Government has done much by liberating the artists from the subjection of the Court and of the mandarins and in giving every encouragement to the individual to exercise his art in accordance with the best traditions of the past. The author has set forth the characteristics of Annamite art clearly and fairly and has done justice to its qualities while not refraining to notice its limitations. The book is well produced and well illustrated, although one would have welcomed the allocation of rather more space and more illustrations to the imperial tombs at Hué, which, after all, make the most striking impression on the minds of most visitors to the art centres of Annam.

INNOCENCE AND DESIGN. By G. Richard Waughburton. (*Macmillan*.)
7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Mr. Waughburton belongs to the Morier tradition, and making allowances for changes in taste and method of treatment, his book may be compared not unfavourably with the immortal Hajji Baba. It is true that he lacks that profound acquaintance with Persian trends of thought and tropes of speech which make Morier's work worthy material for the student of Oriental manners; but, together with a sound working knowledge of the East, he possesses a gaiety and wit that together ensure the requisites of successful satire.

The story is complex. A Scottish baronet of ancient family, blessed with ample means and cursed with an ancestral estate in which the local building-stone is bright pink in colour, finds reason to believe that he may learn in the East how to handle effectively building material of so unusual a chromatic variety. Accompanied by his faithful housekeeper, and armed with introductions, he sets out upon his journey. But Media, the land whose ancient buildings he designs to study, is the scene of an active though below-surface struggle for influence between Russia and England. The latter is bound by treaty to the construction either of a railway or of an oil-pipeline; the choice of alternatives will be determined by Russia's construction or non-construction of a chord line linking the Median capital with her own Caucasian railway system. For if the Russians build a railway, the proposed British railway will merely facilitate the extension of Russian influence to the shores of the Persian Gulf. The despot of Media clamours for his British railway. But what will Russia do? As usual, Military Intelligence and the Foreign Office are at loggerheads. The Foreign Office determines to despatch a special secret agent in the person of a distinguished scholar. Military Intelligence, with the customary economy forced upon

them by limited resources, make use (without his knowledge) of the innocent Scottish baronet, whose researches into the ancient Median methods of employing colour in architecture take him into many curious places and finally enable him, in all simplicity and to the enormous embarrassment of all concerned, to expose Russia's carefully guarded secret at an international diplomatic dinner-party.

There are some rather cruel character sketches, both of foreign and of British diplomats. Mr. Selfridge, the promoted chauffeur, who is now, under a British Labour Government, H.B.M.'s Minister to the Padshah of Media, is drawn with a certain political bias not wholly disguised by farce; for the rest, wit and irony are nicely blended. It was perhaps a pity to depict the Padshah as pure ogre. But on the whole Mr. Waughburton has planned and executed his elaborate joke—and the elaboration is the only serious criticism that can be offered—with remarkable adroitness. The illustrations, in the purest Titmarsh vein, are a delight.

AND HE DID EAT. By M. Zumsteg. (*Houghton and Scott-Snell.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

This story is well written, and as a study of behaviourism worth reading. To describe it as a modern version of the temptation of St. Anthony would be exaggeration; particularly as there was no reason in the world (other than his own complexes) why Anthony Petross should not have wooed and won Delma Remont in the ordinary way. But then, of course, there would have been no story. The author succeeds in his aim of depicting an unusual type in its reaction to familiar surroundings; and Anthony, despite the preciosity which seems to indicate feminine delineation, is not unconvincing. But Delma's final hesitations do not appear to arise convincingly from her character as it is presented to us in earlier pages.

PERIODICALS

"GEORGICA"

WE notice with interest the appearance of the first number of *Georgica*, a review devoted to Georgian and Caucasian studies, which is the organ of the new Georgian Historical Society, of which Sir E. Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, is President. The review is an interesting addition to the number of specialized periodicals dealing with different aspects of Near and Middle Eastern history and archæology, and in view of the increasing attention which is being directed, particularly to the early history and culture of the Caucasian area, it should be welcome to students. Among contributors to the present number are Sir E. Denison Ross, Mr. J. F. Baddeley, and Mr. W. E. D. Allen, who writes on the present state of Caucasian studies. Professor Taqaishvili, formerly Director of the Museums of Georgia, writes a learned article on mediæval Georgian chronology and the origin of the Bagratid dynasty, and Professor Michael Tsereteli discourses at length on the pagan gods of Georgia in a paper which should prove of great value to students of comparative mythology and folklore. Archimandrite Peradze discusses Georgian manuscripts in museums and libraries in England, and Mr. Gugushvili writes informatively on the Georgian alphabet and the pronunciation of Georgian. The Council of the Society numbers among its members Sir Oliver Wardrop, Professor Ellis H. Minns, Professor Dawkins, Mr. Stanley Casson, Professor Talbot Rice, and Mr. Robert Byron.

"GREAT BRITAIN AND THE FAR EAST"

At an Afternoon Party given by Mr. C. G. Hancock at the Waldorf Hotel, London, on September 26, Mr. C. G. Hancock, in welcoming the guests, said: "You have been invited here today to assist in celebrating the birth of a new journal, which, however, is both old and new. For *Great Britain and the East*, the title under which as from today we shall be known, incorporates *The Near East and India*, which was founded so long ago as 1911. Our change of name indicates no change of policy. Our guiding principle remains support of British honour and British interests at home and abroad. . . .

"The field at present covered by *Great Britain and the East*, comprising as it does India, that vast sub-continent whose future, as we all hope, is destined to be even greater than its famous past, the renascent countries of Western Asia which were the cradle of civilization and are now fast waking from a long slumber, the rich countries of North-East Africa, and that fascinating section of our own continent known as the Balkans—not to mention the colonies of Malta and Cyprus—this field is a unique one, offering boundless opportunities to men of enterprise as far removed from one another as the exporter in search of a new market and the student of religion in search of a new revelation! . . ."

CORRESPONDENCE

"THE SARI—PAST AND PRESENT"

I was delighted to read in your esteemed journal of July, 1935, Mrs. Tagore's interesting article on "The Sari—Past and Present." I shall be much obliged if you can kindly publish my views on the matter based on a study of its evolution from the historical and artistic point of view.

The word "sari" has no connection either with the word "sati" or "sadi," but is derived from the Sanskrit word "sara," which means "to flow," which root again is found in such words as "saras, sarowar" (lake), etc. "Sari" thus suggests an analogy of clear, transparent water, flowing smoothly over, and gently cascading the body from head to foot. A look at the sculptures from Amaravati and Barhut confirms the thin transparent nature of the muslin which covers the figures from waist to ankle, revealing most delicately and gracefully the contour and curve of every body line.

The word "mekhala," as referred to, is not a piece of garment to cover the body, but is an ornament to decorate the waist region. The use of this ornament can be traced down from the feminine Yakshashai statue of Didarganj (Patna), fourth century B.C., and through the Barhut, third century B.C., through the latest phases of Indian and Greater Indian Art, down to this day. Even today there is not a single girl in South India who does not possess this ornament. The "mekhala" was only an ornament, and nothing more, consisting as it did of silk and gold thread, or simply of plated gold inlaid with precious stones. It was rarely more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide if it was of gold, and 3 inches wide if it was of silk and gold brocade, encircling the waist, with a tassel hanging loose in the front. Evidently this could never develop into the dimensions of a garment as described.

Regarding the evolution of Indian feminine dress and the inner clothing cited as referred to in Yuan Chwang's description of the seventh century A.D., I believe it is not historical, for a reference to the sculpture of the Apsaras and Gandharvas, posed in flight (Aihole, Bijapur District), sixth century A.D., confirms my view. There is only a thin muslin antariya closely fitting the Apsaras figure from the waist downwards, over which is the "mekhala." But no bodice of any sort can be made out. Even today no underwear is worn by the average Indian lady.

From the earliest times the dress generally consisted of an antariya or lower garment, and an uttariya or upper garment, which was more a luxury than a necessity. In studying the feminine dress from Barhut downwards, we find that the Indian ladies in the best periods of Indian Art, like the Gupta and Harsha periods, were generally undraped above the waist, the navel being always exposed. The ornament "mekhala" functioned only as a belt to secure the cloth. One can form an approximate idea of the antariya, as to the manner of putting it on, from its resemblance to the dress worn today by the ladies in Maharashtra, or by the Madhya ladies of Madras, or, for a modern parallel, from the picture of Damayanti in Raja Ravi Verma's paintings. The cloth is taken behind between the thighs, and is tucked at the back—cf. the Feminine Tree Spirits (Yakshis) from Sanchi.

As for the evolution of the bodice, or the *sthanapatta*, as found in ancient images—*cf.* South Indian bronzes, statues of Lakshmi of the Chola period, tenth century A.D.—it was a narrow strip of silk, stretched across the bosoms and knotted behind at the back, functioning like a modern brassière, without the straps. The bodice is of a comparatively mediæval origin—late Ajanta and Sigriya frescoes—for in the records of dress and attire of the Maurya period no such descriptions are met with.

The modern form of “sari” is at the most fifty years old, and in no way owes its origin to Bengal. In South India there are no less than five different kinds of feminine dress, and one can tell the caste of a lady by the mode of her attire. The custom among the non-Brahmin ladies of not using “gatcha”—*i.e.*, draw the folds of the sari between their legs and secure it at the back—differentiates them quite distinctly from the Brahmin ladies.

The present style is perhaps derived from the Telugus, or the Andhras of the Vijayanagar period, fifteenth century A.D. onwards, and was later on adopted by the Indian Christian ladies, whence it travelled via Ganjam and Orissa into Bengal.

Even today, in certain rural parts of Bengal and in parts of Assam and Santhal Parganas, womenfolk still dress themselves in the fashion prevalent in earlier times. This may be the original manner adopted by the “sari” wearing population of India at a time when the *uttariya* and the *antariya* had fused to form a one-piece “sari.” For in the above-mentioned places we can still see evidence of the habit of bringing one end of the “sari” over the shoulders, after wrapping the other end round the lower part of the body and tying it round the waist.

The other form of Indian dress common in Northern India, consisting of a pyjama, a shirt, and a *dupatta*, is as old as the Gandhara period, first century B.C. to third century A.D. Its earliest numismatic representation is on a copper coin of Pantaleon, where a dancing girl is for the first time clad in such a garb. This later on became the dress of Muslim India, and in one Kangra painting of about 1700 A.D. even Draupadi is portrayed in this dress. The dress of the South or Hindu India remained distinct from that of Muslim India.

Concerning the *Purdah* system, there still seems to be an erroneous idea of it being purely a Muslim innovation, but this is far from correct. For we find in Indian classics descriptions wherein even the sun is said never to have seen the faces of the ladies. Only on occasions like “*Swayambara*” the princesses came out in public to select for themselves their husbands. Otherwise we read descriptions in which the princesses just put out their ring fingers through seven rows of screens, separating them from their fiancés, to allow them to put on the wedding ring. But there is no doubt that the Muslim invasions strengthened the custom and made it more universal.

As for the future of the “sari,” I agree that it has got a great future and is rapidly winning the feminine heart both in the East and the West because of its gorgeous beauty, adaptability, and plasticity.

SARAL C. GHOSH.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

IN a lecture delivered at the Indian Sculpture Room of the British Museum, on the occasion of his visit to London, on the "Principles of Indian Art," Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, late Superintendent of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, said that he used the term Indian art in a restricted sense denoting figure sculptures and particularly images of the Buddhas and the Jinas and of the gods and the goddesses, both Brahmanic and Buddhistic. The history of Indian art, as distinguished from its prehistory in the Indus Valley, began from the third century B.C. Though many of the reliefs carved on the Buddhist monuments of the Sunga period dating from the second and the first centuries B.C. were concerned with the narration of events that happened in the life of Gautama Buddha, the figure of the Buddha was conspicuous by its absence in them. The carving of the figures of the Buddhas and of the Jinas began at Mathura about the beginning of the Christian era, and the carving of the figures of the Buddhas began in Gandhara (North-Western India and Eastern Afghanistan) about the same time. The history of the Buddhist art of Gandhara ran a course on the whole independent of the main current of Indian artistic history. The continuous history of the image-maker's art in India, beginning from about the beginning of the Christian era, ran an uninterrupted course for nearly thirteen hundred years in Northern India. Though the style and merit of the works produced in different epochs in different areas during this long period considerably varied, the guiding principles were the same all along. The first of these principles was bound up with the Hindu conception of the beauty of the human form. The Buddhas and the Jinas were born as *Mahāpurushas* with distinguishing physical traits. These traits were auspicious signs that forbode future greatness. Other auspicious signs indicating future success and happiness of men and women were described in textbooks in Indian astrology. What was auspicious was thus recognized as the criterion of physical beauty and as signifying moral goodness. Karāhamihira, who flourished in the sixth century A.D., writes: "Generally speaking, vices will be found in the ugly, whereas the virtues reside in one who has handsome appearance." The Indian sculptors in making images of the Buddhas, the Jinas, and the gods and goddesses did not look to the natural as the model, but tried to combine all the auspicious marks, the signs of the *Mahāpurusha*, in an idealized form. This astrological conception of the beautiful prevented Indian artists from deriving fresh in-

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spiration from nature and rendered their figure sculptures conventional.

The other principle followed by the Indian image-makers was that the *face*, not only of the saints, the Buddhas, and the Jinas, but, in Northern India, also of most of the Brahmanic and Mahāyāna Buddhist gods and goddesses, *should express absorption in dispassionate meditation*. In the images of the Buddhas and the Jinas the expression of meditation indicated the possession of supreme knowledge, and, in gods and goddesses, it marked the divine essence, omniscience. But the expression of meditation and concentration in the face did not harmonize even with mild actions, such as the Buddha calling the earth to witness, or preaching to his disciples, or taming a wild elephant, to say nothing of the activities of the gods and goddesses. Therefore it neutralized an important artistic feature, the freedom of movement of the limbs.

The third guiding principle of Indian figure sculpture was the adherence to the tradition of decorative relief. Almost all Indian images, even cult images intended for installation in temples, were in relief. Ancient Indian temples were dark inside, and images in relief were intended mainly to decorate their outer walls. Sculptors engaged in carving such images could hardly be expected to keep in view the production of figures that would produce the impression of massiveness and three dimensions. There were a considerable number of images in relief that produced such an impression and appeared to be swelling outwards from within. But these were exceptions. In spite of all these limitations it should be recognized that Indian figure sculpture was great art, for it conveyed a great idea—the idea that dispassionate meditation was the best means of solving the problems of life.

BATIK

BATIK is one of the Indian forms of art that found new and lasting life when transplanted to Java. There is no doubt that the technique originated in India; even today one finds traces of it in remote places in South India and Kashmir. Patterns used in Java find their counterparts in modern Malabar, where, however, they were not arrived at by the process of Batik. On some of the older Hindu-Javanese statues patterns are indicated on breast and loin-cloths, and these are the very patterns that one encounters today on the ceremonial clothes of the highest nobility. Consequently these must be at least a thousand years old.

In India, however, the art did not continue to flourish, whereas in Java it has held its own even in competition with modern techniques, though not in the open market. The process of development of this art in Java we may safely assume to be analogous to that of all the other arts originally Indian. Introduced by Indian craftsmen and practised by them for some generations, they were then adopted by the Hinduized population. Once

the genius of these people had got hold of them it succeeded more and more to make these arts an expression of itself, till at last they had become something completely Javanese, with hardly anything Indian in them at all—expressions of the life and soul of the country of their adoption, no longer of their country of origin.

The very name "batik" is Javanese. It means to draw in dots, or to draw finely—in the form *mbatik*—and it certainly came to be applied only when the Javanese way of executing this technique had established itself. For *mbatik* is the thing one does with the "tjanting," an instrument that seems to have been unknown in this technique in India, whereas it is essential to it in Java. The *tjanting* is a little receptacle of the thinnest hammered copper, something like a miniature teapot with the spout bent downwards. Instead of the handle there is a point fitted into a thin bamboo stick about three inches long. The vessel itself is hardly an inch in diameter, and the spout has an opening about as fine as a needle. With this instrument heated wax is scooped up from a little pot standing on glowing embers by the worker's side, and the wax is then allowed to run out on to a piece of cloth, following the lines of a prescribed, mostly traditional, pattern, which exists in the worker's mind when he, or rather she, is sufficiently skilled, but not drawn on the cloth beforehand in any case. The wax covers the texture and thus prevents the dye in which the cloth is subsequently soaked to reach wherever the wax is put on. Then the wax is removed by scraping, boiling, and washing, whereupon the pattern stands out in white against a blue or brown background. The process can be repeated as often as required; each time those places which are already of the colour the artist wants are covered before the new dyeing takes place. It is a very lengthy and difficult process and it demands an immense amount of patience.

At the Javanese courts the ladies used to do batik very much in the same way as the ladies in our Middle Ages did tapestries and embroideries. As everything in Javanese courts is ruled by the most punctilious etiquette, naturally the use of batiks of different kinds was also subject to a rigorous set of rules. Certain patterns were and are reserved for special occasions, and patterns of a certain type may be worn by persons of a particular rank or birth exclusively.

In modern, more commercial, times we find that enterprising Dutch and Chinese traders employ girls in what are like factories to prepare batiks for the market, either in the orthodox way with the *tjanting* or in imitations with blocks which have the whole pattern on them and which are dipped in wax and then stamped on to the cloth. However skilfully this may be done, it is always visible to some extent, as it is humanly impossible to eliminate the irregularities between two stamps.

Later still one finds batik patterns printed on cotton, first done in Holland and later in Japan, thus ousting Holland from the market. Side by side with the machine-printed or stamped imitation batiks, however, the real batik still flourishes, in a cheaper form when executed by hired labour and at its best by the women of the courts.

Batik, apart from its commercial value, which is doubtful even in the best of cases when the real technique is followed, attracted the attention of the West at a fairly early date. Sir Stamford Raffles included a description of the work in his book on Java at the beginning of the last century, and the wives of the Dutch colonists came to distinguish pretty soon between a good and a bad batik. In Java it was the custom at a certain time that the Dutch ladies wore the indigenous dress, and they wanted to have the real good batik. In this way many marvellous pieces have come to Holland, brought back by the colonists on their retirement.

The attention of Dutch artists, however, was not drawn to this art before the close of the last century, when at an exhibition at The Hague there was

a demonstration of batik by a Javanese craftswoman. This exhibition came at a time when there was a new movement in Dutch art, a revolution against the traditions of the middle nineteenth century. The artists were seeking new means of expression, and several of the leading personalities of the time—Lion Cachet, Thorn Prikker, Niewenhuys, and others—saw the possibilities of this foreign technique. They set out with great perseverance to master it. There were many difficulties to overcome, such as the necessity of using only cold dyes (on account of the wax), the difference in climate, and so on. And then they wanted to experiment on other materials than those in use in Java—linen, parchment, and, later on, leather, which had their own new demands. The results were extremely beautiful and their labours fully justified.

In this way a new tradition of batik was developed outside Java, but following the technique as it was handed down, only applying it to the needs of the new surroundings. This real batik has nothing to do with the splashing of colours on cloth so diligently pursued in any amateur fashion in the West today. They may call it batik, but it is a degeneration of the original process often stimulated by commercial demand.

It stands to reason that the real technique can never be used on a commercial basis, as it demands too much time and more patience than the average artist ever possesses. It is not lost, however; a few artists have kept to the real tradition, and the technique is taught in some schools, such as the Central Institute for Applied Art in Amsterdam.

Miss B. Bake, who is well-nigh the only exponent of the original way of batik, has an exhibition here at present at the Brook Street Art Galleries, and she is a splendid example of what a modern artist can do when devoting himself completely to the technique in its purest form, shunning the cheap effects so easily obtained and widely practised by lesser lights.

A. A. B.

WORLD CONGRESS OF FAITHS

THIS will be held in London and Oxford on July 3 to 18, 1936. The International President is H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, and the British National Chairman is Sir Francis Younghusband. The office is at 17, Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1. A prayer that "the Nations may be united in a firmer fellowship" is being offered in the churches of England at this time of world tension. Undoubtedly this is also the prayer of devout followers of all the great religions. For every man of religion desires a firmer Fellowship of Nations, and it is to promote this object that representative spokesmen of the leading religions of the world are being invited to address the "Second International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths" next July.

Ten sessions will be held in London and ten in Oxford, at which addresses (to be followed by discussion) will be given by representative spokesmen on "World Fellowship through Religion." In addition, three public meetings will be held in Queen's Hall, when persons of International repute will speak on "The Supreme Spiritual Ideal." The Dean of St. Paul's has expressed his willingness to welcome the members of the Congress to the afternoon service in St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday, July 5, 1936.

Under the chairmanship of Sir Francis Younghusband, a British National Council and Executive Committee have been formed and have been meeting regularly for ten months past. Hitherto the whole of the preliminary work has been done voluntarily; but with the nearer approach of the Congress funds are necessary for the early reservation of suitable halls for the Congress, office organization, as well as other incidental expenses. At a meeting

of the International Council held on July 1 last, when H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda presided and several countries were represented, it was decided to make a public appeal for the sum of £5,000 to meet the expenses of the Congress.

LINKING WEST AND EAST IN THE NETHERLANDS

BY JOHN DE LA VALETTE

Since many years the Dutch Royal Society "*Oost en West*," which has numerous branches in Holland and the East Indies, has aimed at facilitating social intercourse between the inhabitants of the eastern and western parts of what is now constitutionally the united "Kingdom of the Netherlands." It has also organized itself to provide expert advice and practical assistance to those resident overseas during their temporary stay in Holland, and to those born and bred in Holland who, for the first time, proceed to "the Asiatic Netherlands," as the Dutch Prime Minister has called Holland's eastern empire. Let it not be thought that, so far as assistance during their sojourn in Europe is concerned, it is only visitors of Indonesian race who require guidance and advice. The long spells which entire families of Netherlands blood spend in the Indies estrange them from the "motherland," loosen the ties between the colonial and homeland branches of families, and, within a couple of generations, make the overseas Dutch almost as much strangers in their home towns in Holland as permanent settlers in the British Dominions are apt to feel on their first return to England. In addition, there is the problem of those children of colonials whom it is desired to leave in Holland for a few years. For, unlike in India, it is the normal practice in the Dutch East Indies for the women to stay out East during the whole of each "trick" which their husbands have to spend there.

To the above activities, and to the organization of exhibitions, concerts, lectures, and other opportunities for making Eastern art and culture better known in the West, the Amsterdam Branch of "*Oost en West*" has recently added the provision of club facilities for its members and their guests. On September 14 the new premises were opened with cheerful festivity. Conveniently housed in the Victoria Hotel at Amsterdam, its windows overlook pleasant canals and provide agreeable vistas of the graceful brick structure of the Central Station and the wide expanse of the Y beyond. In addition to comfortable and cosy clubrooms, the accommodation provides space for the holding of exhibitions and the giving of concerts and lectures.

At the sumptuous inaugural banquet over which Mr. W. C. Bonebakker, the Society's Chairman, presided, well-earned tributes were paid to the energy, enthusiasm, and creative abilities of Mr. L. D. Petit, the popular Secretary. An exhibition of the exquisite drawings and woodcuts from New Guinea, Java, and Achin by the Dutch artist, J. ten Klooster, was

introduced by an address delivered by Monsieur Th. B. van Lelyveld, whom a London audience recently had the privilege of hearing under the auspices of the India Society. Selections of Javanese music, performed on native instruments, and a few demonstrations of the graceful Javanese dances, added interest to the occasion.

Visitors to Holland from Britain or India who are interested in the Dutch East Indies, and would like to study so much of it as can be seen in Holland, cannot do better than to avail themselves of the hospitality of "*Oost en West*," which, I have been assured, will be cordially extended to them if they will apply to the Society's premises at Damrak 1, Amsterdam.



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